



The
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**Islam as a Site of Cultural Hegemonic
Struggle in the Post-28 February
Process in Turkey: A Gramscian
Approach**

*Thesis Submitted to the University of Sheffield
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)*

The Department of Politics

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Abstract

This thesis problematizes the role of Islam in maintaining and challenging the existing power relations, class structure and forms of domination in Turkey. Based on the Gramscian theoretical framework, it seeks to find answers to the question of how Islam has been used as the site of cultural hegemonic struggle in the post-28 February process in Turkey. The period studied runs from the *coup d'état* on 28 February 1997 until the end of the Justice and Development Party's (JDP) third term of office on 7 June 2015. Concentrating on this period enables us to understand how the laicist Kemalist hegemonic bloc constructed a hegemony on the terrain of Islam to ensure that its values, beliefs and world-view could be internalised as natural, universal and common sense. Moreover, it also enables us to comprehend how the JDP challenged that cultural hegemony after 2002 when the Party came to power.

The 'how' question directs us to explore the mechanisms of consent manufacture on the religious terrain. Within this field, two mechanisms – the textbooks of the Religious Culture and Moral Knowledge (RCMK) lessons and the legislation regulating the area of religion and religion-related issues – are analysed by means of Critical Discourse Analysis. The RCMK textbooks, as the instruments for the construction and dissemination of particular discourses, reveal the discourses which have dominated both the education system and other spaces of the state as a whole. Legislation, with its discursive dimension, is important for constructing discourses related to religion and the daily lives of Muslims, and for disclosing the clash of laicist and Islamic values within both political and civil society. They are also significant tools for the maintenance of the existing class structure in which the Kemalist bloc was historically dominant, and for the challenge to the class structure by the JDP after 2002.

Key Words: Cultural hegemony, Islam, Discourse, Religious Culture and Moral Knowledge, Legislation

Acknowledgement

Writing a PhD thesis is such a long process that PhD students face both positive and negative surprises in their life. This long process brought me the most sorrowful day of my life. Since my very beloved mother passed away on 17 March 2015, every single word in the thesis symbolises and reflects my deep sorrow and the very difficult days which I had to cope with. Therefore, I dedicate my PhD thesis to my mother, Emine BASKAN.

Moreover, the process of writing a PhD thesis is the first turning point in the life of an academic. Beyond completing a PhD thesis, a PhD student also needs to make progress both morally and intellectually at the same time. This process also requires wise academic and intellectual guidance. I have been very lucky to be able to study with Professor Jonathan Joseph, one of the best supervisors in the UK. His feedback was always helpful when I was endeavouring to find a route through my subject. He was not just a supervisor, he was also a friend with whom I could talk about a variety of issues from English football to Amy Winehouse. At the times when I was in a panic, he was always ready to calm me down. I am therefore very grateful for his assistance to me over both my master's dissertation and this PhD thesis.

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To my mother, Emine BASKAN...

Abbreviations

CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
DISK	Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey (<i>Devrimci Isci Sendikalari Konfederasyonu</i>)
DP	Democratic Party (<i>Demokrat Parti</i>)
FP	Felicity Party (<i>Saadet Partisi</i>)
HAK-IS	Confederation of Turkish Real Trade Unions
JDP	Justice and Development Party (<i>Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi</i>)
MNE	Ministry of National Education (<i>Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı</i>)
MP	Motherland Party (<i>Anavatan Partisi</i>)
MUSIAD	Independent Industrialists and Businessmen Association (<i>Mustakil Sanayici ve İşadamları Derneği</i>)
NOP	National Order Party (<i>Milli Nizam Partisi</i>)
NSP	National Salvation Party (<i>Milli Selamet Partisi</i>)
RCMK	Religious Culture and Moral Knowledge (<i>Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi</i>)
RPP	Republican People's Party (<i>Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi</i>)
SSPE	Student Selection and Placement Examination (<i>Oğrenci Seçme ve Yerleştirme Sınavı</i>)
TAF	Turkish Armed Forces (<i>Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri</i>)
TESK	Confederation of Turkish Tradesmen and Craftsmen (<i>Türkiye Esnaf ve Sanatkarları Konfederasyonu</i>)
TGNA	Turkish Grand National Assembly (<i>Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi</i>)
TISK	Confederation of Employer Associations of Turkey (<i>Türkiye İşveren Sendikaları Konfederasyonu</i>)
TOBB	Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (<i>Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birliği</i>)
TPP	True Path Party (<i>Doğru Yol Partisi</i>)
TUSK-IS	Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions (<i>Türkiye İsci Sendikaları Konfederasyonları</i>)
TUSIAD	Turkish Industry and Business Association (<i>Türk Sanayicileri ve İş İnsanları Derneği</i>)
YOK	The Higher Education Council (<i>Yüksek Öğretim Kurulu</i>)
VP	Virtue Party (<i>Fazilet Partisi</i>)
WP	Welfare Party (<i>Refah Partisi</i>)

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INTRODUCTION

Religion, and more specifically Islam, constitutes the starting point of this thesis, which aims at comprehending the influence of the terrain of Islam on the cultural hegemonic struggle and on efforts to establish a consensual relationship with the opposing groups in Turkey. In the most basic sense, religion is “a belief in the God or Gods” (Giddens & Sutton, 2013: 720). Beyond its theological or spiritual meaning, religion is significant for being able to direct its believers to particular political or social objectives (Haynes, 2005: 248). The functionalist approach claims that religion, through its doctrines, myths and ceremonies, provides explanations about the origins of life and offers a justification of existing social systems. Together with morality, religion can have a cementing and unifying function in a society (Grelle, 2017: 69). A religion might also form the ideological foundation of dissent in a society (Calvert & Calvert, 2001, cited in Haynes, 2005: 251). It can also play a revolutionary role against the established social and political order, as in the example of the revolution in Iran in 1979 (Haynes, 2005: 248).

More importantly for discussions on cultural hegemony, Gramsci (1971: 326) stated that religion corresponds to “a conception of world”. That is to say, religion is an important creator of meaning in every area in the world. It provides a significant source of fundamental value orientations (Haynes, 2005: 248). Considering that cultural hegemony is based on the ability to ideologically control subordinate groups by producing and disseminating dominant values, beliefs, and views, to determine conduct and meaning, to draw the boundaries of discourse and common sense, and finally to present dominant views as universal and natural (Giroux, 1981: 94), it becomes difficult to neglect the role of religions in the creation of meaning. A dominant group which seeks to produce and disseminate a meaning for the establishment of cultural hegemony will inevitably conflict with religion, which is another meaning producer. Gramsci (1971: 204) regarded the Church as an important element of civil society among the social institutions through which a cultural hegemony is exercised. For him, the dominant class can use the Church to maintain its monopoly by means of the Church’s representation in civil society (Gramsci, 1971: 245). Although Gramsci’s emphasis was

mainly on Christianity, his thoughts on religion can also be applied to contexts in which another religion is dominant (Fulton, 1987: 198).

In the light of the discussion about religions in general, Islam also provides a significant challenging to the global neo-liberal establishment or to any kind of central value system, since it possesses a particular world conception and political ideology, it determines social norms on nearly every issue, it symbolises a very unique and sophisticated tradition of faith, it offers a philosophical method to its followers, and it has the advantage of vast membership power (Evans, 2011: 1752-1753). Islam is an extensive religion which shapes the discourse on nearly every topic, both worldly and unworldly. It has a standpoint about the issues which are directly related with class structure and class struggle, such as the economy, distribution of wealth, working life, trade, justice, politics and the exercise of power. It can therefore be argued that Islam is a religion which constructs a specific world conception similar to that which Gramsci pointed out for Christianity. So since Islam constitutes a reference point of a distinctive value system, any group which envisages a hegemonic strategy takes the risk of a cultural and discursive battle with Islam.

Islam also provides a disciplining and unifying instrument for the Muslims in the hands of Muslim intellectuals and Muslim political leaders (Evans, 2011: 1757). It therefore provides a remarkable organisational capability for Muslims which is able to direct them to a common ideal and to organise their collective action. In conjunction with this organisational power, Islam also provides a self-sufficient and independent Islamic political ideology which is capable of handling and offering solutions to all kinds of contemporary issues which Islamic societies face (Butko, 2004: 50). Butko (2004: 42) detected a relationship between political Islam and the Gramscian theory of hegemony in terms of both tactics and goals and pointed out that Gramsci's contribution to Islamist politics stemmed from his guidance regarding the necessary conditions for the birth of a successful revolutionary challenge to the hegemonic elites and against the socio-political system by which they were maintaining their legitimacy and power.

Moreover, Islam possesses a comprehensive law system, called *Shari'ah* (*seriat* in Turkish), which tells Muslims how to perform the obligations of Islam and which guides them in their daily life. It regulates the behaviour of Muslims in both the private and the public spheres (Esposito, 2004: 93). Accordingly, Islam acts as a prescriptive

rule maker which transcends the domain of positive law, since it comprises and influences the spheres of both the worldly and the divine. A tension between Islamic *Shari'ah* law and laic¹ positive law is therefore inevitable. In order to cope with this tension, a laicist ruling group must produce and disseminate a particular interpretation of Islam which restrains the scope of Islam to the individual level of worship and faith.

In the light of the discussion so far, it might be difficult to comprehend cultural hegemonic struggles without taking into account Islam's organisational and ideological power, its unique value set and its own world conception in the cases of Muslim majority countries² in general and in the case of Turkey specifically. Turkey, whose administration is based on the principle of laicism (Official Gazette, 1982a), is a Muslim-majority country³ ruled by single-party governments of the Justice and Development Party (JDP)⁴ since 2002 (Panebianco, 2007: 179). Following the establishment of the Republic by Ataturk in 1923, an authoritarian social engineering project was led by Ataturk and his followers, the Kemalist hegemonic bloc, to modernise Turkish society from the top down and to shape the values, perceptions, beliefs and thoughts of the society in accordance with those of Kemalism (Sofos, 2000: 244). Islam has also been affected by the modernisation project in Turkey. Laicism has been an important factor of Turkish political life in order to create a national Turkish

¹ In the current study, the word 'laic' is used to describe the feature of the state institutions. For a more detailed discussion about the issue, see the sub-section 'The Fundamental Principles of Kemalism' in Chapter 1.

² In 2010, 49 countries around the world were grouped as Muslim-majority countries; 1.2 billion Muslim people, which corresponds to 74% of the total Muslim population in the world, live in these countries (PEW Research Centre, 2011: 155).

³ There are a variety of empirical studies which have researched the religious tendencies of people in Turkey. Those studies can give us idea of the place of Islam in people's lives. In an empirical study carried out by GALLUP (Burkholder, 2002), Turkish people were asked about the significance of having 'an enriched religious and spiritual life'; 41% responded 'essential and cannot live without it', 37% responded 'very important' and 17% responded 'useful but can live without it'. In a study conducted by the MAK Public Opinion Research Company, the percentage of the people who declared that they believed in the existence of God was 86%. Moreover, 6% of the respondents declared that they believed in the existence of God but did not believe that God intervenes in everything in the universe. Only 4% declared that they did not believe in the existence of (a) God (MAK, 2017: 4). In the same study, Turkish people were asked how important the piousness of a candidate in a political election was to them: 51% responded 'very important', 24% responded 'somewhat important' and 20% responded 'not important' (MAK, 2017: 26).

⁴ Three different abbreviations are used to refer to the Justice and Development Party, namely the AK Party, the AKP and the JDP. The official abbreviation of the party is the 'AK Party', whilst 'AKP' is also used in the literature. However, the usage of both abbreviations might cause bias in research since the term 'AK Party' is generally used by researchers who are sympathetic to the party, and 'AKP' is used by those who are antipathetic towards it. In the current study, the 'JDP' is preferred as the abbreviation for the party to overcome this 'pro/anti' dichotomy.

culture and identity since the 1930s (Karpas, 2009a: 239). A conflict between Kemalism and Islam was inevitable in such a culture-building process. It might therefore be beneficial to go deeper into the case of Turkey in order to reveal why the terrain of Islam is so significant for comprehending the cultural hegemonic struggle better.

Islam has always been a significant source of collective action by pious Muslims in Turkey. It has provided a common religious identity for Muslims to be organised under various organisations, such as the political parties of the National Vision Movement (*Milli Gorus Hareketi*), associations, Islamic foundations, *tarikats* (religious orders) or *cemaats* (religious communities), to act collectively and to produce a common attitude towards the state and the ruling groups. Muslims have found that *tarikats* and *cemaats* increase their capability of acting collectively. They establish companies which directly influence their class position. Islam was therefore a terrain for the Kemalist hegemonic bloc to produce a discourse which limits the collective power of Muslims by bringing an individualist interpretation of Islam to the forefront. It was also a terrain for the JDP to develop the collective power to challenge the Kemalist hegemony.

Islam is a terrain on which the top business associations and syndicates have been fractionalised. It was the principal factor which differentiated the Islamic-based business association MUSIAD (Yankaya, 2009: 2) from the laicist Kemalist business association TUSIAD (TUSIAD, 2013). Similarly, whereas HAK-IS represented an Islamic workers' syndicalism (Duran & Yildirim, 2005: 228), DISK favoured a left-wing workers' syndicalism (Dereli, 1992: 469). Thus the attitude towards Islam was a significant determinant of economic rivalry.

Islam is also a terrain where people's class positions in the social hierarchy are determined and where vertical mobility opportunities for them are manifested. For instance, wearing a headscarf, which was directly related to the extent of pious women's religiousness, was a sufficient reason for them to be deprived of secondary and higher education (Official Gazette, 1981a) and of working in the public sector (Official Gazette, 1982b). Similarly, having an intensive religious education became an obstacle to continuing university education (Official Gazette, 1981b; Dogan & Yuret, 2015: 201). The only option for a woman with a headscarf was being a high-school graduate and

working as an unskilled worker. As a consequence, the positions for white-collar employees were dominated by people who had a secular⁵ lifestyle.

Islam is also a terrain where the tensions stemming from lifestyle differences emerged and reciprocal threat perceptions of both the secular and the pious segments rose to the surface in the history of Turkey. The laicist policies and attitude of the Kemalist regime caused conflicts from the very beginning. Considerable uprisings even occurred for this reason in the early years of the Republic (Carkoglu & Toprak, 2007: 32). Moreover, Islam, as an important determinant of people's lifestyle, shapes their attitudes to issues such as drinking alcohol, adultery, gambling, pornography, flirting, homosexuality and ways of dressing. Most of the protests in recent years can be seen as signs of the JDP's cultural hegemony crisis originating from the diversity in terms of lifestyle. For instance, the JDP's intervention in lifestyles was a frequently voiced discourse during the Istanbul Gezi protests in 2013 (Altun, 2016: 171). Consequently, persuasion of the opposing groups on the terrain of Islam became a vital issue for both the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and the JDP.

1. Research Question and an Introduction to the Basic Elements of the Thesis

So far, we have discussed the reasons why Islam should be taken into account in this study of the cultural hegemonic projects in Turkey, which is a Muslim-majority country. At this point, it might be beneficial to turn our attention to the thesis itself. It should be noted that this thesis neither discusses whether religion, and particularly Islam, is good or bad, nor does it intend to problematize whether Islam is human-made or God-made. In other words, it does not involve a theological discussion. Religions, and particularly Islam, will be approached as a terrain on which particular hegemonic projects take place for the manufacture of Muslims' consent.

The aim of this study is to research Islam as a site of hegemonic struggle between the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and the JDP. In this context, 'Kemalist

⁵ In the current study, the word 'secular' is used to describe a cultural stance. For a more detailed discussion about the issue, see the sub-section 'The Fundamental Principles of Kemalism' in Chapter 1.

hegemonic bloc⁶ can be interpreted as a coalition between three agents which are united under the umbrella of the same ideological goals and of the same attitude regarding the place of religion in political and civil society. These three agents were determined as the Kemalist military, the Kemalist state bureaucracy and the Kemalist bourgeoisie with the additional support of Kemalist intellectuals. The fundamental goal of the study is therefore to explore the maintenance of domination, the sustainment of intellectual leadership and the establishment of hegemony through discourse construction. In the light of these aims, the following research question arises:

How has Islam been used as a site of cultural hegemonic struggle in Turkey in the post-28 February process until 2015?

This question raises two interrelated points. First, it problematizes the hegemonic project of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc on the terrain of Islam in the post-28 February process. The research focuses on the efforts of the Kemalists to gain the consent of the pious Muslims for the laic Kemalist regime and the Kemalist domination within this regime. For this, the pious Muslims must accept the values, beliefs and world-views of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc about Islam as natural, common and universal rather than as a threat. Since Islam is regarded as an area of persuasion, the study investigates how particular discourses on the terrain of Islam are constructed and disseminated with the aim of creating a common understanding of Islam with pious Muslims and persuading them to accept such a common understanding.

Second, the research question directs the researcher to investigate how the JDP, in its first three terms of single-party government, responded to the hegemonic project of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc on the terrain of Islam. The intention is to comprehend the hegemonic project of the JDP by emphasising the challenges, nullifications and continuities regarding the Kemalist discourse on Islam and Islam-related issues.

With the term ‘a site of cultural hegemonic struggle’, we approach Islam as a terrain of hegemonic projects on which hegemonic activity takes place. In other words, we regard Islam as an area of activity where the hegemonic struggle can be detected.

⁶ It is also possible to see the term ‘Kemalist hegemonic bloc’ in other studies in the literature which have been focused on the case of Turkey (Jung, 2008; Kurc, 2013). In his use of the term, Jung (2008: 127) pointed to the military together with the new elites of the Kemalist laic state, such as public bureaucrats, professors, teachers and jurists, as the hegemonic bloc of Kemalism. Kurc (2013: 8) used the term interchangeably with the concept of ‘historic bloc’ to mean the three pillars of institutions, material power and ideology.

The terrain not only involves Islam itself, but also Islam-related issues such as Islam's political, social, economic and organisational roles, the Islamic lifestyle and symbols, Muslimness, and the influence of Muslim identity on pious Muslims' class position.

Moreover, the period explored in the study was determined as the post-28 February process until 2015, since it was not possible in a single PhD thesis to analyse the cultural hegemonic projects over nearly 90 years beginning from the establishment of the Republic in 1923. The post-28 February process started with the 28 February 1997 post-modern *coup d'état* and continued to first few years of the JDP government when the outcomes of the 28 February process were still being felt. On 28 February 1997, Turkey was exposed to a post-modern *coup d'état* in which the Turkish Armed Forces (TAF) forced the Welfare Party (WP) to resign. Unlike the previous *coups d'état* in the history of Turkey, the TAF sought to organise and mobilise the opposition and by this means succeeded in putting pressure on the officials of the WP to resign, rather than seizing governmental power directly (Jenkins, 2007: 345-346). This key difference was also the main reason for using the adjective 'post-modern' in respect of the 28 February *coup*. The post-28 February process is also important for corresponding with the last peak point of Kemalist hegemony just before the long-term single party governments of the JDP began. Furthermore, the period between 2002 and 2015 is also important for being the longest uninterrupted single-party challenge by Islamists/conservatives to the Kemalist hegemony in the history of the Republic. There are also two sub-questions which the research will address:

What are the differences between the cultural hegemonic projects of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and the JDP on the terrain of Islam?

This sub-question brings a comparative research character to the study. The hegemonic projects of both sides, the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and the JDP, will be analysed separately under each topic. In Chapter 5, the Religious Culture and Moral Knowledge (RCMK) textbooks used in the post-28 February process will be compared with those being used in 2015. In Chapter 6, the laws, regulations, and bylaws which are valid in the post-28 February process will be compared with the amendments made until 2015. By means of these comparisons, the differences in the discourses and the discursive tactics will be emphasised. Such comparisons will also be helpful for

identifying the strengths and the weaknesses of each hegemonic project. The second sub-question, which is directly related to the first, is:

To what extent has the JDP government established an alternative cultural hegemony on the terrain of Islam between 2002 and 2015?

By exploring this second sub-question, we shall seek to understand the extent of the success of the JDP's hegemonic project in challenging the Kemalist cultural hegemony and in creating its own cultural hegemony on the terrain of Islam within its three terms as the single-party government from 2002 until 2015. In order to evaluate its success, we shall concentrate on the extent to which the JDP could nullify the fundamental paradigm, mainstream values and discourses, and the common sense framed by the Kemalists about Islam in both political and civil society. We shall also seek to comprehend whether the JDP could shape the fundamental paradigm, mainstream values and discourses, and the common sense with its own values and world conception.

Consequently, as Van Dijk (2001: 352) pointed out, analysis using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) will enable the researcher to comprehend how the relations of hegemony/dominance and power are constructed, approved, reproduced, justified or challenged by the structures of discourse in society. The main motivation of this study is therefore to critically address the dominant discourse structures on the terrain of religion, and specifically on the terrain of Islam, and to unveil the processes of construction, approval, reproduction, justification and/or challenge of the power and hegemony/dominance relations in Turkey. To achieve this, we shall endeavour to examine the use of social engineering to contrast the hegemonic/political goals on the terrain of religion and make a humble contribution to the struggle of the subordinate classes/groups against the dominant classes/groups which exploit them.

2. Outline of the Thesis

The thesis follows a route moving from a general introduction to the historical background of the case of Turkey and a discussion of the fundamental constituents of the Gramscian theory of cultural hegemony, passing through an exploration of the related literature and identifying the gaps in it and an explanation of the method used

together with the data collected, and then to the operational chapters of the thesis which are about education and legislation.

Chapter 1 presents a brief history of Turkey emphasising particular elements of it which are vital for understanding the dynamics of the hegemonic projects and main characteristics of the hegemonic actors. The chapter begins with two prominent aspects of Ottoman society, the centre-periphery cleavage as the historical basis of cultural hegemonic struggle and the *millet* system as the indication of a radical shift in the main signifier of identity from the Ottomans to the Republic. The chapter continues by presenting the fundamental principles of Kemalism and showing the Kemalist modernisation and nation-building processes and discussing its enduring power in the multi-party period with reference to *coups d'état* and the tutelage regime. The chapter will end with a consideration of the historical roots, ideological position, main characteristics and key policies of the JDP.

In Chapter 2, the theoretical framework of the thesis, which hinges on Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony, is drawn. The chapter starts with a discussion of critical realism, which constitutes the ontological and epistemological base of the thesis. Then a detailed evaluation of the Gramscian theory of cultural hegemony is presented. Taking into account Gramsci's (1971: 12) thought about the need to gain the consent of subordinate classes in parallel with the values of the ruling class, Chapter 2 emphasises the particular concepts which have a guiding role in understanding the manufacture of consent and encourages us to rethink those concepts in the light of the Turkish case. Those concepts include the ones related to the organisational aspect of hegemony such as the state, political parties and historic bloc; the ones related to the ideational aspect of hegemony such as ideology and intellectuals; the ones related to hegemonic strategy such as war of position, war of manoeuvre and passive revolution; and finally the ones related to the types of hegemony such as structural hegemony and surface hegemony. The chapter will end with a theoretical discussion of the relationship between religious and cultural hegemony based on the ideas of Gramsci. It should be noted that the theoretical discussion is not limited to Chapter 2. Chapter 5 begins with a theoretical discussion regarding the relationship between education and cultural hegemony and Chapter 6 starts with a theoretical discussion of the effects of legislation on the establishment and maintenance of cultural hegemony.

Chapter 3 reviews the literature which has explored the issue of hegemony. It starts with a discussion regarding the class-based understanding of the Turkish case with reference to prominent studies which have considered the class structure shaped through cultural and religious identities. Following this discussion of class structure, the attention turns to the literature on hegemony-based studies about the case of Turkey. The chapter ends by reviewing the literature which reports studies of the political, ideological and hegemonic aspects of Islam and Islam-related issues with special reference to studies ranging from instances of other Muslim-majority countries around the world to examples in the case of Turkey.

Chapter 4 is dedicated to a discussion of the RCMK textbooks and the legislation and the data which they provide on the concept of discourse, which is the focal point of this study, and to a justification of using CDA as the research method of the study. The concept of ‘discourse’ is approached with reference to its meaning in the CDA by taking into account its influence on power and hegemony relations. Finally, CDA is discussed with reference to its role in comprehending the functions of discourse on power relations and political/hegemonic struggles. The chapter ends by explaining how the research method will be conducted in the operational chapters of the thesis.

Chapter 5 and 6 are the operational chapters of the thesis. In Chapter 5, the textbooks used in the RCMK lessons are analysed by means of CDA in order to comprehend how particular discourses on the terrain of Islam were constructed and disseminated. For this aim, textbooks used in the post-28 February era and those used in 2015 are selected and their prominent discourses on the terrain of religion are compared. The topics analysed in this chapter are the State, the Military, Economic Differences, the Image of Atatürk, Laicism, *Tarikats* and *Cemaats*, Family and Alevism. In Chapter 6, the legislation which regulates the terrain of religion is selected and analysed by CDA in order to investigate its discursive dimension, its restrictiveness on the alternative religious/Islamic discourses, its role on the determination on pious Muslims’ class position, and its effect on the organisational power of Islam. The topics analysed in this chapter for actualising these aims are the Religious Everyday Life; the State; the Presidency of Religious Affairs; Political Parties; Associations and Foundations; the Headscarf; Primary and Secondary Education; Imam-Hatip Schools; and Higher Education.

CHAPTER 1: A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF TURKEY

This chapter is dedicated to a brief presentation of the basic information about the history of Turkey beginning from the Ottoman period. The content and scope of this presentation, however, is determined by the research question of the study, which is;

How has Islam been used as a site of hegemonic struggle in Turkey in the post-28 February process until 2015?

In order to realise both continuities and discontinuities in the social, economic and political structure of newly established Turkey, the chapter will begin with a brief presentation of the social and political structure of the Ottoman Empire which will help us to understand the Republic of Turkey better. Comprehending the centre-periphery cleavage is significant for this study since the cultural hegemonic struggle emerged along the axis of the cleavage. On the one side, there was the hegemonic centre which needed the consent of the periphery and on the other side there was the periphery which was exposed to the hegemonic projects of the centre and was where the JDP endeavoured to construct a counter-hegemony. A discussion of the *millet* system will highlight a very deep structural shift in terms of the fundamental constituents of identity in Turkey, from a religion-oriented definition of identity to nationality-oriented definition of identity, from the Ottoman period to new Republic (Sogutlu, 2010: 50). The effect of this shift can be seen in the strong emphasis on Ataturk's principle of nationalism in both RCMK textbooks which will be discussed in Chapter 5 and in various legislation texts which will be discussed in Chapter 6.

Exploring the cleavage between hegemonic centre and periphery, this chapter will introduce the two sides of the hegemonic struggle, the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and the JDP. The section on Kemalism will reveal its fundamental principles which are frequently presented as mainstream values in the RCMK textbooks and the legislation. After discussing the modernisation project as a culture-building process, we shall

discuss how the Kemalist hegemonic bloc sustained its dominance and found opportunities to carry out its hegemonic project in the multi-party period. The chapter will end with a discussion of the history of the JDP. The roots of the party will give some explanation of how its hegemonic strategy differed from those of the former Islamist parties. The presentation of its position in the political spectrum will reveal the ideological base of its hegemonic project, and its principal characteristics and key policies will clarify the peculiarities of its hegemonic project.

1. The Basic Features of the Ottoman Empire and Ottoman Society

1.1. Centre-Periphery Cleavage

Mardin (1973: 170) remarked that the main characteristics of the social and political structure in Turkish history were formed by the centre-periphery dichotomy.⁷ In contrast with Western European countries in which society was characterised by a horizontal and functional structure of the socio-economic classes, the structure of the society in the Ottoman Empire, succeeded by the Republic of Turkey, was hierarchical (Narli, 2000: 107). One of the most distinctive features of the Empire was that its centre was strengthened by a system of institutions. This centre was based on rigorous control of the fiscal system and land administration and by the dominance of the religious sphere (Mardin, 1973: 169). The Sultans in the Ottoman Empire maintained the traditional social divisions of the Middle East. At the top, there was a small ruling class composed of the *Sultan* and his officials (Shaw, 2009: 283). A significant feature of the Ottoman Empire was this *sultanate* system. The *Sultans* were the rulers of the Ottoman

⁷ Giving reference to the centre-periphery dichotomy has always been a key approach to analysing the political and social structure of Turkey (Mardin, 1973; Tuncel & Gundogmus, 2012: 139). Shils (1961: 117) suggested that every society has a centre. This central area does not refer to a spatial place, it is located within the boundaries of the specific territory which the society inhabits but cannot be described as a geometric centrality or has little to do with geographic centrality. This central area is described as the domain of beliefs, symbols and values which rule the society. Each organisation within the sub-systems of the centre, such as bureaucracy and the economy, is administered by an elite whose decisions are made in accordance with particular values and standards. These values and standards which are acknowledged and followed by the elites constitute the central value system (Shils, 1961: 117-118). In every society, even in the most egalitarian and liberal societies, there is a tendency to interiorise the central value system of the established authority. The central authority is appreciated as a consequence of the sanctity attributed to it. The authority is exercised over the people by means of symbols or positions which possess this sanctity, since the nature of the sanctity is authoritative (Shils, 1961: 119).

Empire, the largest Muslim country, and were heads of the Islamic world by courtesy of their title of *caliph* (Kedourie, 1968: 20). The word *Sultan* refers to meanings of authority and power in Arabic and since the tenth century it meant ‘power holder’ (Turan, 2009: 251). As subordinate subjects of the ruling class, on the other hand, there was the *reaya* class, in which people were divided according to their religion (the *millet* system) or economic activity (guilds or *esnaf*) (Shaw, 2009: 283).

Although the elites of the new Republic had a completely different view of society and the identity of society, they maintained the administrative tradition of the Ottoman Empire (Erdogan, 2001: 17). So the gap between central and peripheral forces was sustained in Turkey after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire as a result of the efforts of the bureaucratic and military official elites of the newly established Republic (Narli, 2000: 108). Since the laicist world-view of Kemalism became successful in dominating the centre after the establishment of the Republic, Islam was compelled to continue its life on the periphery, among the lower classes and in the small towns and rural areas. An important consequence of this was the disappearance of the sophisticated religious tradition inherited from the elite of the Ottoman Empire. Eventually, Islam became a cultural element of the less-educated segments of society and being a Muslim who practises regularly was associated with being a peasant (*koylu*) in the eyes of the upper-class Kemalist Turks (Akyol, 2011: 206-207). A negative image was therefore attributed to devout Muslimness and being modern became equal to being laicist according to this discourse.

Although analysis of the political structure of Turkey from the Ottoman Empire to the present shows that the centre-periphery cleavage continued, it did undergo some changes. The Democratic Party’s (DP) accession to power in 1950, the establishment of the National Order Party (NOP) in 1970, the Motherland Party’s (MP) accession to power in 1983 and the government formed by the Welfare Party (WP) and the True Path Party (TPP) in 1996 were all significant challenges by the periphery to the centre of Turkish society. During this period, the free market economy increased the economic power of the periphery. The 2002 general election, on the other hand, was a turning point in terms of centre-periphery relations. As a consequence of the election of a name from the JDP cadre as president in 2007, the constitutional amendments after 2010, and the electoral victory in 2011, the JDP became located in the centre (Tuncel &

Gundogmus, 2012: 139). An important outcome of the centre-periphery cleavage which continued in the new Republic was the hegemonic struggle on the terrain of Islam. On the one hand, the centre dominated by the Kemalist elites endeavoured to establish its hegemony over religion so that the views, values, beliefs and perceptions of the periphery would become compatible with the views, values, beliefs and perceptions of Kemalism. On the other hand, the actors on the periphery sought to challenge the hegemony of the Kemalist oligarchy in order to emerge as a counter-hegemonic power on the terrain of Islam.

1.2. The Millet System in a Multi-ethnic and Multi-Cultural Empire

The religious identity of the Turkish Ottoman dynasty was characterised by Sunni Islam (Ochsenwald, 2016: 28). The Empire was, however, a multi-ethnic empire comprising 75 different ethnicities and a multi-religious empire composed of different religions with various denominations and sects under each religion (Toprak, 2005: 28). The religious communities, from the most populous to the least, were the Muslims⁸, the Greek Orthodox, the Armenian Gregorian, the Bulgarian Exarchate (Orthodox), the Jews, the Catholics, and the Protestants (Shaw, 1978: 332). Despite its multi-ethnic and multi-religious social structure, the Empire accepted diversity and acknowledged the plurality of customs and the similarity of experiences among the various groups (Barkey, 2012: 15). The multi-ethnic and multi-religious social structure did not result in any maltreatment or suppression of the non-Muslim population (Alkhateeb, 2014: 162). Braude and Lewis (1982: 1) commented that it was the social structure of the Ottoman Empire which enabled it to rule one of the most diverse societies in history for more than five centuries. Various religious communities worshipped freely and worked without any restrictions. The Ottoman state respected and actively supported the judicial traditions and practices, especially on issues of inheritance, marriage and burial, peculiar to each religious community. All subjects of the state had opportunities for

⁸ The Muslim population in the Ottoman Empire was not composed only of Sunni Muslims. For instance, the Alevis and Alawis (Nusayri) were significant non-Sunni religious groups living in the Ottoman Empire (Masters, 2009: 27-28). Moreover, although they were regarded as a single group regardless of their ethnicity, the Muslims in the Empire were composed of different ethnic groups; Turks, Arabs, Bosniaks, Kurds, Lazs, Georgians, Vlachs, and Pomaks (Karpas, 2009b: 423).

social mobility and prosperity (Braude & Lewis, 1982: 1). As a consequence of its multi-ethnic and multi-religious society, another important aspect of the Ottoman Empire was the existence of nations (*millets*) which stemmed from the diversity of the religious groups. The term *millet* signified a ‘religious community’ in the history of Islam. The origin of the word was *millah*, a canonical word which refers to religion in the Holy Qur’an. In the period of Ottoman Empire (1299-1918), the meaning of *millet* widened to comprise the non-Muslims religious communities too (Hess, 2009: 5): a person was a Muslim, a Jew, a Protestant, a Catholic, a Gregorian or an Orthodox before being an Arab, a Turk, a Bulgarian or Greek (Davison, 1954: 844).

The Empire had established a social structure which enabled these diverse ethnic and religious groups to cohabit without any direct coercion (Barkey, 2012: 13). The *millet* system in the Ottoman Empire was “a political organization which granted to the non-Muslims the right to organize into communities possessing certain delegated powers, under their own ecclesiastical heads” (Abu Jaber, 1967, 212). Barkey (2012: 21) similarly defined the *millet* system as “the Ottoman version of indirect rule *vis-à-vis* different confessional communities”. The internal affairs of those religious communities were regulated by their own members or by their elected, hereditary or appointed leaders (Abu Jaber, 1967: 213; Alkhateeb, 2014: 162).

After the Empire collapsed in 1918 and was divided into separate nation-states, the term *millet* gained its contemporary meaning of ‘nation’ (Hess, 2009: 5). Following the abandonment of the *millet* system in the new Republic, religions lost their position as determiners of identity in society and their power as sources of law. Identity based on religious affiliation was replaced with Turkishness and Islamic identity had no meaning apart from being an individual choice. This new position of religion was compatible with the interpretation of religion held by the Kemalist elite. It was therefore an important step in establishing a hegemony in order to direct people to accept the official ‘religion’ introduced by the Kemalists.

2. Kemalism: an Ideology of Nation-State Building and Modernisation

2.1. The Fundamental Principles of Kemalism

A special section is dedicated here to a discussion of Kemalism since the Kemalist hegemonic bloc is one of the two sides of the hegemonic struggle on the terrain of Islam in Turkey. Seeking to reveal the main features of Kemalism is a key step in this research towards comprehending how the Kemalists sought to construct a discourse on Islam for gaining the consent of the devout Muslims to its long-term domination.

First, it should be noted that Kemalism is not a systematic ideology which was created consciously by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk; it was propounded by his followers with reference to his practices and principles (Hanioglu, 2012: 32). In other words, Kemalism is comprised of Atatürk's principles and ideas which directed the practices which he performed during the period of the War of Independence and the period of modernisation and westernisation. It also shaped the official ideology of the state apparatus in Turkey (Tuncay, 2009: 310).

The principles which shaped Kemalism and constituted the official ideology of the state apparatus in Turkey are *statism* (in terms of economic policies), *republicanism*, *laicism*, *populism*, *reformism* and *nationalism* (Ataov, 1980: 28). Kemalist statism (*devletcilik*), or state capitalism, was defined as the control and participation of the government in the economic development of the country (Azarian, 2011: 76). The main goal of this principle was “to develop the national economy by liberating it from dependence on foreign capital and by supplementing and encouraging locally owned private industries through state action” (Karpat, 1959: 85). The principle of reformism (*inkilapcilik*), on the other hand, referred to the education and reconstruction of society by the state-bureaucracy from the top down (Yegen, 2009: 56). The principle of populism (*halkcilik*) should be understood as an attempt to translate Kemalism's ethnic nationalism, authoritarian centralism and radical laicism to society so that the ideology could be embraced by civil society and a consent-based relationship with society could be created (Yegen, 2009: 61). The principle of republicanism (*cumhuriyetcilik*) did not refer to any kind of socialist or liberal democracy. Influenced by the French Revolution

in 1789, it referred to the rejection of privileges stemming from status and monarchy (Tuncay, 2009: 311).

Among these six principles of Ataturk, laicism (*laiklik*) and nationalism (*milliyetçilik*) are the ones which have had a direct impact on the discourses regarding Islam. These two principles will therefore be analysed in more detail next. Although the concepts⁹ of ‘secularism’ and ‘laicism’ are regarded as synonyms in a limited sense, they possess different etymologies, normative theoretical implications and institutional histories (Davison, 2003: 333). Davison (2003: 333) explained that secularism “derives from the Latin *saeculum*, meaning generation or age, and originally meant ‘of the world’ as opposed to ‘of the church’”. Secularism is “a belief that religion should not intrude into secular (worldly) affairs, usually reflected in the desire to separate church from state” (Heywood, 2012: 285). According to contemporary usage, the aim of secularism is to separate the affairs of state and of religion by creating autonomous spheres (Ulutas, 2010: 390). Laicism, on the other hand, “derives from the French word *lai* (or *laïque*, in contemporary usage), meaning ‘of the people’ as distinguished from ‘of the clergy’” (Davison, 2003: 333). Laicism is based on the “state control of religion” (Dressler, 2011: 189). As Ulutas (2010: 391) observed, laicism is “theoretically a better choice than secularism in the Turkish context”. Dressler (2011: 188) also used the term laicism to define the Turkish version of secularism by explaining that the Turkish word *laiklik* originated from the French word *laïcité*. He added that the discourse on laicism in both the Turkish and the French contexts rhetorically targeted the former regime or order, and currently otherised political systems which placed religion at the centre of arrangements regarding both state affairs and social life (Dressler, 2011: 188). In both contexts, the state interferes in religion (Ulutas, 2010: 390). Ataov (1980: 32) described the main goal of Ataturk’s understanding of laicism as “emancipation from the dungeon of thoughts in which Ataturk believed his people were imprisoned”. Unlike secularism, which seeks to create autonomous spheres for religion and state affairs (Ulutas, 2010: 390), Ataturk’s laicism sought to realise the same goal through a social engineering project by means of the state apparatus by using a top-down method. In the light of this aim, “laicism disciplines the religious by subordinating it to a modernist-secularist framework” (Dressler, 2011: 188) and thus the Turkish model of laicism is

⁹ For more information about the differences between the concepts of secularism and laicism, see Davison, A. (2003).

characterised by the desire to shape society by interfering in the terrain of religion, rather than ensuring the reciprocal independence of the terrains of the state and religion.

In the current study, the adjectives ‘laic’, ‘laicist’ and ‘secular’ are used in order to refer to different aspects of the individual/religion relationship. This is a similar conceptualisation to that of Atay (2013: 42), who made a distinction between a cultural stance and an elitist official ideological position. So the term ‘secular’, which can be regarded as a cultural stance, is “etymologically derived from the Latin word *saecularis* as an opposite to the term ‘sacred’, it refers to ‘this-worldliness’” (Atay, 2013: 42). Therefore, the term ‘secular’ is used in the current study in order to describe a personal state of being distanced from the ‘sacred’ or ‘religious’. In other words, being ‘secular’ means having a way of living in which religion is not a significant determinant. Since the term ‘laicism’ possesses “more resonance as an ideological stance relating to official control over a religious culture” (Atay, 2013: 42), the term ‘laicist’ refers to a conscious ideological stance regarding the state/religion relationship. Throughout the current study, the word ‘laicist’ is used to describe people who consciously favour Atatürk’s principle of laicism in addition to having a secular lifestyle. Moreover, the term ‘laic’ is used to refer to the features of the state and its institutions which were established in accordance with the Kemalist principle of laicism. Therefore, being secular is about the self, whereas being laicist is about the society and politics.

Laicism has played a key role in Turkey’s modernisation process. Kemalism’s views about religion and the public sphere influenced and shaped the Kemalist understanding of laicism. Atatürk himself was a member of the second generation of *Young Turks*, a movement composed primarily of low-ranking bureaucratic cadres, officials and college students. The majority of the members of this movement were under the influence of a German philosophy named *Vulgärmaterialismus* which had existed in the mid-nineteenth-century (Hanioglu, 2012: 38). Hanioglu (2008: 138) defined this philosophy as “a peculiar mixture of materialism, scientism and social Darwinism”. Atatürk accepted the raw version of science as a cure-all for all the illnesses of the Ottoman Empire and regarded the ‘vulgar materialist’ doctrine as the only way to design an affluent, irreligious and rational contemporary nation-state.

As a consequence of Atatürk’s reforms, laicism became the basis of Turkish constitution theory and political life. Although the Turkish Constitution was amended

several times, the place and importance of this principle was maintained in all those versions (Mardin, 1991: 35). Especially after the 1930s, the concept of laicism (*laiklik*) was introduced into the vocabulary of Turkish politics as a result of endeavours to create a Turkish culture and a Turkish identity (Karpas, 2009a: 239). Carmikli (2011: 2) argued that there were three reasons for the central role of laicism among the principles of Kemalism. First, Kemalism blamed Islam and the world perception of the Ottoman Empire for the backwardness of Turkish society. Second, for the Kemalists the West symbolised the universal standards of modernity and the Ottoman heritage of Turkey and Islam together posed an obstacle to Turkey's advancement. Third, the Kemalists endeavoured to legitimise themselves through insurrection against the Ottoman administration in Istanbul and the Ottoman political order in general, since there was no possibility of democratic legitimation.

Kemalist laicism caused a schism between the governing western-oriented elites and the governed traditional populace, since it could not manage to completely dissolve the Islamic social bonds and replace them with a civic culture approved by the whole population (Tuncay, 2009: 311). As Tuncay (2009: 311) pointed out, "Although the official formulation was content to separate the worldly from the divine and to oppose the exploitation of religion for political purposes, in reality Kemalist laicism became an instrument for control and supervision of Islam by the state."

The main goal of the reformations based on the principle of laicism was to create an identity of Turkishness as opposed to the identity of Muslimness (Celik, 2009: 85). It is therefore possible to argue that the identity of Turkishness played a significant role in the secularisation of society and the purging of the identity from any Islamic elements. Nationalism therefore emerged as another of Ataturk's principles which is of vital importance for the current study because it reflects the tension between Muslimness and Turkishness as the main defining element of national identity. When the Republic was established in 1923, Islam was perceived an obstacle for the founders of the Republic to the construction of a new order and national identity (Celik, 2009: 86-87). Thus the definition of 'Turkishness' did not include any elements of Islam (Cagaptay, 2004: 86). In the 1930s, 'Sun Language Theory' and 'Turkish History Thesis' were introduced in a series of official publications and conferences, focusing on race as an element of the definition of nation (Cagaptay, 2004: 86).

Some of Ataturk's best known statements about Turkishness are;

- *The unique fabulousness about my birth is my descending to earth as a Turk*¹⁰ (ARC, 2013).
- *My only pride and wealth in this life is Turkishness*¹¹ (Bozkurt, 1955: 95).
- *How happy is the one who says 'I am a Turk'*¹² (Zeydanlioglu, 2008: 162).
- *One Turk equals the whole world*¹³ (Zeydanlioglu, 2008: 162).
- *One language, one people, one flag*¹⁴ (Zeydanlioglu, 2008: 162).
- *This motherland was Turkish in history, it is still Turkish and it will remain Turkish*¹⁵ (Toros, 1981: 23).

The first of these statements associates Turkishness with birth and grants Turkishness an ontological role which emerged as the main constituent of the national identity. In the second and third statements, Turkishness is presented as a source of pride, wealth and happiness. There is a strong emphasis on the supremacy of being a Turk by comparing it with all the other identities around the world. This discourse can be interpreted as a challenge to the discourse about the supremacy of Islamic identity. The fifth statement constructs a homogeneous nation discourse by underlining the oneness of language, flag and people. The sixth statement aims to depict Turkishness as the fundamental constituent of identity right from the indefinite past and can be regarded as an effort to reconstruct the identity of the Ottoman period. The replacement of the Muslim identity with a Turkish identity in these statements was intended to break with the Ottoman past and construct a completely new identity which had no religious elements.

Within the frame of nationalism, an *organic society* was one of the politico-psychological principles on which Kemalism based its understanding of modernity (Keyman & Icduygu, 2003: 196). Kemalism's *national will* was based on 'the Rousseauist concept of general will'. The national will was embodied in the will of Ataturk, so his political actions such as the decisions of the cabinet and legislative regulations were seen as a reflection of the people's demands (Tuncay, 2009: 311). In terms of citizenship, duty, rather than right, was prioritised (Keyman & Icduygu, 2003:

¹⁰ (in Turkish; *Dogusumdaki tek olaganustuluk, Turk olarak dunyaya gelmemdir.*)

¹¹ (in Turkish; *Benim hayatta yegâne ovuncum, servetim Turkluk'ten baska bir sey degildir.*)

¹² (in Turkish; *Ne mutlu Turkum diyene.*)

¹³ (in Turkish; *Bir Turk dunyaya bedeldir.*)

¹⁴ (in Turkish; *Tek dil, tek halk, tek bayrak.*)

¹⁵ (in Turkish; *Bu memleket tarihte Turktu, halde Turktur ve ebediyen Turk olarak yasayacaktır.*)

198). According to the Kemalist nationalism, the state apparatus was the expression of the nation. Religion was not one of the elements which defined Turkishness as the national identity (Celik, 2009: 84). The discourse of Kemalist nationalism projected a relationship between state apparatus and nation. Within this scope, state and nation became the *raison d'être* for each other (Celik, 2009: 85).

2.2. The Emergence of Kemalism as a Modernisation Project

Efforts to modernise the state and society in Turkey go back to the nineteenth century to the Rescript of Gulhane (*Tanzimat Fermani*) (1839) and the Edict of Reform (*Islahat Fermani*) (1856). Those decrees were important steps to recomposing the political and partially the social structure of the Ottoman Empire (Erdogan, 2001: 17). Despite the fact that the reform attempts to modernise the state and society were from above and were introduced without broad social foundations, they still influenced social, political and economic life in the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century (Sofos, 2000: 244). Efforts to modernise politics and society were continued by the Kemalist elites after the establishment of the Republic as the reconstruction of Turkish society (Erdogan, 2001: 17). Sofos (2000: 244) observed that the modernisation project led by Ataturk was much more repressive and *dirigiste* than the modernisation attempts in the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire.

The minds of the Kemalist elites were dominated by ideas of renouncing the heritage of the Ottoman Empire, breaking with the past and constructing a new nation-state (Erdogan, 2001: 17). The Kemalist modernisation project did not just seek to create a new political system, but a new society (Onbasi, 2011: 70). Dodd (1988: 13) stated that “modern Turkey placed major emphasis on the creation of a modernizing authoritarian regime; liberal-democratic processes were not, or could not be, encouraged though formal and democratic institutions were established”.

In its efforts at “reaching the contemporary level of civilisation” (*muassır medeniyet seviyesine erismek*), the modernisation project was implemented by the nation-state rapidly and from above without offering any alternative other than directly imitating the West (Zeydanlioglu, 2008: 158). From this point of view, an important feature of Kemalism was its interest in imitating the Western style in a formalistic

manner. Symbols were more important than substance according to the modernisation and westernisation interpretation of the Kemalist westernisers (Cizre-Sakallioglu & Cinar, 2003: 310). Modernity was interpreted as a movement to reach to the Western world and to imitate the ways of dressing and thinking and the lifestyle of Western people (Karpas, 2009a: 240). However, *de facto* modernisation was an ideological evolution which ran parallel to the preferences of the state and the overwhelming majority of the ruling elite thought that the most significant element of modernisation was laicism (Karpas, 2009a: 240).

Removing diversity from the society and constructing a homogeneous Turkish society were important features of the Kemalist modernisation project (Barkey, 2012: 25). Unlike the Ottoman Empire which had been characterised by the recognition of identity diversity, the newly established Republic relied on the ‘indivisibility of the state’ and ‘national unity’ (Sofos, 2000: 250-251). The discourses of ‘national unity’ and ‘indivisibility of the state’ have been constantly misused by the bureaucratic and military elites in Turkey. The organisations and institutions of Islamic segments, cultural and ethnic minority groups and political parties opposed to the Kemalist elites have always been perceived as a threat to ‘national unity’ (Sofos, 2000: 251). From this point of view, the conditions of the *ideal citizenship* determined by the state could be met by only a small proportion of the people in Turkey. In order to be compatible with the *Turkish national identity* based on the official discourse, three identities had to co-exist at the same time: Turkish, secular and Muslim (Bilici, 2009: 26). In terms of Islam in the official discourse, there were two important points regarding those three identities. First, it was necessary to be Muslim without being religious. Similarly, it was necessary to be secular, but individuals also had to favour state-sponsored Islam (Bilici, 2009: 27).

Assimilation and social engineering were the means of this modernisation project (Atasoy, 2011: 90). According to the paternalistic Orientalist standpoint which was followed by the Kemalists, the ethnic, rural, tribal and Muslim others who were not within the boundaries of Western modernity needed to be educated by the Kemalist elites who regarded themselves as eligible teachers of society (Zeydanlioglu, 2008: 159). The homogenisation project led by Ataturk to build a secularised nation-state hindered the Kurdish and Muslim population from being institutionalised. Hence, the

official national identity could not be challenged by these groups. Since the public space was dominated by the secular state-centric national identity, the Muslim religious groups were compelled to be organised outside the realm of the state apparatus and relying on their conventional ties (Yavuz, 1997: 64).

2.3. Kemalism's Enduring Dominant Position in the Multi-Party Era of Turkey: *Coups d'état* and the Tutelage Regime

For anyone researching the struggle between centre and periphery in Turkey, how the Kemalist centre maintained its political power and privileged position in the multi-party era is a significant point which required careful attention. Although the Republican People's Party (RPP,) the ideologically Kemalist political party established by Ataturk, could not manage to win elections for a long time after 1950, the Kemalist hegemonic bloc, which was composed of the military, bureaucracy and the Kemalist bourgeoisie, continued to dominate Turkish politics and maintained its position as the dominant group in Turkish society and sought to determine the values, perceptions and beliefs of the subordinate groups on the terrain of Islam. This was achieved by two ways: *coups d'état* and a tutelage regime.

Roughly three decades of single-party rule led by the RPP ended with the 1950 election which was the first free general election in the history of the Republic (Atasoy, 2011: 89). As a consequence of 1950 election, the DP of Adnan Menderes and Celal Bayar came to power and pushed Ataturk's RPP into opposition (Karpat, 1972: 349). The new multi-party period, however, was not able to bring an uninterrupted democratic regime to Turkish political life (Demirel, 2005: 246). The primary founding actors of the Republic, who had lost their power to control the society and political institutions following the 1950 general election, regained that power by means of the 1960 *coup d'état* (Kaya, 2013b: 492). Starting from 1960, the Turkish Armed Forces (TAF) directly intervened in politics four times (27 May 1960, 12 March 1971, 12 September 1980 and 28 February 1997) and overthrew four different civilian governments (Jenkins, 2007: 341-346) and published an e-memorandum on 27 April 2007 (Gol, 2009: 797). The interventions of the Turkish military in politics were seen as a necessity for reconstructing politics to guarantee the permanence of the Kemalist principles

(Cizre-Sakallioglu & Cinar, 2003: 312) and “to clean up the mess created by politicians” (Heper & Guney, 1996: 620).

The Kemalist elites of the Republic needed a tutelage system to keep the politicians under their control, since on the one hand it was not possible now to overturn democracy completely and on the other hand politicians’ position as the only people responsible for the policy-making process was anathema to the bureaucratic elites (Sogutlu, 2010: 62). The tutelage regime can be defined as the domination and control of society by specific organs of the state with a centralist, elitist and authoritarian mindset (Kaya, 2013b: 492). The main goal of the tutelage regime was “to check the powers of the elected agencies and to narrow down the space for civilian politics” (Ozbudun, 2012: 42). The tutelary mechanisms were constructed by means of constitutions made following the various *coups d’état* (Sogutlu, 2010: 50). The 1961 Constitution, prepared in a tutelary mindset following the *coup*, was the instrument for the codification and imposition of a tutelage regime on society (Kaya, 2013b: 492). Three constitutions (1924, 1961 and 1982) were written from the establishment of the Republic in 1923 to the present. The 1924 Constitution was the product of the single-party regime led by Ataturk. Both the 1961 and 1982 Constitutions were made by the Turkish military following the *coups* in 1960 and 1980 (Ozbudun, 2012: 40).

Coskun (2013: 104) stated that “A tutelage regime’s efficient functioning depends on elected governments’ compliance with tutelary actors’ demands. The regime remains intact so long as elected officials regard the guardians’ demands as unquestionable orders and strive to meet their expectations”. In the periods when political organisations had shown signs of becoming uncontrollable, the TAF undertook the mission of giving instructions and even drastically warning the political organisations (Momayezi, 1998: 6).

Consequently, the Kemalist elites maintained their cultural dominance over society even in the periods when the Kemalist parties were not in power. This dominance was guaranteed by the constitutions made by the TAF following the *coups d’état*. Taking into consideration that the main reason for the military interventions was protecting the principles of Ataturk with a special emphasis on laicism (Cizre-Sakallioglu & Cinar, 2003: 312), cooperation between the Kemalist military, bureaucracy and judiciary hindered any challenges to the official Kemalist version of

Islam. The tutelage regime with its laws, regulations and institutions controlled and supervised civil politics and insulated politics and society from the emergence of any counter-hegemonic challenge. By this means, the Kemalist elites maintained their opportunity to monopolise the interpretation of religion, especially Islam, compatible with the views, values, beliefs and perceptions of their regime.

2.3.1. The 12 September 1980 *Coup D'état*

The *coup d'état* on 12 September 1980 was a turning point in the social and political history of Turkey and it also brought significant outcomes for the period on which the current study has concentrated. Following the *coup*, the Islamist NSP was closed down and Necmettin Erbakan and his administrative cadre were banned from active political life (Rabasa & Larrabee: 2008: 41). The interim regime following the *coup* can be seen as the re-establishment of Kemalist control and the restoration of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc's power over the state apparatus. The *coup* regime designed a model in which the state was at the centre and society was at the periphery (Insel, 2003: 294). Such a model created the means by which the Kemalist hegemonic bloc could perpetuate its hegemonic project without winning an election.

As Insel (2003: 295) pointed out, "the only breach in the authoritarian state-centered view occurred through the economic liberalization attempt under Ozal's masterly leadership". The liberal economy policies in the 1980s resulted in a decrease in social welfare expenditure and a decline in the welfare state. Islamic organisations sought to fill the gap in the welfare state by initiating projects for the poor (Ayata, 1996: 51). However, the rising impact of Islamic organisations in the 1990s within civil society crashed under the 28 February 1997 *coup d'état*, which closed down 21 Islamic foundations for being the focuses of reactionary Islamist activities (Vatan Gazetesi, 2013). It is therefore possible to detect a shift in the attitude of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc towards Islamist movements and claim that the 28 February process was a significant milestone by which the Kemalist hegemonic bloc began a deliberate hegemonic struggle in the sphere of civil society against Islamist movements.

Moreover, the Turkish Constitution, which formed a significant part of the data analysed in Chapter 6, was drawn up under the shadow of the 12 September military regime (Insel, 2003: 294). It was therefore directly designed in line with the worldview

of one of the pillars of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc, namely the Kemalist military. Article 24 of the same Constitution made religious education compulsory for pupils in primary and secondary schools (Official Gazette, 1982a). The 12 September coup regime laid the foundation of the RCMK lessons which were discussed in depth in Chapter 5.

2.3.2. The 28 February 1997 Post-modern¹⁶ *Coup D'état*

Among the *coups d'état* in the history of Turkey, the most attention will be given here to the 28 February 1997 post-modern *coup* because it forms the period on which the current study is focused. The pre-*coup* process had begun in the first half of the 1990s as the WP, led by the Islamist Necmettin Erbakan, became a significant actor in a very short time. In the 1994 election, the WP held 19.1% of the total votes and won the mayoral positions in Turkey's two largest cities, Istanbul and Ankara. In the 1995 general election, the party won 21.4% of the total votes and became the largest party in parliament by gaining 158 of the 550 seats (Delibas, 2015: 2).

The 28 February process began when the Islamist WP formed a coalition government with the centre-right TPP and Erbakan became Prime Minister on 28 June 1996 (*Daily Sabah*, 2016). During the National Security Council meeting on 28 February 1997, Erbakan was compelled by the TAF to sign a decree which targeted the devout segments of society on the pretext of securing laicism (Ekinici, 2016). The prominent articles of this decree were as follows (Kilic, 2012):

- 1- *Laicism must be carefully protected; for this, current laws must be enforced; if they are not enough, new laws must be made ...*
- 2- *Private dormitories, foundations and schools which belong to tarikats (religious orders) must be kept under inspection and handed over to the Ministry of National Education (MNE).*
- 3- a) *Eight-year compulsory primary education must be promulgated.*
b) *Qur'an courses must be under the responsibility and control of NME.*
- 4- *The number of national education institutions which produce enlightened religious officials must be kept in accordance with needs.*

¹⁶ The adjective 'post-modern' is often used to describe the 28 February *coup d'état* because the TAF did not take over the government, but mobilised the media, bureaucracy, judiciary, NGOs, academicians and capitalists against the WP-led coalition government (Baykal, 2017).

5. Newly constructed religious facilities must not be a means of exploiting religion.

6- Tarikats must be closed.

...

9- Radical Islamist segments must be prohibited from infiltrating public institutions and organisations, especially universities, bureaucracy and judiciary institutions.

...

11. The activities of radical Islamists which can cause polarisation in society must be prohibited by judicial and administrative means. The activities of radical Islamist segments must be controlled under the provisions of Turkish Criminal Law and Anti-terror Law, and the authorities must be warned about the prohibition of those activities.

...

13. Practices against the Dress Code must be prohibited.

...

17. Attempts to solve the problems of the country with the concept of ummah (Muslim community) must be prohibited.

As can be seen from these key articles, the 28 February *coup* directly targeted various dimensions of civil society from schools and Qur'an courses to foundations and religious facilities. Turkey entered a process during which laicist discourses, secular values and lifestyle completely dominated every part of state institutions and organisations as well as whole of civil society. Thus the atmosphere created by the *coup* constituted the main characteristics of the post-28 February process.¹⁷

The coalition government composed of the WP and the TPP was obliged to resign on 18 June 1997 (*Daily Sabah*, 2016). The 28 February *coup* had significant outcomes in terms of the hegemonic struggle in Turkey. It was led by the military to redesign Turkish politics for the consolidation of the centre with the Kemalist laicist world-view and continued after the resignation of the WP government (Cinar, 2006: 472). In a speech regarding the post-28 February process, Huseyin Kivrikoglu, the Chief of the Turkish General Staff, stated that "This will continue even for a thousand years if

¹⁷ In this study, the term 'post-28 February process' is used to refer to the period between the 28 February 1997 post-modern *coup* and 2002 when the JDP came to power. It should be noted, however, that the climate created by the 28 February *coup* did not end in 2002.

it is necessary” (Ekinçi 2016). Such a statement can be interpreted as an expression of the goal of long-term structural hegemony.

Moreover, the 28 February *coup* also became a turning point for the Islamist movement in Turkey in terms of its strategy, since the movement comprehended that a direct clash with the laicists, especially the military, in order to pursue an Islamic agenda would end in failure (Rabasa & Larrabee, 2008: 44-45). So as a response to the atmosphere created by the 28 February *coup*, the Islamist movement tended to think about the idea of a gradual challenge, in other words a war of position in Gramscian terms, against the Kemalist hegemony by making changes in the discourse on the terrains of religion and politics. This idea became apparent in the debates within the umbrella of the Virtue Party (VP) between the traditional wing and the reformist wing and ended up with the establishment of the JDP by the reformist wing in 2001 (Rabasa & Larrabee, 2008: 45-46).

3. The JDP

Explaining the entry of Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi; abbr. JDP*) on to the stage of Turkish politics and seeking to draw the frames of its position in the political spectrum are crucial for understanding how the Kemalist hegemony was challenged in the three terms of JDP government between 2002 and 2015.

3.1. Roots, Establishment and Challenges to the Party

Turkish Islamism took its roots from the National Vision Movement¹⁸ and turned into a political party, the National Order Party (NOP), for the first time in 1970 on the initiative of the Islamist leader Necmettin Erbakan (Hale & Ozbudun, 2009: 3). After the NOP was closed down for being against the principle of laicism, the National Salvation Party (NSP), the Welfare Party (WP) and the Virtue Party (VP), as the successors of the NOP, suffered the same fate by being closed down for violating the

¹⁸ The National Vision Movement (*Milli Görüş Hareketi*) was the name of the ideology of the Islamist tradition in Turkey. The word ‘national’ reflected an Islamic world-view rather than a nationalistic world-view. (Hale & Ozbudun, 2009: 5). The National Vision parties took a completely anti-Western stance and were highly critical of the Kemalist westernisation project (Hale & Ozbudun, 2009: 6).

principle of laicism (Hale & Ozbudun, 2009: 3-5). Recep Tayyip Erdogan's political life began in the NSP as the youth branch chairman of the party's Beyoglu branch in 1976 (*Daily Sabah*, 2014). He served the WP as the provincial chairman of the party and as the Mayor of Istanbul between 1994 and 1998 (Perekli, 2012: 13). Following the closure of the VP in 2001, the National Vision Movement was divided into two political parties. On the one side, the Felicity Party (FP) was established by the traditionalist wing on 20 July 2001, and on the other side the JDP was established by the reformist wing on 14 August 2001 (Cizre-Sakallioglu & Cinar, 2003: 323).

The JDP has been the ruling political party dominating Turkish politics as a consequence of general election victories in consecutive elections since 2002. In the 2002 general election, the JDP won 34.29% of the votes and 363 deputies out of 550 (SCE, 2002) and came to power without the support of a coalition partner. In the 2007 general election, the JDP consolidated its power by increasing its votes to 46.58% and 341 deputies (SCE, 2007). In the 2011 election, the party won 49.80% of the votes and 327 deputies (SCE, 2011).

The party faced significant challenges during its first three terms of office. During the presidential election in 2007, the TAF published an e-memorandum against the JDP government on the website of the Turkish General Staff. In this e-memorandum released on 27 April 2007, the TAF declared its discontent about the candidacy of Abdullah Gul, the JDP candidate for the presidency, and its concern about the principle of laicism (Hale & Ozbudun, 2010: 91). In 2008, the JDP faced a closure threat when its alleged anti-laicist activities were under consideration by the Constitutional Court (BBC, 2008). Six members of the Court voted for the closure of the JDP; four members discerned that the JDP had revealed some signs of activities against laicism but remarked that those signs were not enough for the party to be closed down. Consequently, the Court's decision deprived the JDP of financial aid from the Treasury rather than closing it down (*Hurriyet*, 2008).

The JDP was also challenged by two mass-scale protests within its first three terms of office. The first was the laicist Republic Rallies (*Cumhuriyet Mitingleri*) which took place in 2007 (BBC, 2007). The tension stemming from the presidential election in 2007 between the JDP and the Kemalist laicists caused massive pro-laicism protests in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir under the name of Republic Rallies (Gol, 2009: 800). One of

the most seen banners which protestors carried read ‘Turkey is laic and will remain laic’ (White, 2013: 62). The second large-scale mass protest was the Gezi Protests which had started as a local-scale environmentalist protest with the aim of preserving the trees and public park in Taksim Square from destruction and spread to 80 provinces of Turkey; they took place on 31 May 2013 (Onbasi, 2016: 273). A prominent discourse of the Gezi protestors was about the JDP’s ‘interference with lifestyles’. The JDP government was criticised by the Gezi protestors for its complete lack of understanding regarding the diversity of lifestyles in Turkish society (Altun, 2016: 171).

3.2. The JDP’s Position in the Political Spectrum

The party officially defined its position as “a conservative democratic mass party which situates itself at the centre of the political spectrum” (JDP, 2012: 4). The JDP claimed that the local dynamics and socio-cultural features of Turkey characterised the conservative understanding of the JDP, although it had significant similarities with different forms of conservatism across the world (JDP, 2012: 4). In the party’s official documents, there is a special emphasis on the statement of ‘the will of the people’, which underlines the importance of gaining political legitimacy. The ‘conservative democracy’ is associated with the will of the people and socio-cultural characteristics of the society (JDP, 2012: 4-5).

At this point, it might be beneficial to explore the views of Yalcin Akdogan, the theorist and the deputy of the JDP. Akdogan (2004: 8) asserted that the JDP preferred to be a completely new political party on a new line rather than the reformist inheritor of the National Vision Movement (*Milli Gorus Hareketi*). According to Akdogan (2004: 104-107), the JDP differentiated itself from the Islamist National Vision Movement in three areas: its executive cadre, the elector organisation and the party grassroots. First, the executive cadre had become diversified as a result of the involvement of politicians from other parties such as the Motherland Party (MP), the Nationalist Movement Party (NMP) and the True Path Party (TPP). Second, the electorate of the party had expanded to different segments of society beginning with the 2002 election. This situation reveals that the target group of the party was not limited to the electorate of the National Vision Movement. Third, the organisation and the grassroots of the party, with its members,

neighbourhood representatives, provincial, and sub-provincial heads and administrative body, shared the fundamental political parameters of the party and supported its policies, values and red lines.

Heywood (2012: 299) described the JDP as a “moderate successor” of the WP. According to him, the JDP has endeavoured to blend moderate conservatism stemming from Islamic values with the principle of laicism by accepting the state’s fundamental laic democratic character. Yavuz (2009), on the other hand, argued that the JDP is not a party based on identities, but instead is a service-based party which gives prominence to public services.

The JDP has been criticised by both laicists for having a hidden agenda to transform Turkey to an Islamic state ruled by Islamic Law (Baran, 2008: 59) and by anti-laicist Islamists for being pro-Western (Donmez, 2010: 370). This basically stemmed from the JDP’s flexible discourse regarding religion and laicism. In the party’s official documents, it was highlighted that the party understood laicism within the frame of fundamental laws and human rights by defining the concept as “the impartial stance of the state toward all religions and beliefs”. Laicism was also presented as the guarantee of freedom of religion which was regarded as a prerequisite of democratic order and it was expressed that the state apparatus cannot be hostile to any religions or to irreligion. According to the party’s own interpretation, laicism should enable all believer and non-believer groups to organise their beliefs and lives freely and any pressures on religions and religious practices under the name of laicism are rejected (JDP, 2012: 23).

The JDP is still regarded as an Islamist party by a vast number of analysts, although the party itself denies any kind of connection to political Islamism or Islamist groups and it insists that it is a political party that defends laicism (Shafiq, 2009: 33). Recep Tayyip Erdogan attributed the identity of being laic to the state apparatus and took the standpoint that people cannot be laic but that states can (HDN, 2013a). In a diplomatic visit to Egypt in 2011, Erdogan made a speech in which he recommended a laic constitution for Egypt. He expressed that laicism is not atheism and it does not mean anti-religion (Karagoz, 2016). His effort to differentiate laicism from anti-religion can be regarded as a criticism of the Kemalist understanding of laicism and as a reference to Anglo-Saxon secularism. On the other hand, Erdogan’s discourses about

Islam and the state/religion relationship revealed that the JDP also maintained the interventionist attitude of the Turkish state on the terrain of religion. For instance, he declared one of the missions of his party to be “raising devout generations” and asked “Do you expect the conservative democrat AK Party [JDP] to raise atheist generations? This may be your business and objective but not ours. We shall raise a generation which is conservative and democratic and embraces the values and historical principles of its nation” (HDN, 2012a).

According to Kucukali (2014: 206), labelling the JDP as a ‘political Islamist’ party is misleading for comprehending its policies. He defined the position of the party as “rather pragmatic” and added that “religious discourse can be instrumentalised or simply neglected according to different policy issues”. In this current study, a similar standpoint is taken to that of Kucukali in taking into account the JDP’s pragmatic position, since accepting the JDP as a precise Islamist party might lead to overlooking its efforts to lower the threat perception of the laicist segments of society and its steps to construct a historic bloc with other disadvantaged religious groups such as the Alevis.

3.3. Main Characteristics and Key Policies

In its second term following the 2007 election, the JDP started a process of ‘democratic openings’ (*demokratik acilim*) regarding different ethnic and religious groups such as the Alevis, Kurds, Assyrians, Armenians and the Rum Orthodox Christians (Ozkul, 2015: 81). The JDP’s approach to the Alevi question was the most contradictory one among the Party’s approaches to those groups. In 2008, the JDP initiated ‘Alevi openings’ (*Alevi acilimi*) which included organising workshops and putting forward the names of Alevis for the deputyship (Ozkul, 2015: 83). In the 2011-2012 academic year, Alevi-related topics were added to the curriculum of Religious Culture and Moral Knowledge lessons (Ozkul, 2015: 87) and this will be analysed and discussed in detail in Chapter 5. However, as can be seen from Erdogan’s statement that is “What does being Alevi or Sunni mean? If being Alevi means loving the Caliph Ali¹⁹,

¹⁹ Ali (Ali ibn Abi Talib) was the son-in-law and cousin of the Prophet Muhammad. He is a significant religious figure for both Sunni Muslims and Shia Muslims. He was the first Imam for Shia Muslims, who believe that the Prophet Muhammad appointed Ali as his successor. On the other hand, Ali was the fourth Caliph according to Sunni Muslims (Esposito, 2003: 15).

I am a perfect Alevi. I am trying to live the way he did” (HDN, 2013c), the JDP endeavoured to monopolise the interpretation of Alevism by expressing the dominant Sunni point of view about Alevism and by ignoring the diversity of interpretations among the Alevis themselves. In a similar vein, Bekir Bozdag, the Deputy Prime Minister, repeated the dominant Sunni discourse on Alevism by stating that “The place of worship for all Muslims around the world is the same; their common house of worship is the mosque.” (HDN, 2012b).

A significant divergence between the Kemalists and the JDP was on the concept of nation and the principle of nationalism. The concept of nation was equated to *ummah* (global community of Muslims) by the National Vision Movement, from which the JDP cadre grew (Akyol, 2011: 215). The JDP regarded the nation-state project and Kemalist nationalism as the main causes of the identity-based problems (especially on the area of the identity of Kurds) in Turkey (Donmez, 2010: 369). The homogenisation of society, a significant element of the Kemalist modernisation project, was substantially challenged in the JDP period. An important feature of JDP rule was the recognition of religious and ethnic ‘diversity’ and ‘difference’ (Onis, 2013: 105). Many reform packages were passed in parliament to expand the language and cultural rights of the Kurdish population in Turkey, although there were some problems regarding the *de facto* practice of those rights (Onis, 2013: 106). The opposition of the JDP to the ethnic homogenisation of Kemalism can be interpreted as an effort to highlight the Islamic *ummah* understanding or the *millet* understanding in the Ottoman Empire and to restore the honour of Islam in society.

There were also differences in the interpretation of ‘social change’ between the Kemalists and the JDP which are worth a closer look. Unlike the Kemalists who favoured top-down revolutions, the JDP declared that the party desired gradual change. According to the JDP, cutting the link between the past and the present was unacceptable because it would wipe out the gains of the past in terms of experience, historical improvements and the accumulation of information. The JDP defined ‘conservatism’ as the denial of social engineering and radicalism. So protecting the core values and building on the gains of the past were key features of the ‘change’ perception of the JDP (JDP, 2012: 6). This can be interpreted as a reaction to Kemalism’s modernisation project which sought to sever the ties with the Ottoman legacy and to

transform society in line with Western secular values. Here, the discourse ‘protecting the core values and building on the gains of the past’ refers to the restoration of Islam’s honour in society and the reestablishment of Islamic identity as the main element of society. It can therefore be claimed that the JDP implicitly reacted against the policies of the Kemalist elites to establish cultural hegemony in order to secure the values and world-views of their new Republic.

After the 2002 general election, one of the first acts of the JDP government was to seek to accelerate the negotiations for membership of the EU (Akdogan, 2004: 10). Ahmad (2009: 415) argued that JDP had designed a project to moderate the party image by prioritising Turkey’s accession to the EU and by introducing laws to adapt the country to the criteria for EU membership. For Akca (2014: 34), the JDP’s enthusiasm for EU candidanship served as a hegemonic instrument to construct a consent-based relationship with the subordinate classes and disadvantaged groups. By means of the EU candidacy process, moreover, the JDP found an opportunity “to reorganize the dominant state project and the mode of political legitimation embodied in Kemalist principles” (Hosgor, 2015b: 210) and to strengthen its political power *vis-à-vis* the laicist establishment and the military (Akca, 2014: 34). In their third period of incumbency, however, Erdogan and the JDP government “abandoned their enthusiastic and assertive approach to the EU integration process, reducing EU reforms to technical adaptations and sometimes turned into a typical centre-right party, resorting to an anti-Western populist discourse” (Oztan, 2014: 89).

Turkey in the 2000s has witnessed very significant and extensive institutional and legal reforms to limit the political power of the TAF. The EU membership process was the main trigger for this (Sarigil, 2012: 9). Akca (2014: 35) commented that the JDP was “engaged in a ‘war of position’ against the military, to use Gramsci’s term, especially by using Turkey’s EU candidacy for leverage” between 2002 and 2005. On 4 February 2010, the EMASYA Protocol which had authorised the military forces to disempower the civil authorities when intervening in civil incidents was annulled by the JDP government (Guzeldere, 2013: 231). On 13 July 2013, Article 35 of the army’s Internal Service Code, which had been used for the justification of the *coups d’état* in the past, was changed (HDN, 2013b). The efforts of the JDP to decrease the influence of the army in politics can be interpreted as a challenge to the tutelage regime of the

Kemalist hegemonic bloc which sustained Kemalist dominance when the Kemalist political parties were not in power. By this means, the JDP had created an opportunity to emerge as a counter-hegemonic force and to implement its own policies in different areas, such as education and culture, without any severe threat from the military.

CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Drawing a theoretical and conceptual framework is important since it provides a map for understanding the key concepts which are the basis of this research. The theoretical framework of the study mainly hinges on the theories of Antonio Gramsci, the Italian Marxist thinker, and his concept of cultural hegemony. As the central themes of Gramsci's understanding of hegemony are culture and culture's relationship with politics, political struggle and social dominance (Hoare & Sperber, 2016: 29), his concept will be a useful tool for our research which aims at understanding the cultural and religious dimensions of political struggle and dominance in Turkey. This chapter begins with a consideration of the ontological and epistemological basis of the theoretical framework. After introducing Gramsci's theory with reference to his concept of 'cultural hegemony', the chapter will go deeper by explaining the distinction between political society and civil society and by drawing the frame of the key concepts in Gramscian theory such as intellectuals, historic bloc, political party, ideology, war of position/manoeuvre, and passive revolution. The discussion on cultural hegemony will then be taken deeper by considering the distinction, made by Joseph (2000; 2001; 2002; 2008), between structural hegemony and surface hegemony. The chapter will end with an investigation of the reflection of the theory of cultural hegemony on the terrain of religion.

1. Ontological and Epistemological Basis of the Theoretical Framework

Outlining the ontological and epistemological stance of this research is important since it provides the basis for understanding the conceptual and methodological claims. The ontological stance is informed by critical realism which at the same time corresponds to our epistemological standpoint. In order to clarify what is at stake in the ontological and epistemological stance, it is necessary to begin with the philosophical definitions. Blaikie (1993, 6) explained ontology as;

claims or assumptions that a particular approach to social (or, by extension, political) enquiry makes about the nature of social (or

political) reality – claims about what exists, what it looks like, what units make it up and how these units interact with one another.

In terms of social ontology, the main point is whether or not there is an objective social entity which is real independently from actors in the society, or whether there are socially constructed entities which are the result of people's acts and intuitions (Bryman, 2012: 32). There are two main camps which each have a different response to this significant point. In the one camp there are realism, objectivism and foundationalism which claim that there is a real world which exists independently from our knowledge, and in the other camp there are constructivism, relativism and anti-foundationalism which claim that the world is a social construction (Furlong & Marsh, 2010: 185).

Ontological realism acknowledges the existence of a world which is independent from the subject who knows it (Smith, 2006: 255). The significance of critical realism, which reflects our ontological standpoint in this current study, stems from its response to the noticeable bifurcation between realism and anti-realism which is based on the question of whether there is a world independent from the awareness of human beings (Danermark *et al.*, 2002: 5). The response of critical realism to this question is that there is such a world which is independent from the awareness of human beings, but that our understanding of it is socially mediated. Therefore, the distinctive position of critical realism is that it accepts that human knowledge about reality is shaped socially through different social practices and institutions (Danermark *et al.*, 2002: 5-6).

For this current study, it is important to underline that religion can be accepted as a social structure which must have a reality independent from the different actors who engage with it. By seeing religion as something real and separate from particular groups, it becomes possible to identify how knowledge of that religion is manipulated by different groups in society. If one does not accept the independence of such a reality from the agents who engage with it, it becomes impossible to understand how knowledge of a particular phenomenon is manipulated and to what extent knowledge about reality is shaped socially.

Epistemology refers “to the claims or assumptions made about the ways in which it is possible to gain knowledge of this reality, whatever it is understood to be; claims about how what exists may be known” (Blaikie, 1993: 6-7). There are different

epistemological stances. Objectivism refers to the existence of meaning independent from the operation of mind. According to objectivist epistemology, it is possible to know reality objectively (Crotty, 2003: 8). According to interpretivist epistemology, however, daily meanings and concepts are accepted as the basis of knowledge. The social researcher seeks to comprehend the meaning which is socially constructed within daily life and then those meanings are reconstructed in the language of social science (Blaikie, 1993: 96).

Furlong and Marsh (2010: 205) argue that the critiques of interpretivism have substantially affected the modern version of realism, namely critical realism. A significant factor in the emergence of critical realism is the criticism of positivism which has been the dominant approach in the social sciences since the 1930s (Danermark *et al.*, 2002: 4). According to the positivist stance, reality is precisely reflected in the conceptualisation of scientists. According to critical realism, on the other hand, the conceptualisation of scientists is only one of the means of possessing knowledge of that reality (Bryman, 2012: 29). Bhaskar (1989: 2) highlighted the way of comprehending the social world by stating that:

We will only be able to understand and so change the social world if we identify the structures at work that generate those events and discourses. ... These structures are not spontaneously apparent in the observable pattern of events; they can only be identified through the practical and theoretical work of the social sciences.

Language, in the critical realist approach, is regarded as “constructing our realities”. Nevertheless, the opportunities and boundaries embedded in the material world restrain such constructions (Sims-Schouten, Riley & Willig, 2007: 102). Whilst the existence of social phenomena is independent from how we interpret them, our understanding and interpretation of them influences the outcomes. Structures are therefore not the determiner, but the restrictor and facilitator. The agents which interpret and alter the structures are within the study area of the social sciences (Furlong & Marsh, 2010: 205). Realist and constructionist stances are combined by critical realists and it is suggested that although meaning is the outcome of interaction, it is also influenced by non-discursive factors (Sims-Schouten, Riley & Willig, 2007: 102). This means that critical realism recognises a reality independent of our understanding of it while also noting that our understanding is socially constructed or interpreted. Bhaskar

(1989: 4) suggested that “social practices are concept-dependent; but, contrary to the hermeneutical tradition in social science, they are not exhausted by their conceptual aspect. They always have a material dimension”. An important feature of our knowledge about the world is that it is fallible and theory-laden (Furlong & Marsh, 2010: 205). Accordingly, Furlong & Marsh (2010: 205) stated that “we need to identify and understand both the external reality and the social construction of that reality if we are to explain the relationship between social phenomena”.

In short, “critical realism claims to be able to combine and reconcile ontological realism, epistemological relativism and judgmental rationality” (Archer *et al.*, 1998: xi). However, critical realism also points out the risk of mere relativism which might result in the loss of the basis of the epistemological benchmark to decide what the truth is and thus to be unable to make judgments about diverse knowledge (Sumner, 2006: 94). It thus advocates judgmental rationality – namely that there are good grounds (based on the nature of reality itself) for preferring one theory or explanation over another. In the current study, losing the basis of the epistemological benchmark to make judgments about knowledge might compel us to regard all kinds of interpretation of Islam as valid and equally acceptable. This prevents us from detecting the domination and power dimensions of constructing discourse about Islam.

Based on the epistemological assumptions of critical realism discussed above, legislation will be one of the concerns of this thesis since legislation prevents some classes and groups from constructing reality on the terrain of Islam and grants the authority to construct the discourse to specific classes and groups in society. Consequently, legislation will be analysed for providing uneven opportunities among different classes and groups in the society to construct and shape the reality. Second, education has always been a way of shaping the minds of new generations in the history of Turkey. Because education was regarded as an important instrument for constructing reality by the Kemalists, compulsory Religious Culture and Moral Knowledge (RCMK) lessons were introduced into the curriculum in the 1982 Constitution. As we shall see in Chapter 5, Turkey’s education system entered a new phase with the JDP’s coming to power in 2002. To what extent this instrumentality was being challenged by the JDP and how the JDP has attempted to construct its own reality regarding Islam are the other concerns of this study.

2. Cultural Hegemony: a Gramscian Perspective

The concept of 'hegemony' can be traced back to Ancient Greece as having a close meaning to leadership and dominance in the use of the discipline of International Relations (IR) With a similar concept to hegemony, dating back to ancient China, 'personal leadership' was widely regarded (Joseph, 2008: 110). In the most general sense, the concept refers to two different meanings. On the one hand, the concept has been used to refer to domination, as hegemonism. On the other hand, it has been used to refer to leadership which hinges on gaining consent (Sassoon, 1991: 229-230). Within the scope of the IR literature, the concept is used to mean the domination of one country by means of particular resources which it has (McKeown, 2002).

In the Marxist literature, the concept of 'hegemony' was used by Marx and Engels (1970: 64) who pointed out that the views of the sovereign class are always the sovereign ideas. The class which emerges as the dominant material force which rules a society is also the ruling mental force of that society. They argued that the class which controls the modes of material production also possesses ascendancy over the modes of intellectual production. For this reason, the views of the ruling class ideally express the material relations in a society. Compared with Gramsci's stance, however, classical Marxism has never put enough emphasis on the non-economic elements such as culture and ideology when explaining how social relationships are reproduced (Adamson, 1980: 175).

In his theory, Marx introduced 'economic structure' as the underlying aspect which explains all the other aspects in the society (Howard & King: 1985: 5). Marx (1859: 2011, cited in Matravers, 2000: 250) stated that

Relations of production constitute the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life.

Marx therefore underlined the dependence of political, judicial, intellectual, religious, psychological and artistic reality on the economic infrastructure. Thereby, a political system which encourages slavery, a judicial system which legalises it and a religious and ethical value system which supports it would prevail in a society in which

slavery is the base of the economic infrastructure (Hoare & Sperber, 2016: 98-99). Gramsci, however, was highly critical of economic determinism (Hoare & Sperber, 2016: 99-100). Gramsci (1971: 407) stated that “the claim, presented as an essential postulate of historical materialism, that every fluctuation of politics and ideology can be presented and expounded as an immediate expression of the structure, must be contested in theory as primitive infantilism”. It was obvious to Gramsci that the superstructure is not determined by the base in a uniform and straightforward way (Hoare & Sperber, 2016: 105). He was aware of the importance of culture and its correlation with the production process and human labour. For him, the material infrastructure does not determine the cultural superstructure of the society, rather those two levels codetermine each other (Fulton, 1987: 198).

Gramsci (1971: 12) propounded two main superstructural levels of society in his well-known work *Prison Notebooks*. One of these levels is the ‘civil society’ which is the gathering of individuals referred to as ‘private’. The other level is the ‘political society’, which can be also called the ‘state’. Two functions are realised by these two levels: the first is the ‘hegemony’ function which is exercised over the society by the groups which dominate it, and the second is the ‘direct coercion’ function which is carried out by the juridical authority or the state.

Hoare and Sperber (2016: 119) underlined three innovations which Gramsci had brought to the concept of hegemony. First, Gramsci went beyond using the concept for merely the struggle of the working class *vis-à-vis* the bourgeois class and enlarged the scope of the concept to cover any cases of a group politically directing other groups in the society’s history.²⁰ Second, in his use of the concept, he directed attention to the cognitive, ethical and cultural dimensions of leading other groups. Third, whereas Lenin

²⁰²⁰ It should be noted that what Gramsci meant by hegemony evolved in his writings from his early works through to his *Prison Notebooks*. Explaining how the hegemony of the proletarian class can be achieved, Gramsci (1978: 443) explained that the proletariat can lead and dominate insofar as it becomes competent to create an order of alliances which makes them competent to organise the vast majority of workers against the bourgeois state and the capitalist system. For Gramsci (1978: 443), the success of the proletariat hinged on its capacity to gain the consent of the peasant population, as in the case of Italy. This was the first time that he associated the alliance of different classes with the concept of hegemony and emphasised the significance of political, ethical and mental needs for establishing hegemony (Mouffe, 1979: 178). However, Gramsci innovated his thinking about the concept of hegemony in the *Prison Notebooks* by applying it also to the explanation of how the dominant class leads in addition to using the concept to explain the strategy of the proletarian class (Mouffe, 1979: 179).

approached the concept as a means in the process of revolution, Gramsci reinterpreted it as an end.

Hegemony, in Gramsci's understanding, is not a unidimensional concept, but is composed of different dimensions ranging from a carefully balanced coexistence of consent and coercion as the main sources of power to the reshaping of the cultural and ideological terrain, the political leadership of one group over others, the design, manifestation and manufacturing of a political project in a moral and universal sense, the processes of education and the transformation of consciousness in terms of cognition and morality (Hoare & Sperber, 2016: 132).

According to Gramsci (1971: 12), the subaltern classes can be ruled in two ways. One way involves gaining the 'spontaneous consent' of the subordinate groups in the direction of what the dominant group determines. Consent is defined as the "expression ... of intellectual and moral direction through which the masses feel permanently tied to the ideology and political leadership of the state as the expression of their beliefs and aspiration" (Gramsci, 1958, cited in Femia, 1975: 32). Consent is a psychological situation in which people, explicitly or implicitly, accept political and social order fully or particular key aspects of it (Femia, 1981: 37). Such a consent, as Gramsci (1971: 12) underlined, stems from the historical prestige of the dominant class which is the result of its positional and functional role in terms of production. The second way is the use of the 'coercive power' which is the legal power of the state. Coercive power is used on the groups who do not give consent in an active or a passive way. It is a way of controlling the society when there is a crisis in commanding and directing it (Gramsci, 1971: 12). In order to ensure a normally exercised hegemony, the force and consent need to be combined with each other and a reciprocal balance between them should be guaranteed. Consent should not be exorbitantly predominated by force (Gramsci, 1971: 80).

Gramsci attached more importance to consent than to coercion for the control of the masses. For him, long-term peace in a society composed of antagonistic classes cannot be explained by Marx's perspective of the state as the sole coercive tool of the dominant class (Butko, 2004: 44 [fn. 5]). In this sense, Gramsci used the term 'dual perspective' in order to explain the "unity of the moments of force and consent" by

giving reference to the ‘centaur’ analogy of Machiavelli (Ransome, 1992: 135-36). Gramsci (1971: 169-70) asserted that:

The dual perspective can present itself on various levels from the most elementary to the most complex; but these can all theoretically be reduced to two fundamental levels, corresponding to the dual nature of Machiavelli’s Centaur – half-animal and half-human. They are the levels of force and of consent, authority and hegemony, violence and civilisation, of individual moment and of the universal moment.

By considering Gramsci’s reference to the dual perspective, we can deduce that he attributed a positive meaning to hegemony by correlating the concept with the human side of the centaur and he attributed a negative meaning by correlating the authority with its animal side. It is therefore possible to interpret that Gramsci prioritised hegemony over authority, and thereupon consent over force. In this sense, “power and domination are sought not only by controlling what people do but, more importantly, by how people think” (Butko, 2004: 47).

The important question at this point is how the consent of the masses can be gained by the dominant class. This significant question directs us to the concept of cultural hegemony.²¹ From a Gramscian perspective, Artz and Murphy (2000: 1) defined the concept as “the process of moral, philosophical and political leadership that a social group attains only with the active consent of other important social groups”. The key point about Gramsci’s understanding of hegemony is the persuasion of other groups in the society to approve the cultural, ethical and political values of the ruling group. The success of the ruling group in persuading other groups will decrease the need for the use of force (Joll, 1977: 99). We can therefore deduce that a dominant group is hegemonic insofar as it can persuade the members of other groups in the same society. Giroux (1981: 94) brought a comprehensive definition to the concept of ‘cultural hegemony’ as:

... ideological control by the dominant class in which dominant beliefs, values, and social practices are produced and distributed throughout a whole range of institutions such as schools, the family, mass media and trade unions. As the dominant ideology, hegemony functions to define the meaning and limits of common-sense as well as the form and content of

²¹ Although there is no specific definition of the term ‘cultural hegemony’ in the writings of Gramsci, his explanations regarding ‘hegemony’ as ‘spontaneous consent’ clarify the main characteristics of the concept (Lears, 1985: 568).

discourse in a society. It does so by positing certain ideas as natural and universal. (Giroux, 1981: 94).

In parallel with the definition of Giroux, Howarth (1995: 124) pointed out that “hegemonic operations are a special type of articulatory practice in that they determine the dominant rules that structure the identities of discourses and social formations”. In other words, he underlined the linguistic aspect of hegemonic operations which provide meaning to and draw boundaries of discourse and society. Howarth (1995: 124) highlighted the significance of the discursive dimension of cultural hegemony by stating that “The concept of hegemony centres on who is going to be master. That is to say, it is about which political force will decide the dominant forms of conduct and meaning in a given social context”. So the extent to which a class or a group is hegemonic is directly related to its capacity to construct its leadership in order to be able to determine the meaning and conduct, and accordingly the discourse, in a particular context.

Lenin regarded hegemony as solely a class-oriented issue based on class alliances. According to Gramsci, however, for successful national leadership and hegemony, a class should not limit itself to solely class-based interests. Gramsci expanded the scope of hegemony by introducing a new *national-popular* dimension to involve democratic and popular struggles and the demands of individuals, which are not the products of class-oriented or production-oriented relations. The struggles for women’s rights and minority rights and the popular demands of young people are instances of such national-popular struggles and demands (Simon, 2015: 20). Unlike the previous right-wing political parties, when the JDP came to power in 2002 it initiated policies and developed discourses about minority rights, a process which was referred to as ‘democratic openings’ (*demokratik acilim*) (Goner, 2017: 175). As the analysis in Chapter 5 will show, the JDP sought to respond to the demands of particular groups which did not possess a class character, such as the Alevis, religious orders and religious communities, by reconstructing the religious discourses in RCMK lessons.

In his analysis of a society, Gramsci sought to comprehend what constrains people from reaching their ‘true consciousness’. People are substantially impressed by the views of the hegemon in power and accepting such an impression, which is projected by the hegemon as common sense, is usually an unconscious act for the people. So because the hegemon promotes a particular common-sense understanding of

the world, the people are hindered from recognising their true consciousness and from defending their personal basic interests (Butko, 2004: 43). What Gramsci meant by the term ‘common sense’ (*senso comune*)²² is “all those heterogeneous beliefs people arrive at not through critical reflection, but encounter as already existing, self-evident truths” (Crehan, 2016: X). So the so-called truth of common sense is taken for granted by the masses. Gramsci (1971: 419) underlined the most basic feature of common sense as “fragmentary, incoherent and inconsequential, in conformity with the social and cultural position of those masses whose philosophy it is”.

In Gramscian theory, the cultural life of an historical moment is constituted by both high philosophy and common sense (Hoare & Sperber, 2016: 87). Gramsci (1971: 419) defined common sense as the “philosophy of non-philosophers”. It is therefore not possible to comprehend the cultural reality of a particular moment of history solely by emphasising the high culture (Hoare & Sperber, 2016: 87). For Gramsci, the communist revolution should aim at revolutionising common sense, in other words, everyday philosophy (Hoare & Sperber, 2016: 88).

This point brings us to another significant component of Gramscian understanding of hegemony: ‘moral and intellectual reform’. Transforming people’s consciousness, influencing how they feel and think, shaping their ‘conception of the world’ and determining their understanding of the criteria of moral behaviour are the only ways of constructing a hegemony as an alternative to the capitalist hegemony (Simon, 2015: 22). For Gramsci (1985: 41), the revolution of the proletariat necessitates a new psychological state, new modes of sensing, reasoning, mentality, and a new set of standards which should be the own products of the proletariat, in addition to new means of production, labour and distribution. The proletariat needs to be dominant in those areas after it has become the dominant class. He pointed out the significance of possessing intellectual power in addition to the possession of economic and political

²² On this point, it is useful to underline the differences regarding the meaning of the term ‘common sense’ between what is understood in the English usage and what Gramsci meant by the term. The term ‘common sense’ in English usage has a positive connotation by contrast with its more neutral usage ‘*senso comune*’ in Italian. In the English usage, the focus is on the aspect of the ‘sense’, whereas in Italian usage the aspect of ‘common’ is emphasised (Crehan, 2016: X). The term common sense, in Gramscian theory, refers to “the uncritical and largely unconscious way of perceiving and understanding the world that has become common in any given epoch”. Alternatively, Gramsci used the term ‘good sense’ to refer to “the practical, but not necessarily rational or scientific attitude that in English is usually called common sense” (Hoare & Smith, 1971: 322).

power as follows: “together with the problem of gaining political and economic power, the proletariat must also face the problem of winning intellectual power. Just as it has thought to organize itself politically and economically, it must also think about organizing itself culturally” (Gramsci, 1985: 41). Whether the JDP, in the case of Turkey, has been able to construct a discourse which reflects its own ‘conception of the world’ is a significant question. Considering that religion is a significant constituent of the conception of the world for Gramsci (1971: 326), Islam, as the source of perceptions and values in various terrain from politics and economy to ethics and lifestyle, provides a significant point of reference in terms of the conception of the world. Chapter 5 will therefore offer an analysis of the RCMK lessons which reflect the JDP’s efforts to achieve a paradigm shift on the terrain of Islam.

2.1. State, Political Society and Civil Society

After identifying the need to combine consent and coercion for the establishment of cultural hegemony, we now direct our attention to the state apparatus as the primary instrument of the dominant class. Gramsci’s (1971: 258) emphasis on the ‘ethical state’, or the ‘cultural state’, is important when endeavouring to comprehend the Gramscian concept of cultural hegemony. According to Gramsci, a state can be called as an ethical state to the degree that it can succeed in raising the masses in the country to a particular cultural and ethical level which serves the requirements of the forces of production for progression, and by this way to the benefits of the ruling group. He propounded the courts and schools as the sites of the most significant state actions for designing an ethical state. He attributed a positive educatory role to schools and a negative educatory and oppressive role to the courts (Gramsci, 1971: 258).

Gramsci (1971: 244) defined the state as a complete composite of the theoretical and practical actions which are exploited by the dominant group for justifying and maintaining its domination as well as for gaining the active assent of the groups which are ruled. According to Gramsci (1973: 204),

the state which is usually thought of as political society – i.e., a dictatorship or some other coercive apparatus used to control the masses in conformity with a given type of production and economy – [is] a balance between political society and civil society, by which I mean the

hegemony of one social group over the entire nation, exercised through so-called private organizations like the Church, trade unions, or schools.

According to Gramsci's (1971: 263) view, a state is composed of the sum of civil society plus political society, that is to say, hegemony has been secured by means of the shield of coercion. Gramsci defined civil society "as the political and cultural hegemony of a social group on the whole of society, as ethical content of State". The domain of civil society covers the unofficial connexions, groupings, associations and movements organising the utilisation of space, individuals' connection to the economy, and everyday life (Tugal, 2009: 28). Various hegemonic projects contest on the terrain of everyday life (Tugal, 2009: 29).

Tugal (2009: 25) reconceptualised political society "as the sphere where society organises to shape state policies but also to define the nature of the state and political unity". Elected mayors and local branches of political parties form the political society at the local level. The mission of a political society is to provide a connection between the state and society, to realise the integration of individuals with the state and to transform people into citizens (Tugal, 2009: 25).

Gramsci denied the total separation of state and civil society, but he highlighted that those two spheres complement and reciprocally reinforce each other. Such a relationship between the civil and political spheres was denominated as an 'integral state' by Gramsci (Grelle, 2017: 19). Adamson (1980: 215) explained civil society *vis-à-vis* the state as follows:

On the one hand, civil society must be somehow distinguishable from the state so that it can be independently conquered; otherwise the tactic of creating an alternative hegemony would make little sense. But, on the other hand, civil society must be linked to the state at least to the degree that its conquest will be guaranteed to have political ramifications.

Gramsci (1971: 159-160) pointed out that the distinction between the two spheres of state, namely civil society and political society, is not organic but is solely methodological. As Forgacs underlined (2000: 224), Gramsci opposed two types of reductionism: First, liberal reductionism regards civil society simply as the site of free individuality by completely extracting the state from the terrain of civil society. Second, functionalist and statist reductionism perceives that the state possesses and gains interest from every single part of society. To understand his opposition to these two types of

reductionism better, we can direct our attention to his views about the impossibility of a purely *laissez-faire* economic model. He rejected the viewpoint which attached economic activities to the domain of civil society and which objected to the intervention of the state in the economy with the aim of regulation. According to him, civil society and political society correspond to a single and same thing in real life. The state uses coercion and legislation in order to carry out and sustain a *laissez-faire* economic model so this type of economic model also comprises state regulation (Gramsci, 1971: 160).

2.2. Historic Bloc

It is important to question whether the ruling class or group is able to maintain its hegemony on its own or whether a collaboration with other groups in certain circumstances is required. Such a question directs us to the notion of *historic bloc* introduced by Gramsci (1971: 137) who briefly defined it as the “unity between nature and spirit (structure and superstructure, unity of opposites and of distincts”. What Gramsci means by such a unity in his definition is the combination of the leadership over social forces in the sphere of civil society with the leadership in the sphere of production (Simon, 2015: 24).

Gramsci (1971: 160) underlined that hegemony requires that the preferences and interests of the subordinate groups which are targeted by the dominant class for hegemony should be taken into consideration. He added that equilibrium of compromise is needed; that is to say, the dominant group needs to sacrifice something in order to achieve this compromise with other allied groups (Gramsci, 1971: 160). As a consequence of such sacrifices and compromise, various allied groups can come together and unite within a social bloc, which was termed an historic bloc by Gramsci (Sassoon, 1991: 230).

Gramsci (1971: 60) presented the Moderates in Italy as an example of an historic bloc because the Moderates managed to powerfully and spontaneously attract intellectuals from all the other social groups in the country. After 1848, within the scope of their hegemony, they formed a national bloc as a part of their hegemony with two important figures, Garibaldi and Mazzini, leading the Action Party by using the motto “independence and unity” (Gramsci, 1971: 76). In order to show how the Moderates

managed to establish a national bloc, Gramsci (1971: 77) quoted the following statements of a Sicilian pupil: “Whatever we desire – whether it is despotism or republic or anything else – let us not seek division among ourselves; with this guiding principle, the world can collapse and we will still find the way again”. Mazzini, one of the leaders of the Action Party, also advocated and preached the enduring and uninterrupted unity of the country (Gramsci, 1971: 77). In this instance, we see ‘national unity’ as the unifying principle and people from other groups regarding the Moderates as the defenders of their own interests by means of this principle.

Historic bloc corresponds to an endeavour to diffuse the hegemony to other classes in the society by means of class compromises (Adamson, 1980: 176). On the other hand, Adamson (1980: 177-178) also pointed out the relationship between historic bloc and hegemony by stating that:

Hegemonies always grow out of historical blocs, but not all historical blocs are hegemonic. A social group or class which establishes an ‘intellectual and moral bloc’ will by definition be hegemonic vis-a-vis itself, but its political alliances with other such groups may or may not develop into a hegemonic relationship

Various blocs and compromises are formed within a society but only a limited number of those blocs and compromises result in long-term domination. It is not always possible to detect a completely direct relationship between an historic bloc and hegemony. The establishment of the leadership by a group within a bloc becomes a key factor for the success of a remarkable change (Ransome, 1992: 137). The leadership hinges on the extent of the cohesiveness and purposefulness of the class compromise or historic bloc of social classes. Moreover, an emerging historic bloc can hold power insofar as it possesses a common stance which goes beyond the specific self-interests of its constituents (Ransome, 1992: 136). If a non-hegemonic bloc or compromise comes into power (for instance, by a *coup d’état*), the order which this non-hegemonic compromise or bloc creates is characterised by fragility and instability (Ransome, 1992: 137).

The collaboration of the JDP with different groups provides a good example of the role of an historic bloc to challenge the dominant group, to come to power and to maintain the power. The JDP successfully based its hegemony attempt on the sacrifices among different forces by articulating the economic demands of small-scale capital to

the benefits of the rising medium-scale capital and unifying the democratic and political demands of social forces such as Kurds and liberal intellectuals with the political and religious demands of its conservative grassroots (Hosgor, 2015b: 201). Similarly, the JDP introduced many reform packages on the Alevi issue (Ozkul, 2015) to broaden and strengthen its historic bloc in the sphere of civil society against the historically dominant Kemalist hegemonic bloc. In Chapter 5, we shall analyse how the JDP sought to construct a discourse on Alevism within the textbooks of RCMK lessons with the aim of building an historic bloc with the Alevis, one of the disadvantaged groups affected by the Kemalist nation-building process.

2.3. The Intellectuals

The term ‘intellectuals’ has a significant place in the theory of Gramsci (1971: 5-23; 2000: 300-322). Gramsci (1971: 9) asserted that “all men are intellectuals, one could therefore say: but not all men have in society the function of intellectuals”. When a distinction is made between non-intellectuals and intellectuals, a reference, indeed, is made to the different social roles of the work of intellectuals. In other words, this distinction explains whether the specific function of the intellectual reflects the form of muscular-nervous force or the form of purely intellectual activity. Since he rejected the existence of non-intellectuals, he argued that it is impossible to refer to non-intellectuals even though it is possible to refer to intellectuals. According to him, each person, apart from vocational activity, conducts a kind of intellectual activity, that is to say, a person might work as a thinker, an artist, or a gourmet, but he takes part in a specific perception of the universe, reflects a deliberate type of ethical behaviour, and thus makes a contribution to maintaining a perception of the universe or to altering it, in other words, to creating new types of world-view.

Gramsci divided intellectuals into two groups. The first category is composed of traditional intellectuals who professionally perform intellectual work, such as artists, litterateurs or thinkers, who are not attached to the formation of an historical class (Gramsci, 1971: 9). Gramsci remarked that a new type of intellectual, organic intellectuals, had emerged in the contemporary world. Intellectuals of this new type are

not an extrinsic and instantaneous impellent of emotions and aspirations, but are active participants in practical life who work in any occupation (Gramsci, 1971: 10).

Gramsci (1971: 12) defined intellectuals as “the dominant group’s deputies exercising the subaltern functions of social hegemony and political government” and added that intellectuals have two secondary roles in the processes of political government and social hegemony. Intellectuals serve the dominant groups as the exercisers of secondary functions of political government and social hegemony. For him, those functions included the “spontaneous consent” expressed by the society and the discipline provided by the legal instruments of the state. Creation and dissemination of particular world-views form a vital role of intellectuals. By means of organic intellectuals, dominant classes possess the capacity both to exert political power and to lead society morally and intellectually by forming alliances with subordinate classes and by ensuring leadership over the society within the legitimate boundaries (Billings, 1990: 6).

According to Gramsci (1971: 60), there is no independent intellectual class which has an independent existence, but each class in a society possesses or at least seeks to form its own intellectuals. On the other hand, only the intellectuals who belong to the historically progressive classes are able to attract the intellectuals of other social classes. Those intellectuals can subjugate the intellectuals from different social classes. This situation reveals itself spontaneously in the periods when a social class truly aims at the entire society progressing beyond being solely concerned its own existential interests (Gramsci, 1971: 60). When this feature of the dominant class is weakened, the ideological bloc is inclined to be fragmented, and finally ‘constraint’ might subrogate ‘spontaneity’ in more explicit and more direct forms, peaking at a *coup d’état* and/or police intervention (Gramsci, 1971: 60-61).

The case of Turkey provides a good example of Gramsci’s concept of ‘organic intellectuals’. The Kadro movement,²³ which can be regarded as an example of organic intellectuals of Kemalism, manifested its views about the Kemalist revolution in 1932 as follows: (Alpar, 1979: 3, cited in Dincsaahin, 2015: 31-32).

²³ The Kadro Movement (*Kadro Hareketi*) was composed of the intellectuals advocating the left-wing interpretation of Kemalism. (Dincsaahin, 2015: 31).

Turkey is now in the process of a revolution. This revolution possesses the theoretical and intellectual elements that constitute the revolutionary principles giving consciousness to those who will survive the revolution. ... Explaining the ideas and principles inherent in the nature of the revolution is one of the most urgent and honourable works that awaits the Turkish revolutionary intelligentsia.

Many laws and regulations were introduced by the Kemalist hegemonic bloc on the intellectual sphere, such as the headscarf bans, significant legal restrictions on specific religious/Islamic discourses in society, and the change in the Student Selection and Placement Examination (SSPE) for university education. Even though many of these were amended in the period of the JDP, new laws and regulations were not introduced by the JDP to ensure a comparative advantageous position for its own organic intellectuals *vis-à-vis* the Kemalist intellectuals. In this study, we shall analyse how the Kemalists, with all their class interests, sought to design civil society so that they could prevent organic intellectuals of other groups from possessing the function of intellectuals. We shall also seek to understand how the JDP governments between 2002 and 2015 sought to amend the existing laws and regulations which targeted its own organic intellectuals and how the Party attempted to re-regulate the intellectual sphere.

2.4. Ideology

Ideology was one of the concepts, like the intellectual or philosophy, to which Gramsci brought his own redefinition by applying it to a wider context (Hoare & Sperber, 2016: 90). As Gramsci (1971: 376) emphasised, the concept of ideology possesses a negative connotation in Marxist thinking. Marxist understanding of ideology referred “to a distortion of thought which stems from, and conceals, social contradiction” (Larrain, 1991: 248). Ideology gained a new meaning under Lenin who took into account the class struggle. In addition to the ideology of the bourgeois class which serves the interests of the ruling class, the concept began to refer to the critique of the ruling ideology which became a significant instrument for the subordinate classes in their class struggle against the ruling class. Thus the concept gained a neutral meaning signifying the political consciousness of the subordinate classes (Larrain, 1991: 250).

Gramsci was also affected by Lenin’s approach to the concept of ideology (Larrain, 1991: 250). In Gramscian understanding, accepting ideology as solely

composed of “a distorted reflection of social and material givens” was equal to neglecting its historical autonomous capacity. Alternatively, ideology, as an active element of political praxis, can serve for both progress and reaction, varying according to the goals of the groups which advocate it (Hoare & Sperber, 2016: 92).

Ideology is vital in terms of unifying heterogeneous social alliances under the flag of common and universal demands and mottos (Hoare & Sperber, 2016: 92). Gramsci (1971: 328) regarded the preservation of “the ideological unity of the entire social bloc” as a vital goal. The fundamental role of ideology, according to Gramsci (1971: 328), is “to cement and to unify”. He made a distinction “between historically organic intellectuals” and “ideologies that are arbitrary” (Gramsci, 1971: 376-377). Gramsci (1971: 377) explained that;

To the extent that ideologies are historically necessary, they have a validity which is ‘psychological’; they ‘organise’ human masses, and create the terrain on which men move, acquire consciousness of their position, struggle, etc. To the extent that they are arbitrary they only create individual ‘movements’, polemics and so on.

In addition to its politically unifying role, ideology was also seen by Gramsci as the site of struggle in a cultural world. This point is directly connected with Gramsci’s understanding of organic intellectuals as a perpetual persuasive force and with his conceptualisation of civil society as a terrain where persuasive acts occur. The organic intellectuals of the proletarian class have the mission to generate, intensify and disseminate the ideology of revolution in an environment of class struggle against opponent ideologies (Hoare & Sperber, 2016: 92-93).

Kemalism, as the official ideology of Turkey, has always aimed at unifying and cementing the society under the flag of the founding principles of Atatürk. Considering the roles of ideology discussed above, it will be shown in Chapter 5 that Kemalism, with its most significant elements of laicism and nationalism, has been constructed as a unifying ideology with its particular discourse on the terrain of Islam in the textbooks of RCMK lessons.

Moreover, Islam, as the source of political ideology, possesses the capacity to autonomously and self-sufficiently tackle and provide solutions to the current problems which the modern Islamic societies face (Butko, 2004: 50). Islam’s role as the base of a

political ideology has therefore always been intimidated by the legal structure in Turkey. Legislation on the areas ranging from political parties and schools to intellectuals, as the analysis in Chapter 6 will show in detail, has targeted potential sources of such an Islamic ideology.

2.5. Political Party as the 'Modern Prince'²⁴

A consistent and united organisational structure was a significant element of counter-hegemony in Gramsci's understanding. He idealised his understanding of revolutionary organisational structure under a political party, which he termed the "Modern Prince" (Butko, 2004: 51). He introduced the political party as the fundamental organisational tool of counter-hegemony since it provided political education and functioned as an umbrella organisation under which the counter-hegemonic forces could be coordinated (Adamson, 1980: 207). Gramsci (2000: 121) emphasised that "Politically, the broad masses only exist insofar as they are organized within political parties". For him, the ideas of masses which alter under the oppression of ascendant economic forces are evaluated by the parties by first being bifurcated into tendencies and then being transformed into political parties. Gramsci (1971: 132) expected the Modern Prince to dedicate itself to the issue of 'intellectual and moral reform'. He laid the burden of the proclamation and organisation of such an intellectual and moral reform on the political party to create the ground to encourage "the national-popular collective will" and to realise "a superior, total form of modern civilisation" (Gramsci, 1971: 132).

Gramsci (1971: 152-153) introduced three basic elements for the political party to exist. First, the "mass element" consisting of average, ordinary people. Those masses can only emerge as a real force for the party as long as they are centralised, disciplined and organised by a cohesive force. The second element was "the principal cohesive element", in other words the political leadership, which manages centralisation at national level and leads to dispersed forces which are not able to create a power bloc on

²⁴ Gramsci (1971: 129) explicitly presented the political party as the modern prince by underlining that only an organism, rather than a physical individual and a real person, could be the Modern Prince.

their own (Gramsci, 1971: 152). Gramsci (1971: 88) described the significance of such a political leadership which possesses the capacity to lead masses as follows:

The question of political leadership becomes even more complex and difficult in wars of position, fought by huge masses who are only able to endure the immense muscular, nervous, and physical strain with the aid of great reserves of moral strength. Only a very skilful political leadership, capable of taking into account the deep aspirations and feelings of those human masses, can prevent disintegration and defeat.

Finally, the third element is the “intermediate element” which plays an intermediary role between the masses and the political leadership, ensures the articulation of the former with the latter and provides communication between the two in both physical terms and moral and intellectual terms (Gramsci, 1971: 52).

Considering those three elements, the Welfare Party (WP) of the 1990s possessed a large membership network, and efficient and meticulous party organisation. Its grassroots were competent and well-organised. Its activists visited all parts of cities, collected data about every household, determined their needs and endeavoured to find solutions for the problems of each voter (Ayata, 1996: 52). Necmettin Erbakan, the leader of the WP, was also an important figure in terms of charismatic political leadership (Tugal, 2009: 46). It is therefore not possible to investigate the cultural hegemonic struggle in Turkey without taking into account the Islamist parties’ potential to create a counter-hegemonic bloc.²⁵ The Islamist legal parties have been the most effective tools in terms of challenging the laic hegemonic system in Turkey (Tugal, 2009: 42). Considering this situation, the Kemalist regime imposed many constitutional and legal restrictions on the actions of Islamist political parties. Two Islamist parties²⁶ were closed down by the Constitutional Court after 1983 for posing a threat to laicism (Smith, 2007: 271). So a significant part of the hegemonic struggle in the post-28 February era was shaped at political parties’ level.

²⁵ For a more detailed discussion about the issue of political parties and legislation regarding the political parties, see the sub-section ‘Political Parties’ in Chapter 6.

²⁶ The Welfare Party and the Felicity Party were closed down by decision of Constitutional Court. The JDP was established in 2001 as the successor to their traditions.

2.6. War of Position and War of Movement

Gramsci supported his theory of hegemony by using the analogy of military strategies, stating that “every political struggle always has a military substratum” (Gramsci, 1971: 230). His views on political strategy and especially his distinction between ‘war of position’ and ‘war of manoeuvre’ have emerged as very significant constituents of Gramscian theory (Egan, 2014: 521). War of manoeuvre refers to frontal attack (Gramsci, 1971: 238-39), whereas war of position refers to trench warfare (Gramsci, 1971: 234)

Gramsci pondered the practical issues of revolution and emphasised how the organisation and modes of revolution should work. He sought to understand why the successful 1917 revolution in Russia did not spread to the West (Ransome, 1992: 144) and why the West necessitated a different revolutionary tactic from the East (Hoare & Sperber, 2016: 58). To explain the appropriateness of different strategies for East and West, he detected different state and civil society structures between the two, stating that:

In Russia the state was everything, civil society was primordial and gelatinous; in the West, there was a proper relation between state and civil society, and when the state trembled, a 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).

In Gramsci’s (2000: 229) understanding, ‘war of position’ was attributable to the West and ‘war of manoeuvre’ to the East. Tsarist Russia had almost completely centralised the power within the state. It was therefore possible to seize all the power in a comparatively short time. However, in Western European countries which possessed a developed civil society, a different political strategy, namely war of position, was needed. In this strategy, the proletarian class seeks to expand its hegemony by constructing a new historic bloc. Such a strategy is not a sudden transition of power from one group to another (Simon, 2015: 26). The process of a war of position is intensive and tough and requires patience (Gramsci, 1971: 239).²⁷ In his warfare

²⁷ Gramsci (1971: 108) questioned the relationship between passive revolution and war of position in the *Prison Notebooks* by asking “does there exist an absolute identity between war of position and passive revolution? Or at least does there exist, or can there be conceived, an entire historical period in which the two concepts must be considered identical – until the point at which the war of position once

metaphor, Gramsci (1971: 235) pointed out the inadequacy of frontal attacks and the significance of civil society in the emergence of counter-hegemony by stating that:

The superstructures of civil society are like the trench systems of modern warfare. In war it would sometimes happen that a fierce artillery attack seemed to have destroyed the enemy's entire defensive system, whereas in fact it had only destroyed the outer perimeter; and at the moment of their advance and attack the assailants would find themselves confronted by a line of defence which was still effective.

Gramsci (1971: 239) stated that “in politics, the ‘war of position’ once won is decisive definitively...” and explained that “the war of manoeuvre subsists so long as it is a question of winning positions that are non-decisive”. Which one of the two strategies, war of position or war of manoeuvre, is preliminary in a revolutionary practice is a significant point. As Ransome (1992: 147-48) stressed, an historic bloc must lead the process of revolutionary practice even though all state organisations with military forces are defeated. So war of position is important to guarantee the decisive revolutionary practice. Since possessing the steering of the civil society, which is the site of political and ideological hegemony over the bourgeoisie, is more time-consuming, war of position should precede the concluding and comparatively shorter step of military attack (Ransome, 1992: 148).

Political strategy in the West not only depends on controlling the government, but also on winning the ideological terrain (Grelle, 2017: 19). This brings us to the importance of being hegemonic before coming to power, as in the instance of the Moderates in Italy (Gramsci: 1971: 59). Femia (1975: 34) explained that;

diffusion and mass acceptance of radical ideas about man and society, the creation of a proletarian counter-hegemony, is a precondition for revolution. Without prior success in what Gramsci calls the ‘war of position’ on the cultural front, a seizure of state power would only prove transitory if not disastrous.

In the Western context, a proletarian revolution can only be achieved by persuading a significant proportion of the masses for the superiority of their own world concept *vis-à-vis* the world concept of the bourgeoisie (Femia, 1981: 41). So the main

again becomes a war of manoeuvre?” He responded to his own question by correlating Cavour, the leader of the Moderates, with the advocacy of war of position/passive revolution, and Mazzini, the leader of the Action Party, with the advocacy of war of manoeuvre in their struggle with each other (Gramsci, 1971: 108).

goal in the process of ‘war of position’ is to penetrate civil society by disseminating ideas and ensuring the cultural and intellectual preparation of the terrain for the struggle for revolutionary attack on the dominant power (Butko, 2004: 57).

This point brings us to a significant aspect of Gramsci’s cultural hegemony, namely ‘intellectual and moral leadership’. For Gramsci (1971: 57-58), there were two ways for a group to maintain its superiority: by “domination” and “by intellectual and moral leadership”. In this process, allied groups are led by the dominant group and contrarian groups are dominated. The leadership which hegemony comprises and necessitates is not a result of spontaneity but is the result of an active creation (Ransome, 1992: 136). Such a dominant group can take on, and in fact must take on, the leadership before possessing the governmental power. As a matter of fact, leadership is one of the main requirements for possessing power. Even if a group holds governmental power, it still needs to maintain its leadership or hegemony (Gramsci, 1971: 57-58). The Moderates in Italy had been exercising hegemonic activities before coming to power and they did not merely rely on the effectiveness of the material force which is the result of the power required for exercising influential leadership (Gramsci, 1971: 59).

Gramsci (2000: 65) regarded the historical period before the French Revolution as a ‘war of manoeuvre’ and the liberal epoch in the nineteenth century as a long version of a ‘war of position’. He also gave the passive resistance of Gandhi as an example of a war of position and argued that it became a war of movement in particular stages (Gramsci, 1971: 229). He named strikes as war of movement and boycotts as war of position and the process in which combat troops and armaments are secretly prepared as underground warfare (Gramsci, 1971: 229-30).

In Turkey, the structure of the civil society compelled the JDP to follow a similar strategy to that in the west. In the pluralist atmosphere of the 1980s, Islamic organisations, which were active in various issues from education to economy, also emerged as an alternative in civil society (Caha, 2001: 41). As a result of the atmosphere of post-28 February process, however, the country experienced a deep struggle between the Kemalist and Islamist sides in the sphere of civil society. The Islamic/conservative civil society suffered from the actions of the state apparatus, such as and the closure of 21 Islamic foundations for violating the principle of laicism in the post-28 February process (*Vatan Gazetesi*, 2013) and the expropriation of their

foundation assets (Calik, 2012). Even, the military intervention against the Islamist WP in 1997 was legitimised by the support of the labour unions Turk-Is and DISK and the business associations TUSIAD, TOBB and TISK (Cicioglu & Bayraktar, 2017: 57). In 2007, TUSIAD, as the most significant representative of the Kemalist bourgeoisie, published a notice against the JDP government with the discourse of protecting the unity of laicism and democracy (TUSIAD, 2007). When the comparative advantage of Kemalists stemming from the legislation within the sphere of civil society was taken into account as it will be emphasised in chapter 6, a war of position within the civil society was a significant and essential step of developing a counter-hegemony for the JDP. Therefore, to what extent the JDP achieved this is an important question which is addressed in this current study.

2.7. Passive Revolution

The concept of communist revolution was defined by Marx and Engels (1970: 55) as “the overthrow of the existing state of society” and “the abolition of private property which is identical with it”. In this regard, revolution is a “cataclysmic leap” from one epoch to another as a consequence of an aggregation of conflicts which take place between the dominated exploited and the dominant exploiter classes in the previous order (Kiernan, 1991: 476). A new version of revolution was introduced by Gramsci with the concept of passive revolution. Gramsci particularly meant the bourgeois type of revolutions/transformations which do not possess the cataclysmic character of the French Revolution (Persaud, 2001: 42). When he explained the concept of passive revolution, the starting point for Gramsci (1971: 106) was the following two main assumptions of political science which he borrowed from Marx:

- 1. that no social formation disappears as long as the productive forces which have developed within it still find room for further forward movement;*
- 2. that a society does not set itself tasks for whose solution the necessary conditions have not already been incubated ...*

Gramsci (1971: 106-107) stressed that these assumptions should primarily be treated critically in every different aspect and rescued from fatalistic and mechanistic residues. Unlike the cases of France and England where the bourgeoisie gained the

hegemonic position of the landowner classes, other European countries could not experience similar revolutions (Persaud, 2001: 42). Considering the assumptions of Gramsci (1971: 106) discussed above, the reasons for the lack of a cataclysmic revolution in those countries were that the production structure of the pre-capitalist society had still possessed room to expand and that the social forces within such a structure had still possessed the power to withstand a radical disengagement from the existing order (Persaud, 2001: 43).

The concept was described by Gramsci in his significant work *Prison Notebooks* in two different ways. First, he explained the concept as “a molecular social transformation which takes place as it were beneath the surface of society, in situations where the progressive class cannot advance openly” (Hoare & Smith, 1971: 46). Second, he referred to a revolution without the participation of the masses, as in the instance of the Italian *Risorgimento* (Hoare & Smith, 1971: 46; Gramsci, 1971: 109).

Passive revolution is a process during which the bourgeois class establishes a hegemony by neutralising and incorporating with the social forces which have the potential to challenge its domination (Shields, 2012: 41). It refers to the “incorporation of revolutionary movements in existing systems” (Tugal, 2009: 32). Passive revolution is “revolution without a revolution” (Gramsci, 1971: 59), that is to say, it is “any historical situation in which a new political formation comes to power without a fundamental reordering of social relations” (Forgacs, 2000: 428).

In a country where there is even a partial hegemony, it is not enough to solely take control of the state to successfully conduct a socio-political project (Tugal, 2009: 31-32). In such a situation, the terrains where the hegemony is exercised need to be conquered gradually and political society and civil society need to be unlinked and re-linked by the movements which are striving to challenge an existing hegemony. In the instances where a strong hegemony has already been achieved, the movements which do not take the risk of undertaking such a gradual path can easily be disassembled by the power holders or they fail to catch the support of the masses. The projects and organisations of those movements do not culminate in a revolution. On the contrary, they are absorbed by the existing hegemony. This is especially the case for the contemporary strong hegemonies (Tugal, 2009: 32).

It might be beneficial to emphasise how Gramsci made a distinction between the bourgeoisie revolution in France and the passive revolution in Italy. On the one hand, Gramsci assessed the French Revolution as a sudden change by which the aristocratic regime was displaced by the bourgeoisie and which peaked with the Jacobin dictatorship between 1792 and 1794 (Forgacs, 2000: 246). On the other hand, Gramsci assessed the *Risorgimento* – an effort to achieve national liberation for Italy which peaked with the unification of Italy in 1860-61 – as an unutilised chance to achieve a revolution similar to the Jacobin revolution in France (Forgacs, 2000: 247).

According to Gramsci (1971: 53), the Italian bourgeoisie failed to unify the people around themselves, therefore the bourgeoisie was defeated and its progress was interrupted. During the *Risorgimento*, this identical selfishness hindered a fast, rapturous and effective revolution like the Revolution in France (Gramsci, 1971: 53-54).

In the process of becoming a state in the period of the *Risorgimento*, what the innovatory groups which aimed at uniting the Italian state needed was the subordination and elimination of the former and the acquisition of the passive or active assent of the latter (Gramsci, 1971: 53). Gramsci (1971: 53) highlighted the processes of becoming a dominant and hegemonic group from a subordinate group: the first phase was gaining autonomy against the enemy group which the innovatory forces needed to overthrow, and the second phase was obtaining assistance from the groups from which they gained passive or active assent. Thus, in Gramsci's theory, passive revolution referred to "a process whereby a social group comes to power without rupturing the social fabric (as in France) but rather by adapting to it and gradually modifying it" (Forgacs, 2000: 247).

Gramsci (1971: 59) presented what the Moderates did in Italy as an example of passive revolution. The success of the ruling class framed by the Moderates following 1848 hinged on "the gradual but continuous absorption, achieved by methods which varied in their effectiveness, of the active elements produced by allied groups – and even of those which came from antagonistic groups and seemed irreconcilably hostile" (Gramsci, 1971: 58-59). Gramsci (1971: 57) explained the advantage of the Moderates, in comparison with the Action Party, in terms of leadership with reference to their capacity to attract other social groups in the process of passive revolution. The social group that the Moderates were based on was comparatively homogenous, therefore the leadership of the Moderates oscillated less compared with the Action Party. On the

other hand, the Action Party did not rely on any specific historical group. As a consequence, the Moderates succeeded in leading the Action Party (Gramsci, 1971: 57).

Moreover, Gramsci (2000: 264-265) pointed to the liberal regimes in the nineteenth century and fascism in the twentieth century as different forms of passive revolution. He regarded the transformation from the individualist economic model to a planned model (or a command economy) which occurred in a reformist manner as a form of passive revolution. An intermediate economic model emerged between the solely individualist model and the planned model, and thus the process of passing to more advanced cultural and political models was actualised without any radical and devastating catastrophe. He propounded corporatism as the intermediate economy of a 'passive' feature (Gramsci, 2000: 265).

Tugal (2009) explained the JDP's rise to power by reference to Gramsci's 'passive revolution' concept. As we will see in chapter 5 and 6, it can be claimed that the JDP came to power and consolidated its power gradually rather than realising a cataclysmic leap from the 1997 post-modern *coup d'état* conditions to its positioning in the centre. We therefore need to understand the gradual move of the JDP from the periphery to the centre by reference to its regulations aimed at civil society and its education policies.

3. Structural Hegemony and Hegemonic Projects

After introducing the Gramscian understanding of cultural hegemony with its fundamental elements and concepts, it is important to emphasise the distinction propounded by Joseph (2000; 2001; 2002; 2008) between underlying structural hegemony and surface hegemonic projects. Such a distinction helps us to understand the variance between the hegemonic strategies of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and the JDP, since the hegemonic projects of both sides of the hegemonic struggle have been constrained by different deeper structures.

Joseph (2000: 179) highlighted the need to question "how different social groups achieve dominance through constructing discourse" when seeking to understand hegemony with an emphasis on social alliances and political projects by also realising

that hegemony cannot be limited to those aspects. Focusing only on those aspects brings the risk of understanding a one-sided inter-subjective dimension of hegemony and totally neglecting the structural side of the hegemony issue because of explaining the world only with reference to human action (Joseph, 2000: 179). Joseph (2000: 191) distinguished the “deeper, structural hegemony which refers to the unity and reproduction of society and its structures and institutions” from “the agentially based hegemony of a specific hegemonic project”. In other words, he pointed out the distinction “between hegemony’s basic material necessity and various forms of its actualisation through concrete projects and intentional agency”.

As we shift our attention from agency to structure, how hegemonic projects can be possible *vis-à-vis* the determination of structure becomes a key question. Joseph (2001: 273) responded to this question as follows:

... it the necessity of hegemony in the structural sense – that the reproduction of social structures and their combinations is not automatic but needs to be socially secured – that allows for the possibility of hegemony in its conscious or agential form. Actual hegemonic projects are possible because of the open nature of the social totality and the basic structural requirement to secure the reproduction of the social formation.

In this sense, as Joseph (2002: 131) remarked, both structural and surface hegemony are dependent on each other for their existence. He gave the example of political expression and its deeper fundamental conditions by explaining that the former hinges on the underlying conditions whilst the latter counts for nothing without being politically expressed to some extent. Although causality provides a supremacy to structural hegemony, he underlined that surface hegemony possess an emergent nature, in other words “they are not predetermined but have their own specific dynamics.”

Joseph (2002: 131) defined the two aspects of hegemony, structural and surface hegemony, as perpetual processes. Structural hegemony is about “the deep, underlying conditions within society and the unity of the social formation” whilst surface hegemony is about “the actual hegemonic projects that arise out of this situation, it represents a manifestation of the underlying conditions, albeit with its own character and dynamics.” Structural hegemony is functional as it reproduces the structural ensembles and social structures. Within the limits determined by such functions of structural hegemony, various conscious hegemonic projects can be actualised. Surface

hegemony refers to active and more conscious political acts and projects whereas structural hegemony refers to a more unconscious mechanism reproducing social structures and social cohesion (Joseph, 2002: 131). At this point, Joseph (2002: 132) underlined that;

Hegemonic projects and struggles develop their own dynamics which need to be analysed in their specificity. Although they are dependent on the underlying structure of society (and structural hegemony), they are not reducible to it, but have their own irreducible set of mechanisms, properties and powers. Because they are emergent out of the underlying structural hegemonic conditions, these projects ultimately cannot escape these conditions, but they can at least develop in their own individual way and may come into conflict with these conditions in a dialectical overdetermination.

Joseph (2002: 132) exemplified this situation with the rise of fascism as a particular political project which could be associated with a deeper structural hegemonic crisis of the bourgeois social order. Although the rise of fascism could be explained with reference to the distinctive crisis of bourgeois society in fields such as cultural hegemony or capital accumulation, such explanations are not sufficient to provide a full explanation of the phenomenon. Fascism's own dynamics, such as its political goals, its action plans and its relations with large entrepreneurs, should also be studied.

As we direct our attention to the case of Turkey, it is possible to detect multiple deep structures which have been restricting and mapping out a route for the hegemonic projects of Kemalism and the JDP. First, the global economic order, which influences the state apparatus and shapes the social formation in accordance with the global neoliberal capital accumulation, is a significant determiner in Turkish politics (Kucukali, 2015: 9). Second, Islam also constitutes a very deep cultural structure embedded in Muslim societies. Such a deep structure restrained the laicist Kemalist hegemonic project by compelling it to introduce a social formation which could not neglect Islam's effect on society and to find a middle way between the pious Muslims and Kemalist ideals. Finally, the legal structure draws the boundaries of acceptable and unacceptable actions for the agencies of hegemonic struggle. The legal structural aspect of Kemalist hegemony also answer the question of why the JDP could not achieve a sudden and radical paradigm shift in its struggle for hegemony against the Kemalist establishment. Studying legislation therefore becomes vital for comprehending the deeper legal structure which the Islamist movements, and specifically the JDP, faced.

4. Hegemony and Counter-Hegemony on the Terrain of Religion

Understanding the role of religion in the establishment of or resistance to cultural hegemony is essential for our research to uncover the role of Islam in the cultural hegemonic struggle in Turkey. In this study, Islam is regarded as a field of operation for cultural hegemonic forces to gain the consent of both pious Muslims and secular people by means of hegemonic efforts to shape people's understanding of Islam in parallel with their hegemonic interests and ideological, religious and cultural stance.

Religion possesses both a spiritual and a material meaning. The spiritual dimension of religion manifests itself in three dimensions. First, it is related to being transcendent, it is about the supernatural reality. Second, it is related with the sacred, in other words, religion is a system of utterance and practice organising the worldly according to the holy. Third, it targets the ultimate; that is, it directs the believers to the ultimate status of existence (Haynes, 2005: 250-251). In this sense, with Gramsci's (1971: 326) definition of religion as "a conception of the world", religion provides a meaning to its believers' lives. This makes religion a terrain which has to be conquered.

In terms of the material dimension, religion is the source of motivation for the actions of people and groups of people in line with political and social objectives. It is very difficult to find religious groups which are completely uninterested in political and social matters (Haynes, 2005: 251). Calvert and Calvert (2001: 140, cited in Haynes, 2005: 251) described religion as "a mobiliser of masses, a controller of mass action" and depicted it as "an excuse for repression [or] an ideological basis for dissent".

For Gramsci, religion could be both a significant element of the establishment of hegemony and an instrument for resistance and struggle for the development of a counter-hegemonic movement (Worth, 2009: 29-30). On the one hand, Gramsci criticised the role of religion in the emergence of existing class relations and on the other he was interested in religion's potential contribution to the agenda of socialism (Worth, 2009: 30).

Gramsci's views on civil society are an important starting point for understanding his views on religion. For him, civil society is one of two main spheres of

superstructural levels and is also the domain of hegemony (Gramsci, 1971: 12). He propounded the Church as one of the social institutions within civil society, with a role similar to those of schools and labour unions, which are spheres of the dominant group's hegemony over the whole society (Gramsci, 1971: 204). He stated that the Church can be "an integral part of the state, of political society monopolised by a specific privileged group, which absorbs the Church in order the better to preserve its monopoly with the support of that zone of 'civil society' which the Church represents" (Gramsci, 1971: 245). Gramsci (1971: 342) also saw the Church as well as the education system as exemplifying the cultural institutions which "keep the ideological world in movement within a given country".

Gramsci (1985: 212) highlighted the significance of intellectuals' function in shaping people's interpretation of religion by arguing that both Catholic intellectuals and secular intellectuals were responsible for people's narrow-mindedness and their indifference to and lack of bright divine life. He suggested that a distance had emerged between religion and the people since the Catholic intellectuals were inadequate and unsuccessful in their literature. Since secular intellectuals were impotent, on the other hand, religion could not go beyond being a mere superstitious belief and it could not be changed by an advanced laic and humanist moral system.

The position of the Islamic/conservative intellectuals as compared with the Kemalist intellectuals in the process of hegemonic struggle is an important aspect of this research. Based on Gramsci's (1971: 10) argument which accepts education as a tool for creating intellectuals from diverse strata, we aim to understand how the intellectuals were educated with a particular interpretation of religion in schools. To achieve this aim, we shall analyse the textbooks of RCMK lessons and the legislation which influences or restricts intellectual activities, such as the laws about freedom of speech.

Gramsci's concept of *intellectual and moral reformation*, which originated from Christianity (Fulton, 1987: 199), should also be emphasised in order to understand his views on religion. Gramsci (1971: 132-133) asserted that;

The Modern Prince must be and cannot but be the proclaimer and organiser of an intellectual and moral reform, which also means creating the terrain for a subsequent development of the national-popular collective will towards the realisation of a superior, total form of modern civilisation.

Gramsci (1971: 132) associated the “question of moral and intellectual reform” with “religion or worldview”. For him, such intellectual and moral reform has been realised by religions in various cases throughout history (Fulton, 1987: 199). Such an intellectual and moral reformation is needed for the sake of socialism in countries where an abrupt revolution is impossible (Fulton, 1987: 199). Gramsci respected the Roman Catholic Church for its organisational success and long-term hegemony and underlined the points in it which Marxist praxis can imitate. However, he regarded religion as an opponent of socialism, since religion itself is “a form of total social praxis” (Fulton, 1987: 202). It can be claimed that religion has a significant role in shaping people’s perception of the world. Therefore, a hegemonic struggle in the terrain of a religion is also a war in people’s perception of the world.

As feudalism developed, the feudal classes used the Christian theology as an instrument to legitimate their class interests (Portelli, 1974: 69ff, cited in Mansueto, 1988: 273). For Gramsci, this hegemony was structural because of the historic bloc composed of the Catholic Church and the aristocracy. It was, at the same time, a cultural hegemony since the interpretation of religion and culture was in harmony with the interests of the dominant class (Fulton, 1987: 209). The Protestant reformers were successful in rupturing the Catholic-feudal bloc and creating an alternative counter-hegemonic bloc with proletarians, peasants and the bourgeoisie (Mansueto, 1988: 273). Gramsci (1971: 394) argued that Calvinism and the Lutheran Reform achieved the construction of a “higher culture” and struggled with the crusade of Catholicism. Its effect even diffused to non-Protestant countries. On the other hand, as Weber (2002: 28) suggested, “the inner-worldly asceticism of Protestantism first produced a capitalist ethic”. In particular, Calvinism had a strong effect on the creation of “the spirit of capitalism” (Weber, 2005: 10).

Nasr (2009: 247) pointed out a similar role of religion in economic life and class interests in Turkey. He argued that the understanding of Islam in Anatolian cities was combined with working hard and an economically innovative culture similar to the mind-set of the northern European Calvinist burghers and named it “Islamic Calvinism”. Such an Islamic Calvinism has influenced the class struggle in Turkey, since the interpretation of Islam in this way provided an advantage to the Anatolian bourgeoisie over the Kemalist bourgeoisie. Nasr (2009: 247) gave Kayseri, where hard

work, praying for wealth, saving money and investing within the city created significant economic development, as an example of this Islamic Calvinism.

As a more recent instance, Semmes (1995: 8) also underlined the cultural hegemonic characteristic of European Christianity on Africans and asserted that “God as an objectification of self and religion as a projection of the natural order of things become extraordinary tools for cultural hegemony because the imperialist group uses religion to extend legitimacy to its exploitative and hegemonic designs”. He associated the Christian dominance in South and North America, Asia and Africa with the economic and political exploitation of the West (Semmes, 1995: 8).

In addition to its role in the establishment of cultural hegemony, religion can be used as a means of opposition (Billings, 1990). In his Gramscian analysis, Billings (1990) researched the role of religion in the emergence or retardation of resistance and highlighted the contribution of religion to the creation of oppositional practices and discourse in a society. In the case of Appalachia, where long-term labour struggles took place, religion had an important role for the miners in challenging the authority of coal operators. Religious statements were interpreted in conformity with the contrarian stance and labour struggles were religiously legitimised by the considerable assistance of clergy members and unauthorised miner-ministers (Billings, 1990: 20). Billings (1990: 18) associated these clergy members and unauthorised miner-ministers with the function of organic intellectuals in the theory of Gramsci. According to him, creation of a contrarian religious culture among miners working in Appalachia is an instance of passive revolution. After analysing the letters sent to the Journal of the United Mine Workers and the local press, Corbin (1981: 163, cited in Billings, 1990: 18) argued that the mine workers scanned the Bible and tried to find biblical support for unionism, and he stated that “the miners found God’s presence in anything that enabled them to win a strike and recognition of the union”.

Moreover, the main strength of religion as a source of opposition in the process of passive revolution stems from both non-discursive facilities such as financial sources and the spaces which enable people to come together (Billings, 1990: 4) as well as discursive facilities such as “the Sunday sermon and [of] official pronouncement” (Westhues, 1976: 304). Westhues (1976: 304) asserted that “if the Church controls schools, universities, newspapers, radio stations, political parties, labour unions,

hospitals, or other organizations, these are resources potentially mobilisable toward dissident goals”.

Here, Turkey provides a significant case to see the role of religion in the emergence of oppositional movements, discourses and practices. The main focus of this current study is the religious oppositional movements against the Kemalist cultural hegemony in the terrain of Islam in the process of the JDP’s move from the periphery towards the centre. However, Islam has also been used as the source of opposition against the JDP government, such as in the instance of Anti-Capitalist Muslims which emerged as an oppositional group against the JDP during the Gezi protests in Turkey (Yinanc, 2013).

In the final analysis, as Fulton (1987: 198) emphasised, it is not true to claim that the views of Gramsci about religion are solely applicable to those contexts which are traditionally Catholic. Concepts such as moral and intellectual reformation, coercion and hegemony, intellectuals and historic bloc reflect, stem from and are shaped by his views about religion. More importantly, Gramsci underlined the function of religion as a source of political power and detected a direct relationship between religion and socialist revolution and with any other forms of revolution in the most general sense (Fulton, 1987: 198). In this sense, Turkey also provides significant cases which embody the fundamental constituents of Gramsci’s theory about cultural hegemony on the terrain of Islam.

Although there was no a single divine religious authority such as the Papacy or the Church in the case of Turkey, the Presidency of Religious Affairs (PRA) was established as a state institution regulating issues of religious belief, worship, morality, Islamic education and the administration of religious facilities on behalf of the state following the abolition of the Caliphate inherited from the Ottoman Empire and the Ministry of Islamic Law and Foundations²⁸ in 1924 (Ulutas, 2010: 389). As the prominent characteristic of Turkish laicism has been the interference of the state in the terrain of religion (Ulutas, 2010: 390), Islam has become a site of hegemonic struggle between the Kemalist hegemonic bloc which designed a hegemonic project with the aim

²⁸ The Ministry of Islamic Law and Foundations (*Ser’iye ve Evkaf Vekaleti*) was established on 3 May 1920 following the establishment of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) on 23 April 1920, as a substitute for Shayk al-Islam (*Seyhulislam*) in the Ottoman Period (Ulutas, 2010: 391).

of gaining the consent of pious Muslims in favour of the laic regime and the JDP which designed an alternative hegemonic project with the aim of reversing its subordinate position within Turkish society.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

In the previous two chapters, the historical and political backgrounds of the Turkish case have been introduced, the ontological and epistemological basis of the research has been presented and the theoretical framework has been drawn. This chapter is dedicated to identifying the gaps in the literature and determining the place of the current research in the wider literature. Since Turkey is distinct from Western countries in terms of its class structure, we start by bridging the gap between Gramscian theory on cultural hegemony and the case of Turkey by explaining the peculiarities of the class structure in Turkey. In order to identify gaps in the literature and determine the contribution which this research can make, we shall focus on the literature reporting hegemony-based studies of the case of Turkey. We shall then consider the literature which has emphasised the hegemonic, ideological and political use of Islam, Muslimness and Islam-related topics.

1. Bridging the Gap between the Theory and the Turkish Case

Discussing whether the chosen theoretical framework fits the context of the current study is very significant for bridging the gap between the theory and the research. The aim is to understand whether a class-based analysis of the Turkish case is possible or not. To achieve this, it is important first to comprehend, given the importance of Gramsci to this research, what the concept of *class* refers to in the context of Turkey. We shall reveal the existence of a class struggle by explaining who those classes are composed of in Turkey, noting that the class structure has peculiarities in this case.

Class and class-based explanations are included in most of the studies which focused on the political struggle in the Republican period of Turkey (Keyder, 1987; Yavuz, 1997; Bugra, 1998; Yavuz, 2003; Nasr: 2009; Tugal, 2009; Warhola & Bezci: 2010; Gumuscu, 2010; Cinar, 2013; Heper, 2013; Tanyilmaz, 2015).

On one side of the class struggle was the Kemalist bourgeois class which was the product of the statist policies of the Republic referred to as the *Kemalist bourgeoisie* (Gurcan, 2010; Zubaida, 2017), *secular bourgeoisie* (Gumuscu, 2010; Atay, 2013), *Istanbul capital* (Tanyilmaz, 2015) or *Istanbul bourgeoisie* (Aybar & Lapavistas, 2001; Kurtulus, 2011; Cinar, 2013). The Kemalist economic strategy hinged on a highly state-centred model in the early Republican period. The economic policies of Kemalism aimed at fostering the accumulation of private capital and ensuring a rigid checking mechanism over economic activities and large-scale industries. An important goal of the state was to create its own national bourgeois class and entrepreneurs who were significant for the accumulation of capital and economic growth (Parla & Davison, 2004: 125). In this context, the late 1920s in Turkey witnessed state intervention in the economic realm with the aim of constructing the economic base of the Turkish nation by encouraging capital accumulation by Turkey's local capitalists (Berberoglu, 1982: 24), which laid the foundations for the Kemalist bourgeois class as a consequence of the statist economic policies of Kemalism. The representatives of Istanbul capital who had an advantageous position as a consequence of support and concessions supplied by the government created a coalition with the Turkish military and the Kemalist elite and this coalition became the symbol and motor of Turkey's modernisation process (Gultekingil & Bora, 2009 cited in Warhola & Bezci, 2010: 442). Parla and Davison (2004: 118) emphasised the relationship between the discourses on laicism and on national economic progress and the education system played a key role in this relationship (Parla & Davison, 2004: 119). The 1931 programme of the RPP stated that the method applied in education and teaching is vital in order to use knowledge as a means of succeeding in material life. It was also stressed in the same programme that education should be kept away from superstition and alien thoughts and be shaped by the principles of superiority, nationalism and patriotism (RPP, 1931: 35). In that programme, 'superstition' referred to thoughts which oppose the Kemalist understanding of Islam (Parla & Davison, 2004: 120). The emphasis on scientific knowledge is important because it is associated with material progress, in other words, economic progress (Parla & Davison, 2004: 121).

It can be argued that the principles of Kemalism, namely statism, nationalism and laicism, are complementary. On the one hand, imposing the laicist discourse on the masses and obtaining consent for a laicist attitude towards religion would serve the

interest of material progress, in other words, the economic targets of Kemalism. On the other hand, nationalism would be the basis of the statist policies of Kemalism in order to defend the interests of its own bourgeois class base. This point can be seen in the Kemalist discourse which places the political Islamist cadres, subversive and separatist movements, as well as globalisation, privatisation policies and a free market economy, in the treachery camp against the republic, nation and Atatürk (Erdogan, 2009: 587). The current study is focused on the hegemonic strategies of the Kemalists which targeted religious lessons in schools and endeavours to comprehend how the Religious Culture and Moral Knowledge (RCMK) lessons were designed to shape the minds of students in parallel with the Kemalist understanding of laicism, nationalism and statism.

The emergence of a new and alternative bourgeois class in the late 1980s has been recognised by many scholars (Yavuz, 1997; Onis, 1997; Duran & Yildirim, 2005; Demiralp, 2009; Tugal, 2009; Gokarikel & Secor, 2009; Gumuscu, 2010; Heper, 2013; Cinar, 2013; Hosgor, 2015a; Tanyilmaz, 2015; Ozturk, 2015). This newly emerging bourgeois class has been named differently by different scholars: *Anatolian bourgeoisie* (Yavuz, 1997; Tugal, 2009; Cinar, 2013), *Islamic bourgeoisie* (Onis, 1997; Gokarikel & Secor, 2009), *green capital* (Duran & Yildirim, 2005), *Islamic capital* (Demiralp, 2009; Tas, 2011; Hosgor, 2015a), *Islamist capital* (Tanyilmaz, 2015; Ozturk, 2015), *devout bourgeoisie* (Gumuscu, 2010) and the *conservative/Islamic entrepreneurial middle class* (Heper, 2013). Likewise, this current study emphasises the emergence of an Islamic/conservative bourgeoisie as an alternative to the Kemalist bourgeoisie. Therefore, the Kemalist bourgeois class, as one of the pillars of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc, and the newly rising Islamic/conservative bourgeoisie, represented by the JDP, are significant agents of the hegemonic struggle on the terrain of Islam, which is the main topic of this thesis.

Yavuz (1997: 72) stated that the main features of the petty bourgeoisie and small-sized entrepreneurs in metropolitan areas was their support for open-market policies and the economic liberalisation process and their opposition to state interference in the economy. For him, the ideological position of this Anatolian bourgeois class was to be Islamic in the social area and liberal in the economic area. Muslim morality and symbols were the means of getting the support of the masses against large industrial giants and the state (Yavuz, 1997: 72). Heper (2013: 147) also

used the term *conservative/Islamic entrepreneurial middle class* for the peripheral forces which shifted towards the centre in the periods of Turgut Ozal and Recep Tayyip Erdogan. Under Erdogan, who grew up in Kasimpasa, a neighbourhood composed of conservative lower-income classes, the religious periphery had managed to position itself at the centre and become an alternative in the political, economic and social areas to the preceding dominant classes (Heper, 2013: 154).

Yavuz (2004: 270) stated that “in Turkey, the economic reforms were welcomed and embraced by Islamic movements that appropriated Islamic symbols for the marketplace to encourage the production of religious interpretations, values, and meaning through business and patterns of consumption”. Nasr (2009: 247) described the understanding of Islam in the Anatolian cities where the Anatolian capital had its roots as “conservative but pro-European, pro-democracy, and above all pro-capitalism. Anatolian businessmen combine religion, hard work, and economic innovation ...”. As the Islamic entrepreneurs began to possess more economic power, a new Islamic elite emerged with its own consumption preferences which differed from those of the secular elites. This situation was accompanied by an increase in the number of leisure and popular culture products, summer residences, hotels and self-care centres specifically for devout Muslims (Craciun, 2017: 50). This new type of Islamic consumption triggered the emergence of new companies which became an alternative for devout consumers and a new consumer segment willing to spend money in this new market (Sandikci & Ger, 2007: 194). These newly introduced tastes, consumption choices and fashion preferences became the means of challenging the cultural hegemonic position of the Kemalist bourgeoisie and characterised the hegemonic strategies of this rising conservative-Islamic bourgeoisie.

Warhola and Bezci (2010: 443) argued that the interpretation of laicism faced a significant challenge from the rising Anatolian bourgeoisie. In this process, the traditionally dominant Kemalist capitalist class became strongly opposed to the Islamist Welfare Party, since with the emergence of the capitalist class of the periphery it feared losing its traditional dominant role in the Turkish economy and the privileged class status which it had acquired as a result of state incentives (Erdogan, 2007: 25).

A way of explaining the class struggle in Turkey is to refer to the rivalry between professional associations of the different cultural and religious camps in

society (Yavuz, 1997; Bugra, 1998; Bugra, 2002; Nasr: 2009; Yankaya, 2009). The rivalry between two main professional associations is important for this research for two reasons. First, this rivalry gives clues about the hegemonic struggle on the terrain of Islam since it is primarily characterised by religious/cultural elements. Second, the activities and discourses of these associations, as elements of civil society, were influenced or restricted by the legislation which forms one of the case studies in this research.

On the one side, there was TUSIAD, founded in 1971 and composed of very large companies mainly located in Istanbul (Bugra, 1998: 526). Bugra (1998: 526) argued that the main aim of TUSIAD was to enhance the social status of the bourgeois class which had been created by the state apparatus. In Article 2 of its charter, there is special emphasis on the Kemalist principle of laicism. In the same article it is clearly stated that the activities of the association are determined in conformity with the principles and goals of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk with the target of reaching and exceeding the level of modern/contemporary Western civilisations (TUSIAD, 2013).

On the other side, MUSIAD was the Islamic-based business association founded in 1990 (Yankaya, 2009: 56). Yavuz (1997: 67) explained that MUSIAD, as the representative of the newly emerged conservative bourgeois class, was founded by small-scale companies which supported privatisation and wanted to be integrated into the European market and which objected to the state's assistance of the large industrialists unified under TUSIAD (Yavuz, 1997: 67). MUSIAD also aimed at going beyond the nationalist targets of domestic economic activities and demanded to be integrated into the global economy of the West (Straw, 2013: 112). Most MUSIAD members were enterprises with fewer than 50 workers and were evenly distributed across the different geographical parts of the country (Bugra, 1998: 529). For Bugra (1998: 522) MUSIAD, as the rival of TUSIAD, utilised a particular interpretation of Islam as a significant element of its ideological functions and as a source of attraction for its own businessmen. Yankaya (2009: 4) argued that the association underlined the importance of being religious in social and private life and of approaching the economy from the ethical perspective of Islam. This professional association was therefore perceived as a potential threat to the Turkish military, Kemalism and the principle of laicism (Straw, 2013: 112). Following the 1997 *coup d'état*, enterprises which military

officials suspected of supporting Islamic movements and groups were identified and deprived of public procurements for bids such as food purchases for the military (Bugra, 1998: 534).

The same cleavage can be seen among the trade unions of the working class. On the one side, as Duran and Yildirim (2005: 228) explained, HAK-IS endeavoured to create 'Islamic unionism' or "a unionism based on national values" as an alternative to left-wing worker syndicates. The support of HAK-IS for the JDP can be seen in many current political debates. For instance, HAK-IS signed the declaration of the National Will Platform (*Milli İrade Platformu*) with MUSIAD in order to support Erdogan in the 2014 presidential elections (Karakus, 2014). On the other side, we see labour syndicates such as Turk-Is and DISK siding with TUSIAD in supporting the interference by the Turkish Armed Forces in politics on the pretext of defending laicism in the 1997 *coup* (Cicioglu & Bayraktar, 2017: 57). It can be argued that the class struggle can be seen between the different religious/cultural camps of the same classes as well as between the upper and lower classes. The point that religious/cultural elements played an important role in the class struggle is very significant for this current research to comprehend the role of religion in the hegemonic class struggle.

Consequently, as the literature about the class structure in Turkey introduced above shows, different classes in Turkey are characterised by different cultural and religious identities. Nasr (2009: 248) suggested that "Turkey today hosts little in the form of class warfare, poor versus the rich; all that has been replaced by the clash of two middle classes, their tastes and habits, political preferences, and their contending visions of society and the economy". Therefore, the main issue for these rival classes is getting the consent of the masses in accordance with their own religious and cultural values, beliefs and discourses to maintain their class dominance in society. Thus, rival classes need to determine hegemonic strategies for their class dominance and it is these which are the main concern of this current study. Within the context of this hegemonic struggle, the Gramscian theory of hegemony provides the appropriate theoretical tools for us to research and comprehend how these rival classes sought to gain the consent of the subordinate classes.

2. A Review of the Literature

2.1. The Literature on the Hegemony-based Studies about the case of Turkey

So far in this chapter, the literature which has depicted the structure of social classes and the class struggle in Turkey has been presented with the aim of bridging the gap between theory and practice. By this means, we have determined the class-based understanding of society in Turkey on which the current research is constructed. We can now go beyond the detection of class struggle between the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and the rising Islamic middle class and consider the literature which has detected the efforts of those dominant classes to gain the consent of the subordinate classes for the sustainable maintenance of dominance in the long term. To achieve this, hegemony-oriented studies of the case of Turkey will be presented and discussed next.

Although they have focused on different periods of Turkish politics, there are significant studies in the literature which have explored the efforts of the Kemalist bloc to establish cultural hegemony in society in Turkey's history (Erdogan, 2009; Yalman, 2002a; Yalman, 2002b; Parlak, 2005; Yegen, 2009; Celik, 2009; Dogan, 2011; Damar, 2012; Ciftci, 2013; Ciftci, 2015).

Among those studies, Yalman (2002a; 2002b) approached the issue of hegemony from an historical perspective by going back to the early period of the Republic. Yalman (2002a; 2002b) studied economic development strategies as the designs of hegemony for reconstructing social integrity throughout the whole history of the Republic. He asserted that the *etatism* (statism), which was based on the creation of an historic bloc in power to realise economic development and create an organic society, was a hegemonic project in Gramscian terms (Yalman, 2002a: 10). His significant contribution to the literature was his remark that we should not restrict the issue of an historic bloc to only democratic capitalist state types and particular economic policies (Yalman, 2002a: 11).

Another significant contribution made by Yalman (2002a: 14) was his emphasis on the prevailing authoritarian characteristic of the state from the early days of the Republic despite the victory of the Democratic Party (*Demokrat Parti, abbr. DP*) and a

shift from a one-party system to a multi-party system in 1950. He explained that “this change of government hardly involved any change in the balance of forces either within the Turkish power bloc or between the latter and the masses” (Yalman, 2002b: 32-33). This observation is significant for the current study since it warns against equating the change in the government with a change in the deeper control of the state apparatus when seeking to understand the process of the transition from a war of position to war of manoeuvre. In Chapter 6, which is about legislation, we shall seek to understand the extent to which the JDP was able to challenge the structural constraints stemming from legislation on the terrain of Islam. Chapter 6 will therefore form a test for understanding the extent of change in the power balance of the hegemonic bloc.

Erdogan (2009) made a significant contribution to the literature by exploring the efforts of the Kemalists in the 1990s to encircle the civil sphere in order to further the consensual relationship between the Kemalist state apparatus and society. This is significant for the current study because the post-28 February process was determined to be the most appropriate period to study in order to understand the Kemalist hegemony. However, he separated neo-Kemalism from Kemalism and presented neo-Kemalism as the hegemonic version of the Kemalism which emerged in the 1990s and attached more importance to producing consent in civil society. We agree with Erdogan that Kemalism attached special importance to the sphere of civil society in the 1990s. As Damar (2012: 48) pointed out, however, manufacturing consent was a deliberate goal to ensure a laicist Kemalist hegemony even in the most authoritarian phase of the single-party period. In Chapter 6, the use of legislation in the post-28 February era will be discussed in order to show how Kemalism became unrivalled in the sphere of civil society in parallel with how the goals of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and Kemalist civil society began to initiate the civil society dimension of the Kemalist hegemony.

According to Erdogan (2009: 585), the deepening of Kemalism in society was only possible through popular-consensual sources and civil society organisations such as the Association of Kemalist Thought (*Ataturkcu Dusunce Dernegi*) and the Association for the Support of Contemporary Living (*Cagdas Yasami Destekleme Dernegi*) which provided civil support for the Kemalist restoration led by the state apparatus. How the Kemalist discourse reached the religious families which had no direct relationship with Kemalist civil society organisations is a significant question

which needs to be answered. More comprehensive attention to this point is needed in order to understand the diffusion of the official discourse.

Erdogan (2009: 586) also pointed out that neo-Kemalist discourse divided the political sphere into two antagonistic camps as laicist/anti-laicist, pro-Republic/anti-Republic, modern/reactionary and nationalist/separatist. The Kemalists were positioned on one side of this dichotomy and radical Islamists, Kurdish nationalists and second republican liberals were positioned on the other. The current research makes a significant contribution to the literature by tracing the reflection of this dichotomy on the terrain of religion within the textbooks of the RCMK lessons and revealing the evolution of the dichotomy in the JDP period.

Erdogan's (2009: 585) study was also important for highlighting the efforts of neo-Kemalism to create a civil pedagogy to accompany the modern state pedagogy of Kemalism. As he commented, support for eight years of compulsory education, campaigns for education and bursaries served that civil pedagogy. Those efforts for civil pedagogy cannot be thought of separately from the education policies of the state in the post-28 February process. This current study is designed to reveal the legislation which contributed to the dominance of Kemalism over civil society in order to realise civil pedagogy.

Ciftci (2013:149-154) gave a direct reference to Gramsci's concept of cultural hegemony and approached the issue of Kemalist cultural hegemony from an historical perspective by discussing the social and political events sequentially, starting with the era of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire until the 2010s. Although he did not refer directly to the distinction between structural hegemony and hegemonic projects underlined by Joseph (2002), he did depict Kemalist hegemony as a structural hegemony by arguing that the JDP and similar political parties can "function merely as interim period parties in the democratic system". He added that "This is because the historical experience and social dynamics verify the Kemalist ideology and its practices" and according to him, the state structure and social dynamics of Kemalism will always find an opportunity to remain permanent and re-exist more powerfully following each retreat (Ciftci, 2013: 169). Ciftci's conclusion could be strengthened by applying the theoretical discussions of Joseph (2000; 2001; 2002; 2008) regarding the distinction between structural hegemony and hegemonic projects. In this current study,

a detailed assessment of hegemonic projects will be offered by considering the limits determined by deeper structural hegemonies.

Ciftci (2013; 2015) reached a similar conclusion to that of the current study in terms of categorising the Kemalist hegemony as a structural cultural hegemony. However, he justified this conclusion by relating it only to the qualifications of Kemalism and by pointing out the success of Kemalism in solving the problems of society with examples from the historical processes. He did not present empirical data on how the consensual relationship was established between the Kemalists and Turkey's devout Muslim-majority population. The persuasive efforts of the Kemalists and the cultural hegemony instruments used in the process of persuasion therefore need to be analysed in detail beyond simply noting the existence of the Kemalist cultural hegemony. This current study is designed to fill this gap by focusing on the construction of consent in the late 1990s when the Kemalist hegemony was at its peak.

Unlike the studies discussed above which confirmed the Kemalist cultural hegemony, Yegen (2009: 56) approached the discussion of Kemalist hegemony with scepticism by questioning whether or not Kemalism had displayed the performance of a hegemonic ideology in the history of Turkey. According to him, there was no sign in the early period of the Republic to show that Kemalism had referred to a national-popular collective will (Yegen, 2009: 59-60). However, the state bureaucracy was aware of the gap between society and the radical laicism, ethnic nationalism and authoritarian centralism of Kemalist ideology. Community Centres (*Halkevleri*) and Village Institutes (*Koy Enstituleri*) could be regarded as an attempt to close this gap (Yegen, 2009: 61).

According to Yegen (2009: 65), following the failure of Kemalism and the victory of the Democrat Party in the 1950 general elections, Kemalism became a loose and less systematic set of ideas, rather than a comprehensive rehabilitation and construction project until the 1990s. Yegen (2009: 67) claimed that Kemalism/Ataturkism had not constituted the basis of the programmes embraced by Turkish society from 1950 until the mid-1990s.

In the mid-1990s, however, Kemalism, with a strong emphasis on the symbol of Ataturk, became a significant element of a systematic regeneration and construction process of society, in which the state was the main actor (Yegen, 2009: 69). The current

study is designed to show empirically the Kemalist symbolism based on the image of Atatürk by focusing on the mid-1990s. Yegen (2009: 70) argued that Kemalism revived in the mid-1990s as a response to the challenges by political Islam and Kurdish separatism to its modern, national and secular state-society model. This process also provided momentum for popular support for the 28 February 1997 *coup d'état*. Although Kemalism was embraced by civil society and was able to be diffused throughout society in a consent-based relationship, Yegen (2009: 71) was still sceptical about whether Kemalism was hegemonic or not. The current study will reveal the comprehensive and systematic process of discourse construction for the Kemalist hegemonic bloc as a response to whether or not the heterogenic character of the Kemalists prevented them from being hegemonic.

Damar (2012: 48) studied the development of Kemalist laicism and endeavoured to show the uniqueness of the Turkish model with reference to two periods: the early period of the Republic and the post-1990s. Damar (2012: 30-31) introduced the term 'Orientalist Fantasy' to explain the discursive and ideological power which maintained the antagonism on which the Kemalist laicism was constructed. He analysed the laicist discourse of the Republic elites regarding the Hat Law enacted in the early Republican era by the method of post-structuralist discourse analysis. He also discussed the Orientalist fantasy with reference to the laicist discourse of Kemalism regarding the veiling issue as the liberator of Muslim women after the 1990s. He sought to understand how the feelings of harassment and fear regenerated the Orientalist fantasy. In the opposite way to Damar (2012) who focused on the antagonisms between Islam and Kemalist laicism, we emphasised the efforts of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc to find common ground with the pious Muslims and to reconcile Kemalist values with Islam.

In a similar way to Damar (2002), Celik (2009) also approached the issue of hegemony by discussing the discursive dimension of Kemalism beginning from the foundation of the Republic. She discussed how the discourse on each principle of Kemalism was constructed. However, she did not position her study in relation to the wider discussion about the power relations and class struggle taking place in Turkey. Understanding cultural hegemony also necessitates understanding how consent for the principles of Kemalism was manufactured. CDA, the research methodology of the

current study, provides the opportunity to discuss the discourse regarding Kemalist principles with reference to their role on dominance and the class struggle.

In the literature, it is also possible to find studies which focused specifically on the relationship between hegemony and education (Parlak, 2005; Dogan, 2011). By applying the theories of Gramsci, Foucault and Althusser to the context of Turkey, Dogan (2011) studied how the idea of 'state' was constructed within school textbooks. He concentrated on the period from the Ottoman Empire era to early Republican era. The main shortcoming of his study, however, was its brevity, which meant that the textbooks could not be analysed in detail. Moreover, although he detected the efforts of the dominant class to provide legitimacy to the state apparatus by using Islamic references in political texts (Dogan, 2011: 2086) and school textbooks (Dogan, 2011: 2087), he did not use a specific method and did not provide a detailed analysis of the discourses about the role of Islam on how the state perception was constructed in those texts. The textbooks of RCMK lessons might give more detail in order to reveal the attempt to legitimate the state apparatus by instrumentalising the Islamic discourse. This current study, which dedicates one chapter to the analysis of the RCMK textbooks, provides a detailed insight into the construction of the Islamic discourse about the state for the legitimation of the state.

In addition to Dogan's (2011) investigation of discourse construction in the textbooks in general, Parlak (2005) studied the same period of the Republic but concentrated on a specific lesson. Parlak's (2005) findings made a significant contribution to the literature by emphasising the construction of Kemalist cultural hegemony in the History and Civic Knowledge lessons in the early period of the Republic between 1928 and 1946. As a research method, he applied the content analysis method to the textbooks of History and Civic Knowledge lessons. In those textbooks, Parlak (2005: 180- 441) analysed contents such as Kemalist principles, nationalism, state, nation, homeland, democracy, domestic and external enemies, Kemalist revolutions and the margins of the Republic by means of Gramscian lenses.

First, the current study differs from that of Parlak (2005) in terms of the period studied. The 1990s were significant in terms of the rising identity politics in the society as it was the period of the Islamic and Kurdish revival (Erdogan & Ustuner, 2002). Second, the 1990s signified a more developed civil society compared with the early

Republican period. It can therefore be argued that a tougher hegemonic struggle has taken place since then.

Among those studies which sought to comprehend the political history of Turkey in a hegemony-oriented understanding, those which concentrated on the period of the JDP (Tugal, 2009; Akca, 2014; Hosgor, 2014; Kucukali, 2014; Hosgor, 2015b; Ciftci, 2013; Ciftci, 2015; Kucukali, 2015; Cinar 2016) are also very significant for the current study to identify the gaps and locate this research and its findings in the literature.

Akca's (2014) study, which traced hegemonic projects in the post-1980 period, is important for evaluating the success of the JDP's hegemonic project. He stated the criteria for accepting that a hegemonic project is successful as unifying different factions of the bourgeois classes, gaining the consent of the subordinate classes excluded in economic and political terms, and ensuring the articulation of socio-political topics to its hegemonic project. Based on those criteria, Akca (2014: 31) claimed that the JDP was successful in uniting different factions of the dominant classes ranging from the Istanbul-based, large-scale bourgeois class to the medium- and small-scale bourgeoisie with urban conservative Muslims and a secular middle class which had upward social mobility opportunities. However, it is not easy to argue such a linear and sustainable success for the JDP when we consider the attitudes of TUSIAD, as the representative of the secular Istanbul bourgeoisie, and of the chairmen of large-scale, Istanbul-based companies to the situations and events arising from the disagreements on the issues of lifestyle and religion. For instance, Mustafa Koc, the chairman of Turkey's largest-scale company, criticised the JDP government severely for causing religious-oriented disputes and questioned the JDP's commitment to laicism in 2006 (Boland, 2006). Similarly, TUSIAD released a press statement expressing deep concern about the conservation of the principle of laicism due to the JDP's desire to nominate Abdullah Gul, one of the founders of the party, as a candidate for the Presidency of Turkey and the businessmen's association urged the JDP government to call an early general election in 2007 (TUSIAD, 2007). As can be seen from these examples, the conflict which required a special focus originated from religion and lifestyle.

Second, Akca (2014: 31) argued that the JDP was "particularly successful in gaining the consent of the most unorganised and informal sections of the working class, the rural poor, and housewives by introducing a neoliberal social policy regime". The

word ‘unorganised’ is key here, since the JDP was not able to unite all organised subordinate classes as can be seen from the instance of workers loyal to DISK. At this point, the main distinction between different organised subordinate classes was their ideology and their attitude towards religion. Therefore, under the same neo-liberal policies, what differentiated the attitudes of different subordinate classes to the neo-liberal policies of the JDP governments was their distance from the values and religiosity of the JDP cadres.

Akca (2014: 32) also acknowledged the success of the JDP in articulating matters originating from identity politics to its hegemonic project, to gain the assent of the devout-conservative Turkish and Kurdish populations. On this, the current study complements that of Akca since it provides an empirical opportunity to test the success of such an articulation of matters on the terrain of Islam to the hegemonic project by constructing a unifying Islamic discourse for the disadvantaged groups, namely devout Turks and devout Kurds, affected by the secular nation-building process.

Ciftci (2013; 2015) was another scholar who evaluated the success of the JDP’s hegemonic project just as Akca (2014) had done. He presented the JDP as the first actor in the history of Turkey to have the capacity to create a counter-hegemonic challenge to the Kemalist hegemony in Gramscian terms. To explain how the JDP sought to construct a cultural hegemony, he chronologically sorted the incidents from 2002 and subjectively interpreted them without explaining how they served the obtaining of consent, and equated the establishment of hegemony only to seizing control of specific state institutions. Equating hegemony to the seizure of specific state institutions is problematic since it does not explain the “moral and intellectual leadership” needed for the establishment of hegemony according to Gramsci (1971: 57). Moreover, Ciftci (2013: 168-169; 2015: 30) ended both of his studies with the argument that Erdogan and political Islamism would retreat, without explaining the re-shifting of hegemony from the JDP to Kemalists and without presenting the reasons for such a retreat.

Hosgor (2014) studied the crisis and discussed the shortcomings of the JDP’s hegemonic project starting with the conditions which had brought the JDP to power. A significant contribution of Hosgor’s study was the discussion which it brought to the literature that the success of the JDP’s hegemonic project did not follow a stable increasing path but had decreased downward from its first term. According to Hosgor

(2014: 299-301), political and economic reforms following the economic crisis in 2001 and the JDP's ability to reconcile the interests of different economic actors resulted in an increase in its hegemonic capacity. She also underlined the influence of the EU membership process on the construction of the party image to gain the consent of different segments of society (Hosgor, 2014: 301). As the reformist and pro-democracy image of the JDP became eroded and its enthusiasm for membership of the EU began to decrease, however, the party faced severe criticisms from left-liberal circles and pro-EU intellectuals (Hosgor, 2014: 322). Hosgor (2014: 313) insisted that the JDP's hegemonic project could not succeed in unifying different segments of society. Instead it was based on the polarisation of society and the consolidation of its own grassroots. When the social and political tensions in Turkey's recent history, especially in the post-28 February era including the period of the JDP governments, are taken into account, it can be seen that such a polarisation emerged because of the varieties in lifestyle and religiosity. The current study therefore provides a detailed explanation of the limits of the JDP's hegemonic project and the shortcomings of its culture construction by emphasising the issue of Islam which constitutes the main cleavage axis in society.

Similar to Damar (2002) and Celik (2009) who emphasised the discursive dimension of Kemalist hegemony, Kucukali (2014; 2015) studied the discursive hegemonic strategies in the JDP period. He analysed ministerial speeches, party group speeches and election rally speeches given between 2011 and 2012 using the discourse-historical approach (DHA), a type of CDA. Although he considered the religious discourse used by the JDP in those speeches, he did not focus solely on religious discourse. Kucukali (2014: 206) also discussed the pragmatic character of the JDP's religious discourse and argued that the party could instrumentalise and even neglect Islamic discourse in different situations. Unlike Kucukali's studies, the current study puts the terrain of Islam at the centre of the analysis and seeks to understand the shift in the discourse over a longer period, from the 28 February 1997 process to 2015.

Differing from the Gramscian understanding of hegemony in the hegemony-based literature, some studies have also attempted to explain the maintainability of the JDP's position as the incumbent party by referring to the concept of 'electoral hegemony' (Keyman, 2010; Muftuler-Bac & Keyman, 2012; Keyman, 2014; Keyman & Gumuscu, 2014; Cinar, 2016). Keyman (2014: 23) defined the concept of 'electoral

hegemony' in the JDP period as "the increasing gap between the incumbent party and opposition parties in terms of their capacity to win elections and govern Turkey" and as "the increasing frustration of the supporters of the opposition parties, especially the secular-urban-educated middle classes voting for the CHP [RPP]" (Keyman, 2010: 101). In this definition, Keyman put more emphasis on the despair of the opposition groups and neglected the consent of the allied groups. Cinar (2016: 1216) similarly described the JDP as a hegemonic party after specifying the criteria for succeeding in 'electoral hegemony' as winning the majority of seats in parliament in consecutive elections, gaining the ability to shape the national agenda with specific public policies, possessing bargaining power in the system and having authoritarian tendencies.

From the definitions in these studies, it is possible to detect two significant shortcomings of the concept of 'electoral hegemony' compared with the Gramscian understanding of cultural hegemony when seeking to comprehend the hegemonic struggle in Turkey: First, the concept neglects the distinction between winning an election and seizing power over the state apparatus. Second, it puts no emphasis on the construction of discourse, which is a necessary condition for sustainable long-term hegemony.

As can be seen from the most prominent hegemony-oriented studies which focused on the case of Turkey, the terrain of Islam is often neglected in studies which sought to understand how the Kemalist hegemonic bloc managed to persuade the pious Muslims and how the JDP sought to challenge the Kemalist cultural hegemony and construct a new social and moral system. Islam has a significant capacity to challenge any political orders with its large number of members, social mores and political ideology, philosophical methodology and distinct perception of the world (Evans, 2011: 1752-1753). Islam therefore has the power to challenge the common sense and to construct an alternative to the dominant paradigms. A significant contribution of the current study to the literature is that it locates Islam at the centre of the analysis. In the next part, the place of the current study in the literature which included Islam and Islam-related issues in previous studies will be discussed.

2.2. The Literature on Hegemony-based Studies of Islam

So far in this chapter, studies tracing the efforts of two main actors, the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and the JDP, for the production of consent and the establishment of cultural hegemony in a general sense have been reviewed. The need has been stressed for special emphasis on the terrain of Islam in the production of consent, which was overlooked in previous hegemony-based studies investigating the case of Turkey. In this section, attention will be directed more specifically to the elements of Islam, Islamism and Muslimness in the literature reporting the hegemonic/ideological/political use of those elements. The starting point is the hegemony-based Gramscian approaches to the topics of Islam, Islamism and Muslimness across the world. Attention will then turn to the case of Turkey in order to identify the gaps in the literature which this current study is designed to fill.

One of the prominent studies in the Gramscian literature is that of Butko (2004), who traced the rise of political Islam and brought a Gramscian approach to Islam as a counter-hegemonic force. He emphasised that contemporary Islamic theorists gained inspiration from Gramscian theory to develop an Islamic revolutionary and counter-hegemonic ideological system which had the capacity not only to challenge and overthrow the existing secular systems, but also to construct a new social and moral system and a different type of human being (Butko, 2004: 42).

After setting three prerequisites for the construction of a successful Gramscian counter-hegemonic bloc, ideology, organisation and strategy, Butko (2004) set out to find those prerequisites in the views of the key Islamic thinkers who had a significant influence on the ideological background of the Islamist movements. Pointing out the importance of the construction and dissemination of Islamic discourse and of educating the masses as examples of the Gramscian war of position (Butko, 2004: 57), he introduced *jihad* (holy struggle) as the ultimate phase of the revolutionary process, in other words as the phase of 'war of manoeuvre' (Butko, 2004: 59-60). Butko's findings, however, are not fully applicable to the case of Turkey. Although such an ultimate goal can be valid for cases such as Egypt and Iran, specifying the ultimate goal of the JDP in the case of Turkey as the *jihad* is disputable taking into account the position and discourses of the party in the fifteen years of its incumbency period. In those fifteen years, the JDP administrators explicitly renounced Islamism (Cizre-Sakallioglu &

Cinar, 2003: 327) and the Turkish laicist hegemony successfully absorbed Turkish Islamism (Tugal, 2009: 235). Second, unlike the current study which regards Islam as an area of operation by both laicists and the JDP, Butko (2004) depicted political Islam solely as an active ideology of counter-hegemony which guided the Islamists in their struggle against the laicist hegemony.

Like Butko (2004), Evans (2011) also investigated the counter-hegemonic dimension of Islam. Evans (2011: 1772) suggested that the fear of Islam which is seen in neo-liberal societies does not stem from a fear of violence, but from concern about Islam's capacity to create a counter-hegemonic challenge to the neo-liberal system. The most significant point for the current study is that Evans (2011: 1752-1753) identified the exceptional position of Islam within resistance groups against the neo-liberal world order as "its vast membership, its potential as a global mass movement, and its distinctive and complex tradition of religious belief, political ideology, social norms, world outlook, and philosophical method". This confirms the significance of Islam in the construction of a total paradigm which covers every aspect of the material world and the creation of an alternative conception of the world with its own norms, ideology and methodology against the common sense of hegemonic neo-liberalism. On the other hand, it is difficult to apply Evans's findings to the case of Turkey since the JDP does not have an exact resistance to neo-liberalism. On the contrary, the party maintains the neo-liberal policies and supports the Anatolian bourgeoisie.

Ayoob (2007) traced the anti-hegemonic capacity of political Islam within the issue of the north/south divide on the international level and considered the influence of Islam in terms of both ideology and political action. Similar to socialism, Islam is able to mobilise the Muslim people on behalf of God and by this means to challenge the domination of the north (Ayoob, 2007: 631). Ultimately, he claimed that political Islam also has the capacity to be an anti-hegemonic alternative for non-Muslim southern countries if the hegemonic policies of the north continue as they are now (Ayoob, 2007: 641-642). The current study focuses on the domestic level by investigating the capacity of Islam to mobilise the pious Muslims and the efforts of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc to minimise this mobilising power of Islam.

Of studies which shifted their attention from the international level to the national level, Simms (2002) applied a Gramscian perspective to the case of the Muslim

Brotherhood in Egypt from 1928, when the movement was born, until 1953, when Egypt achieved independence from British colonial rule. He argued that the Muslim Brotherhood became an instance of Gramsci's theory by developing a counter-hegemonic project in four areas. First, the Muslim Brotherhood introduced an Islamic model of national governance and a constitution shaped by Islamic principles (Simms, 2002: 579). Second, it designed an education system in line with the Qur'an which would liberate people from the mental oppression of the *status quo* (Simms, 2002: 580). Third, by creating an Islamic theology, the Brotherhood raised an ideational reference point to question the existing socio-cultural order in Egypt which had dominated people (Simms, 2002: 580). Finally, he argued that the Brotherhood determined *jihad*, which is defined as holy war in Islamic understanding, as the measure of last resort when it is not possible to defend the faith with non-violent methods. Simms interpreted the strategy of the Brotherhood as a contribution to Gramscian theory, since Gramsci neglected the possibility of overthrowing the state by force which would emerge as a result of the mobilising power of Islam in the counter-hegemonic struggle (Simms, 2002: 580-581).

Simms's (2002) findings might not be applicable to the case of the JDP since the JDP had not endeavoured to create a sharp break from the existing hegemonic values from the beginning. Rather, as Chapters 5 and 6 will show, the party preferred a gradual change and even maintained the existing elements in some cases in the official paradigm. More importantly, overthrowing the existing regime by force has never been an option for any of the Islamist movements in Turkey.

Like Simms (2002), Kandil (2011) also focused on Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood between 1982 and 2007. Discussing the reasons for the Brotherhood's failure to come to power, however, he sought to show the shortcomings of the Gramscian approach to counter-hegemonic strategies inspired by many Islamist movements (Kandil, 2011: 55-59). He suggested that the Brotherhood had successfully transformed the viewpoint of the masses and gained their support (Kandil, 2011: 55-56). According to him, however, the result was the state's use of coercive and disciplinary instruments against them, especially within the sphere of civil society (Kandil, 2011: 56). Similar coercive methods were applied against the Islamist movement in Turkey in the post-28 February era, such as political bans against the administrators of the WP and the closure of Islamic foundations. However, the JDP's strategy and the strategies of Islamist

movements in the history of Turkey have never been to clash violently with the state apparatus. Moreover, it can be argued that the JDP was partly successful in the war of position within its three terms in office. It is therefore not possible to test Kandil's (2011) findings regarding the shortcomings of Gramscian theory in explaining the counter-hegemonic movements.

In the case of Turkey, significant studies in the literature have sought to understand Islam, the concepts related to Islam or Islamic institutions as an element of ideological, cultural and political domination (Gulalp, 2002; Akpınar, 2007; Tugal, 2009; Dressler, 2011; Basdemir, 2011; Damar, 2012; Moudouros, 2014; Lukuslu, 2016). It should be noted that Tugal's (2009) study among those reviewed under this topic is the only one to have brought a Gramscian approach to the topic of Islam (Tugal, 2009).

Tugal's (2009) was one the most prominent studies which had a hegemony-oriented understanding of Turkish politics. He used ethnography as a research method and made systematic observations in Sultanbeyli, an Islamist-conservative district in Istanbul (Tugal, 2009). He analysed "the transformation of Islamists in a previously radical district" (Tugal, 2009: 2) and by this means sought to understand "the transition from Islamism to (economically) liberal and (culturally) conservative Islam" in this area (Tugal, 2009: 10).

Although Tugal (2009) detected the existence of the Kemalist hegemony, his study focused primarily on the rise of Islamism and the power shift from the Kemalists towards the JDP. According to Tugal (2009: 36), a strong laicist hegemony was established in the Republican era through the state apparatus to obtain the consent of citizens. The goal was to construct an urbanised, secular culture, to assert Turkishness as the most significant identity and to de-emphasise the economic differences by emphasising loyalty to Atatürk. On the other hand, he argued that Islamists were absorbed by neo-liberal laicism and the laicist bourgeoisie (Tugal, 2009: 51-56). He referred to the shift from radical Islam to a moderate, pro-western and pro-neoliberal model of Islam as a "passive revolution" (Tugal, 2009: 51-56).

First, in contrast to the focus of the current study which considers the whole population regardless of religiousness and secularity, Tugal (2009) concentrated solely

on the Islamist segments of society. Also, whereas Tugal sought to comprehend the transformation of the Islamists, the current study is designed to understand the transformation within the mechanisms and instruments of cultural hegemony and therefore targets the structures within which the individuals, Islamists and laicists, act.

The current study also differs from Tugal's work in terms of research method and case studies. Unlike Tugal's study, those individuals who do not have an ideological affiliation yet, such as the students who attend RCMK lessons, are also within the scope of the current study as a part of the population which is affected by the cultural hegemonic policies. Moreover, CDA, the research method used here, enables us to understand how the transformation of the mechanisms and instruments of cultural hegemony is related to the class struggle in Turkey.

Gulalp (2002) investigated Islam's role as a political ideology and sought to understand the variations of this Islamic ideology which emerged from the nineteenth-century Ottoman period through the history of Turkey. Young Ottomans, realising the need for a modernisation process in the late Ottoman period, endeavoured to instrumentalise Islamic discourse for the articulation of Western ideas. This was because Islam was perceived as the requisite for social cohesion within the Ottoman society which was composed of a significant proportion of Muslim Arabs (Gulalp, 2002: 25). Accepting Islam as an element of social cohesion necessitates a detailed analysis of how the discourse on Islam is constructed so that it can achieve such a social cohesion. The current research provides a detailed explanation of the construction of an Islamic discourse as the guarantor of social cohesion.

He also argued that the Kemalists perceived Islam as a political threat and believed that it should be kept under control by the state after the establishment of the Republic (Gulalp, 2002: 28). However, the Kemalists' instruments for controlling Islam are not explained. The current research provides a detailed analysis of how the Kemalist hegemonic bloc sought to construct a discourse about Islam to minimise the threat which it posed to Kemalist values.

Gulalp (2002: 31) introduced a modernist Islamist opposition which followed the same modernist goals as the Kemalists but was against the secular nationalist way of modernisation. Gulalp (2002: 32), however, suggested that contemporary Islamism

rejected modernism in an era when modernity had lost its momentum and become regarded as outdated globally and when authentic native culture was regarded as an important challenge to the hegemonic west. Gulalp approached Islam's role as a political ideology merely with reference to its standpoint towards modernisation and westernisation. In other words, the ideological dimension of Islam was explained with reference to what it opposed rather than what it defended. That study therefore did not provide a detailed explanation of the different ideological elements which can be derived from Islam.

Moudouros (2014) analysed 'conservative democracy' as the ideology of the JDP and traced the role of Islam and local values in the wider economic and political agenda of the JDP's conservative democracy. He stated that "the strategic role of Islam is traced in the dialectic relation developing between the de-secularization of capitalism and its legitimization within the wider masses" (Moudouros, 2014: 844). He regarded Islam and other local values introduced by the JDP as instruments for ensuring the permanence of the principles of globalisation (Moudouros, 2014: 844) and for consolidating and expanding capitalist values on Anatolian land with an ideological cover called 'conservative democracy' (Moudouros, 2014: 847).

In order to show how the party differed from the counter-hegemonic Islamist movements which, Butko (2004) and Evans (2011) pointed out, across the world aimed at challenging the neo-liberal order, and from the previous examples of Islamist parties in Turkey such as the Welfare Party, Moudouros's identification of the JDP's neo-liberal position is significant. However, reducing Islam merely to an instrument for legitimising capitalism might result in ignoring Islam's meaning as an end in itself for the JDP and the Islamic segments of the society. Moreover, Moudouros (2014) neglected the relationship between the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and capitalism and Western values and depicted the JDP as the first pioneer and the only advocate of a global capitalist system. The intention of the current study is to reveal the Kemalists' efforts to create an individualistic understanding of Islam in the RCMK textbooks used before 2002 to create Muslim individual customers for the market. The argument of Moudouros also ignored the JDP's rising conflicts with the West in general and specifically with the EU in recent years.

In addition to the studies discussed above which considered Islam as a political ideology, some of the studies in the literature traced political projects on the terrain of Islam by focusing on the issue of education (Lukuslu, 2016; Akpınar, 2007; Basdemir, 2011).

Lukuslu (2016) concentrated on education in order to understand the emergence of a ‘devout youth’ myth, a political and cultural project of the JDP in its third term between 2011 and 2014. Although Lukuslu’s (2016) study did not have a Gramscian theoretical framework, she did make significant observations about the transformation of national identity from a secularly defined one to an Islamicly defined one. She analysed the transformation under three sub-titles: the devout youth myth in political discourse, youth policies and education policies. She traced the discourse on ‘devout youth’ in several speeches given by Erdogan at different times (Lukuslu, 2016: 640). On the other hand, there is a need to research the extent to which the goal of ‘generating a devout youth’ in those speeches was actualised in the education system. The current study provides an opportunity to test the realisation of this goal by investigating the Islamic discourse in RCMK lessons.

As youth policies, Lukuslu (2016: 641-642) cited events commemorating three historical battles, the Malazgirt victory, Sarikamis and Gallipolli, organised by the Ministry of Youth and Sport. Under the subtitle of education policies, Lukuslu (2016: 643-644) very briefly discussed the reorganisation of middle and high schools, the reopening of Imam-Hatip schools and the FATİH project to integrate computer technology into public schools. In the current study, a more detailed investigation is carried out regarding the reorganisation of schools by critically analysing its effects on power relations.

Similar to Lukuslu (2016), Akpınar (2007) also examined Imam-Hatip schools as the instrument for creating “good citizens and conscious Muslims”. To explore this instrumentalisation, she conducted several individual interviews with principals, teachers and students, and group interviews with students. The focus of her research was how the principals, teachers and students felt and thought about a variety of issues such as morality and relations with the opposite sex; how they perceived the social world, how they differentiated Imam-Hatip schools from other school types; and how the standpoint of male students differed from that of females on a variety of topics. She

sought to understand the main discourses of Imam-Hatip principals, teachers and students, rather than how the education system was designed. An Imam-Hatip school is a special school type which provides an intensive religious education and is generally preferred by devout families. It therefore provides very limited information about the content and extent of religious discourse in other school types. The current study, however, considers the education system itself using an holistic approach by going beyond the Imam-Hatip schools and seeking to understand the paradigm of education which all children face, regardless of their family's stance on religion.

Basdemir (2011: 59) studied religious education, which is one of the current case studies, with a special emphasis on how the topic of Alevism was treated in the curriculum. Basdemir (2011: 61-70) compared Turkey's model of religious education with various models around the world and analysed the topics related to Alevism within the education curriculum. He found that the case of Turkey depended on education in the Sunni Hanafi school of Islam. The religious education based on the perspective of the official ideology accepted Islam as a homogeneous structure and endeavoured to standardise Muslims in Turkey, including the Alevi population, while differentiating them from the Muslims outside Turkey (Basdemir, 2011: 71).

Basdemir's study was successful in terms of reflecting the fundamental mentality of religious education in the case of Turkey, which can be summarised as the standardisation of the religious discourse and the creation of a single Muslim identity in order to close the gap between the different interpretations of Islam and the interpretation of the state, and thus the interpretation of the dominant class. However, there is a gap in the literature in terms of showing the standardisation of religious discourse within the education system, since Basdemir's study presents only a partial explanation of the standardisation of religious discourse by focusing only on Alevism. Moreover, taking into account that the topic of Alevism was included in RCMK lessons, a more recent and detailed analysis of RCMK lessons is needed in order to understand how Alevism has been regarded as a target for the creation of an historic bloc. The current study fills this gap by critically analysing the texts related to the topic of Alevism in RCMK lessons and showing why the new curriculum failed to initiate a new historic bloc between the JDP and the Alevi population as the historical victims of the Kemalist nation-building process.

Similar to the discussion about legislation in Chapter 6, Dressler (2011) analysed the legal discourse on religion in Turkey but with a special emphasis on Turkish Alevism. Dressler (2011: 194-196) focused on the judicial process of the Cultural Association of the Union of Alevi and Bektasi Organisations (CAAB) over the closure issue. He showed how Alevism was defined in the Turkish courts and how the discourse on Alevism was constructed by the Turkish legal system. He also discussed the petition presented to the Prime Minister by the CEM Foundation about the issues regarding the Alevi population, such as the recognition of *Cemevi* as facility for worship (a specific prayer room used by Alevi) and the share for the Alevi from the budget of the Presidency of Religious Affairs. In the response to that petition, it was stated that Alevism was accepted as a part of Islam and thus special treatment for it was rejected by the Ministry (Dressler, 2011: 197). Finally, Dressler discussed the decision and the theological investigation of the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) about the issue of Alevism with its historical roots and its relationship to Sunni Islam. The ECHR reached the decision that Alevism is regarded as within the Islamic tradition, influenced by particular Sufi figures, but possessing different religious practices from Sunni Islam in terms of pilgrimage, fasting and prayer. The ECHR, as a secular judicial authority, contributed to the construction of knowledge about Alevism, and by this means about religion (Dressler, 2011: 199). Dressler (2011: 200) defined this process as ‘religion-making’.

Although Dressler’s (2011) study was not hegemony-based, it is nevertheless very significant for revealing how the legal system, as a part of laic state organisation, constructs the discourse about religion. Therefore, Dressler’s concept of ‘religion-making’ explains the process of intervention in the discourse on a religious belief from outside that belief. A Gramscian framework, on which the current study hinges, can be more useful for understanding the influence of religion-making on the creation of ‘common sense’ and the construction of consent. By treating Islam as a whole, moreover, the current study seeks to fill the gap stemming from Dressler’s concentration on Alevism. We shall trace the official discourse of the state about Sunni Islam and Alevism in the textbooks of RCMK lessons as well as in the related legislation.

After reviewing the prominent studies in the literature regarding the hegemonic and ideological dimensions of Islam and Islam-related issues, it might be beneficial to discuss the contributions of the current research to the literature in the light of the research question, which is;

How has Islam been used as a site of hegemonic struggle in Turkey in the post-28 February process until 2015?

The current study treats Islam as the terrain/site of cultural hegemonic struggle. Treating Islam as ‘a site of cultural hegemony’ provides this research with two advantages. First, directing our attention from the actors of hegemonic projects, namely Islamists and Kemalists, to the site of the struggle will enable us to study on a larger population. Regardless of their religious or political stance, we investigate the whole population who are under the effect of cultural hegemonic projects. By this means, for instance, we can include pious Muslims who are under the influence of the hegemonic project of the laicist Kemalist hegemonic bloc. Similarly, we can also include secular people who are under the influence of the JDP’s hegemonic project. Moreover, we can also include people who have no ideological affiliation, such as school children and apolitical individuals.

Second, the hegemony-based studies in the literature have concentrated only on the counter-hegemonic role of Islam (Simms, 2002; Butko, 2004; Ayoob, 2007; Tugal, 2009; Evans, 2011; Kandil, 2011). In those studies, the discourse on Islam is not constructed from outside, but is determined from within by the Islamists themselves. Islam itself is therefore a challenger with its own perception of the world, rather than passively being challenged by the values of the hegemon. However, as the current study regards Islam as the site of hegemonic operations, it also becomes possible to identify interventions on the understanding of Islam from outside. It will also be possible to analyse the process of laicist discourse construction on Islam and Islam-related issues.

The current study therefore provides an outlook for comprehending the efforts of both the laicist/Kemalist hegemonic bloc and the JDP for the establishment of a cultural hegemony on the terrain of Islam. By examining the efforts of both the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and the JDP, this study provides an opportunity to follow the evolution of the discourse on the terrain of Islam and to make a comparison between two different and opposing actors’ cultural hegemony strategies. By using CDA, this study has a

significant strength compared with other research methods to analyse how particular discourses are manipulated, consent is manufactured and dominance is legitimised on the terrain of Islam.²⁹

Moreover, to fill the gap caused by relatively shorter studies which have not provided detailed empirical data, this current study is expected to contribute to the literature by analysing a significant amount of empirical data within two significant case studies which influence people's everyday lives: the textbooks of RCMK lessons as the site of the construction of the dominant discourse, and the legislation as the site of controlling and restricting alternative discourses. The RCMK lessons provide three significant advantages to the goals of this study. First, RCMK lessons have the capacity to reflect the fundamental paradigm of the whole education system since they are taught in every school type. Second, those lessons are comprehensive to the whole population since they are compulsory for all students regardless of their families' religiousness. Third, analysing those lessons enables us to comprehend the dominant discourses which are presented to children who do not yet have any ideological affiliation. Those lessons are therefore important for understanding the deep structural cultural hegemony since they reveal long-term culture-construction policies. By means of these two case studies, this study goes beyond simply detecting the existence of cultural hegemony and seeks to understand the mechanisms of cultural hegemony in detail. Since the two cases which will be studied influence the whole of Turkish society, they will reveal a more inclusive picture than the previous works about how the cultural hegemony was established.

²⁹ The strengths of CDA as the research method used in this study will be discussed in Chapter 4 in detail.

CHAPTER 4: DATA AND METHODOLOGY

In the previous chapters, the political history of Turkey with regard to the historical roots of the cultural hegemonic struggle was presented, the theoretical framework of the thesis was introduced and the literature regarding hegemony-based studies was discussed. It is now necessary to discuss the data and the methodology of the study in the light of the research question before conducting the research. Flick (2014: 145) described a research question as “a door to the research field under study”. A research question is a question to which the researcher endeavours to find possible answers throughout the process of collecting and analysing relevant data. All subsequent phases of the research are directed by the research question (Hennink, Hutter & Bailey, 2011: 33). The research question for this current study is;

How has Islam been used as a site of hegemonic struggle in Turkey in the post-28 February process until 2015?

This research question addresses two issues: it problematizes how the Kemalist hegemonic bloc had established cultural hegemony on the terrain of Islam in the post-28 February process, and it directs us to understand how the JDP has responded to the Kemalist cultural hegemony on the terrain of Islam. By this means, we also seek to investigate the continuities and discontinuities in the hegemonic project of the JDP.

The terrain of Islam is a vital area for anyone endeavouring to understand the consensual, tensional and from time to time conflicting relationship between centre and periphery in the case of Turkey. The terrain of Islam deserves special attention both for being a source of counter-hegemony for the pious Muslims and for being a targeted area of persuasion for laicist dominant groups. We therefore locate Islam as the site where the hegemonic struggle takes place at the centre of the research.

Seeking to understand the manufacturing of consent on the terrain of Islam necessitates a special focus on the concept and construction of discourse. Fairclough (1995: 95) stated that “discourse is itself a sphere of cultural hegemony” and success in the establishment of cultural hegemony depends on the ability to form discourse and discursive actions. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) particularly emphasises the

tactics of legitimation, manipulation, production of consent and different discursive means of shaping the minds of individuals in favour of the power holder (Van Dijk, 1995: 18). We can therefore trace such legitimation, manipulation and mind-shaping tactics for the aim of manufacturing consent on the terrain of Islam as a response to our research question. The ‘critical’ character of our discourse analysis enables us to go beyond mere detection of discourses and comprehend its influence on the maintenance of the existing class structure and sustainability of power and domination in the long term. That is to say, beyond simply detecting the discourses of the Kemalists and the JDP, we shall seek to understand how those discourses served the normalisation and internalisation of dominance and class privileges of the Kemalists for years and how the JDP responded to those discourses to challenge such dominance and privileges after 2002.

Miles and Huberman (1984: 42) pointed out that “knowing what you want to find out leads inexorably to the question of how you will get that information”. Thus the discussion on data and methodology becomes a key step for a researcher in order to find the possible responses to the research question. This chapter is dedicated to clarifying why particular data and methodology have been preferred. Throughout the chapter, the selection criteria and representativeness of the documents and texts, and the way of analysing those data, will be discussed. After starting with a brief discussion about what discourse refers to in the research, CDA will be explained in detail to show its advantages in a study which aims to comprehend a cultural hegemonic struggle. The chapter will end by explaining how the research method will be used in the case studies.

1. Qualitative Data of the Research

The data acquired in the research will be analysed in Chapters 5 and 6. In Chapter 5, we shall analyse the textbooks of Religious Culture and Moral Knowledge (RCMK) lessons to understand how the dominant discourses on the terrain of Islam were created, disseminated and imposed on society by the Kemalists and how the creation, dissemination and imposition of those dominant discourses were challenged in the period of the JDP by 2015. In Chapter 6, the emphasis will be on legislation to comprehend how official discourse on the terrain of Islam was manufactured and

disseminated, how dominant discourses maintained their monopoly in society, how alternative discourses on the terrain of Islam were restricted, and how the situation changed in JDP's first three terms of office from 2002 until 2015.

1.1. Textbooks of Religious Culture and Moral Knowledge Lessons

In Chapter 5, we shall endeavour to comprehend the education system as the site for the imposition of the dominant discourses on the terrain of Islam and for the construction of 'common sense' on the terrain of Islam. Analysing education provides us with an opportunity to comprehend the cultural hegemonic efforts which target students who do not yet have an ideological affiliation. By this means, our case study goes beyond short-term dominant discourse construction targeting ideological groups and reveals a deeper and long-term manufacturing of consent in favour of the dominant class. Moreover, the extent of the construction of the dominant discourse in the education system also reveals the extent of the construction in the whole public domain, since the education system is capable of representing all public life by reflecting the dominant discourse within the public domain.

After selecting education as one of the case studies of the research, RCMK lessons were selected as the area of study. According to the curriculum determined by the Turkish Ministry of National Education, RCMK lessons occupy two hours a week for students from fourth grade to eighth grade and one hour a week from ninth grade to twelfth grade (Official Gazette, 1982a). RCMK lessons are the only lessons in which the issues of religion and laicism are specifically taught although similar topics are handled in a variety of lessons such as 'Introduction to Social Studies', 'Social Studies', 'National Security Knowledge' and 'Revolution History and Kemalism' lessons. RCMK lessons therefore provide an advantage for understanding the official discourse of the state on the terrain of Islam compared with other lessons in the curriculum.

The data in Chapter 5 comprise the textbooks of the RCMK lessons used by primary, middle and high-school students. In accordance with the goals of the study, textbooks from two different periods were selected. First, we shall consider the

textbooks which were used in the post-28 February process until 2002 when the JDP came to power. This period is important for two reasons: first, Kemalism reached its peak following the intervention of the Turkish military in politics on 28 February 1997. Second, the period was the last term before the JDP came to power. The second period is the 2014-15 academic year, which corresponds to the end of the JDP's third term. By investigating the changes between 1997 and 2015, we might understand the ongoing cultural hegemonic struggle between the two actors.

Considering that it is unfeasible to transform the values, beliefs, worldviews and perceptions of each and every student in parallel with the official values, beliefs, worldviews and perceptions of the state led by the dominant class, the main goal of analysing the data composed of the texts from the RCMK textbooks is not to detect the transformation of the values, beliefs, worldviews and perceptions of each and every student. As Giroux (1981: 94) stressed, a cultural hegemony is achieved by determining the content and form of discourse in the society and thus by positing specific ideas as universal and natural. The RCMK textbooks are therefore a useful tool for the dominant group in terms of being able to impose on students what the 'mainstream' is in the area of religion and more specifically of Islam. Accepting an attitude towards Islam as mainstream eases the normalisation of such an attitude. Students can accept the official attitude of the dominant class towards Islam as normal, ordinary and acceptable even if they and/or their family members have a different attitude to the same issue. By such a normalisation, students' tendency to develop a revolutionary challenge in their future life against the values, beliefs, and ideas which they accept as mainstream can be expected to decrease. Consequently, consent is manufactured for the values, beliefs, worldviews and perceptions of the dominant class. In the current study, therefore, we are focusing on the construction of the 'mainstream', rather than on students at the individual level.

One of the most significant criteria for selecting the textbooks of RCMK lessons as the data for research was their inclusiveness. The word 'inclusiveness' refers to the maximum number of people in the society who have a link to the documents which are analysed in this study. Under Article 24 of the *Turkish Constitution*, RCMK lessons are compulsory for all grades in primary, middle and high schools (Official Gazette, 1982a). This means that all students who are educated in the Turkish education system

attend these lessons and use the basic textbooks as the main learning resource. Moreover, as a consequence of the inclusiveness criterion, RCMK lessons are more preferable than other optional religious lessons in schools or in private courses, such as Qur'an courses. Since those private courses are optional, students whose families prefer not to send their children are excluded from them. RCMK lessons, however, are compulsory for all Muslim students regardless of the sect and religiosity of their family.

In terms of inclusiveness, RCMK lessons are more advantageous compared with other types of dissemination of religious discourse. For instance, Friday sermons (*hutbe*) preached during Friday prayers in all mosques are determined by the Turkish Directorate of Religious Affairs but only have an effect on those people who attend Friday prayers. RCMK lessons, however, have an impact on all students aged between eight and eighteen.

Article 24 of the Turkish Constitution brings state control and supervision for instruction and education in ethics and religion (Official Gazette, 1982a). In other words, the state has a direct impact on the content of education and instruction in religion and, from a Gramscian perspective, this content can be seen as a reflection of the world-views, values and beliefs of the power holders in the state apparatus. The content of the religious education therefore provides an opportunity to comprehend how the ruling groups dominate the discourses in religious education. Moreover, direct control and supervision by the state over RCMK lessons offer an advantage over private religious education opportunities provided by a variety of religious groups (*cemaat*). Although those private religious education facilities are supervised and controlled by the state, the curriculum of religious lessons taught in schools are directly determined by the state.

1.2. Legislation

In Chapter 6, the data will be drawn from legislation, namely the Turkish Constitution, laws, regulations and bylaws. The legislation texts which we shall analyse are determined from their impact on Islam, Islamic organisations, Islamic symbols and lifestyle. Similar to the case study regarding education, we shall study the period from

28 February 1997 to 2015, which corresponds to the end of JDP's third term. When selecting the legislation, its validity was taken into account rather than its date of enactment. We shall therefore analyse legislation which is valid between 28 February 1997 and 2015.

Legislation is known as the site of sanction and coercion. In addition to these roles, legislation also possesses a discursive and normative character. Each legislation reflects the official discourse of the state, and accordingly the discourse of the hegemon. They are significant tools for positioning the values of hegemon as 'common sense' values. Legislation imposes a particular vocabulary on society and determine the boundaries of acceptable and unacceptable discussion. In Chapter 6, we shall consider particularly the long-term hegemonic dimension of legislation rather than their short-term coercive dimension. As the example of the headscarf ban at universities shows, the short-term coercive outcome of the related law is the banning of women with headscarves from continuing their education at university. The long-term hegemonic effect of such a ban is manufacturing the discourse that religious women are not eligible for university education and by this means normalising the secondary position of religious women in society.

Understanding the state apparatus is key to understanding the domination and hegemony relations in a society. One of the most important features of the laws is that they are enacted by specific organs of the state and can therefore be interpreted as the reflection of the "will of the state" (Heywood, 2000: 24). Being the 'will of the state' refers to 'reflecting the world-view of the state', in other words reflecting the world-view of the power holders. The documents which are analysed in this study are therefore very important in terms of reflecting the world-view of the state apparatus and the hegemon who control it.

Moreover, legislation possesses a direct effect on the instruments of counter-hegemony, such as private religious education facilities, the media and mosques, and accordingly limit the expression of alternative discourses on the terrain of Islam in society. Foucault (1981: 52) pointed out that "in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events ...". Legislation is therefore the most effective and most comprehensive

procedures for controlling the production of discourse. So analysing the legislation is significant for understanding how the dominant group has monopolised discourse, limited the emergence of alternative discourses and maintained its privileged position in terms of procuring the acceptance of its values as normal and common sense.

Another important feature of the laws is that they are binding upon all the citizens to whom they apply (Heywood, 2000: 25). Accordingly, legislation has an impact on the whole society rather than a specific group. If there is a law, regulation or a bylaw which regulates the religious practices and discourses in a society, each citizen who has a link to that religious practice or discourse is influenced by the law, regulation or bylaw.

Furthermore, laws are compulsory and enforced by means of punishment and coercion; people have to obey all laws without an option of ignoring some of them (Heywood, 2000: 24-25). Consequently, legal documents have an absolute impact on citizens and are therefore the most effective tool of the ruling class on the lives of subordinate classes. They determine or restrict how citizens can practise their religion and how they can act in public with their religious identity.

2. Research Method: Critical Discourse Analysis

So far in this chapter, the data, namely the textbooks of RCMK lessons, and related legislation have been introduced and discussed. The second part of the chapter starts by clarifying what the notion of ‘discourse’ refers to in CDA. CDA will then be discussed as the chosen research method for this study. We shall seek to bridge the gap between CDA and the current study by discussing the relationship between the concept of cultural hegemony and CDA. We shall complete the chapter by revealing how we shall use CDA in the case studies.

2.1. Discourse

In a variety of disciplines in the social sciences and humanities, the concept of discourse has a very important place. The reason for its importance is its relevance to the role of language in people's relationships with each other and with the world and thus to the creation and design of the cultural, political and social structure of societies (Hyland & Paltridge, 2011: 1).

The term 'discourse' has a broader definition according to critical discourse analysts. Discourses are accepted as forms of social practice in CDA (Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak, 2011: 357). Discourses can create social reality and in order to comprehend social relationships, people need to refer to the discourses which create them (Phillips & Hardy, 2002: 3).

A discursive event has a dialectical relationship with various elements of the circumstances, social structures and organisations by which it is framed. This dialectical relationship, however, is reciprocal, which means that, on the one hand, the circumstances, social structures and organisations shape the discursive event, and on the other they are also shaped by it (Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak, 2011: 357). In other words, discourse is both 'socially shaped' and 'socially constitutive': it forms elements of knowledge, circumstances and the relationships between and social identities of individuals and groups of individuals. Its constitutive character can be seen in terms of sustaining and reproducing the current situation in society or in terms of contributing to the transformation of it (Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak, 2011: 358).

Gee's (2000: 197) definition is significant in terms of pointing out how particular discourses are accepted as natural and normal, whereas others are otherised and marginalised:

Discourses are characteristic (socially and culturally formed, but historically changing) ways of talking and writing about, as well as acting with and toward, people and things. These ways are circulated and sustained within various texts, artefacts, images, social practices, and institutions, as well as in moment-to-moment social interactions. In turn, they cause certain perspectives and states of affairs to come to seem or be taken as 'normal' or 'natural' and others to seem or be taken as 'deviant' or 'marginal' (e.g., what counts as a 'normal' prisoner, hospital patient,

or student, or a 'normal' prison, hospital, or school, at a given time and place).

The socially constitutive character of discourse brings us to the standpoint that discourses are a set of different options, that is to say “the construction of any representation of reality is necessarily selective, entailing decisions as to which aspects of that reality to include and how to arrange them” (Barker & Galasinski, 2001: 65). Because it is selective, construction of discourse on any issue is not a neutral process.

Moreover, what CDA focuses on is the ‘power resource’ aspect of language which is associated with socio-cultural change and ideology (Bryman, 2012: 536). Beyond being solely a statement of social practice, according to Jäger & Maier (2009: 35), discourses result in the “exercise of power”. Link (1983: 60, in Jäger & Maier: 2009: 35) highlighted the relationship between discourse and power by defining the notion as “an institutionalised way of talking that regulates and reinforces action and thereby exerts power”. Discursive acts can have a significant role in the restoration, justification and perpetuation of the *status quo* or they can be used to transform the *status quo* (Barker & Galasinski, 2001: 65). This makes CDA vital for cultural hegemony research.

Foucault (1981: 52) stated that the control, selection, organisation and redistribution of discourses are achieved by means of several procedures in order to assert dominance over them and to defuse their power and negative risks. He suggested that it is possible to witness procedures of these kinds in every society. Foucault (1981: 52-53) explained why power holders endeavour to control discourses to assert dominance over them by stating that;

Discourse is not simply that which manifests (or hides) desire - it is also the object of desire; and since, as historians constantly teaches us, discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination, but is the thing for which and by which there is struggle, discourse is the power which is to be seized.

If we bridge the gap between Foucault’s point of view and the current study, it is possible to assert that the Kemalist hegemonic bloc sought to control the discourses in the terrain of Islam in order to assert dominance over those religious discourses and to defuse the power and negative risks of those discourses on the religious population. Similarly, the JDP sought to challenge the efforts of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc with

its own agenda after 2002. For this reason, discourse has not only been a notion which explains the existing struggle for domination in Turkey, it is also a target which both Kemalists and the JDP seek to seize.

2.2. Critical Discourse Analysis

In the previous part, what the notion of ‘discourse’ refers to in the current study was discussed. Comprehending how the particular discourses, world-views, beliefs and values of a group dominate the discourses, world-views, beliefs and values of other groups in society necessitates the analysis and interpretation of such discourses, world-views, beliefs and values. In the current study, critical discourse analysis (CDA) will be the means of analysing and interpreting the data which has been discussed so far.

CDA as a way of scrutinising the notion of ‘discourse’ originated in the ‘critical linguistics’ which emerged in the UK and Australia at the end of the 1970s as a challenge to the formal paradigms which dominated the literature in the 1960s and 1970s (Alba-Juez, 2009: 236; Machin & Mayr, 2012: 2). It is possible to associate the notion of ‘critical’ with Marxist theory and afterwards with the Frankfurt School of Philosophy (Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak, 2011: 361). The adjective ‘critical’ corresponds to the standpoint which rejects the existence of impartial and value-free analysis (Renkema, 2004: 282). Being ‘critical’ is the distinctive feature of the CDA. By being ‘critical’, a CDA analyst seeks to denaturalise the language in order to show the presuppositions taken for granted and particular views embedded within texts (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 5).

CDA supplies methods and theories which are essential for researching the relationships between discourse and cultural and social relations in various social contexts empirically (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 60). Van Dijk (2001: 352), a scholar who studied CDA, defined the method as “a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context”. He regarded CDA as a type of research which is in opposition to the supporters of the idea that a ‘value-free’ science is possible. He pointed out that critical discourse analysts are

aware of their mission in society and that there is a burden on the shoulders of analysts to take an explicit stance and thus to comprehend, to disclose and eventually to withstand social inequality stemming from the discourse. Here, the role of critical discourse analysts overlaps with the role of this current study in terms of pointing out the inequality in the society which stems from the cultural hegemony of the dominant group. Coffin (2001: 99) underlined such a critical view towards language by defining the method as “an approach to language analysis which concerns itself with issues of language, power and ideology”. Fairclough (1995: 132-33), another prominent scholar in the field of CDA, explained the method as follows:

By CDA I mean discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations, and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony.

An important feature of CDA is its emphasis on the structures and ways of domination and resistance among different gender, religion, language and age groups, classes and races which are discursively legitimated. In other words, the legitimacy of such domination and resistance relationships is taken for granted or accepted as natural. Here, CDA endeavours to divulge and unveil the latent one in the discursively legitimised domination and resistance relationships (Van Dijk, 1995: 18).

CDA also seeks to underline the ideologies embedded in the social relationships by which domination in society is reproduced or resisted (Van Dijk, 1995: 18). Therefore, CDA is an important tool for the current research in order to understand the ideology which reproduces the dominance of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and to comprehend the emergence of resistance (or counter-hegemony) by the JDP against it.

Moreover, CDA aims to tie macro and micro levels to each other. Domination, power and inequality among different social segments in society belong to the macro level, whilst verbal dialogue, discourse and usage of language belong to the micro level. A racist expression in a specific parliamentary discussion is a discourse which belongs to the micro level. On the other hand, this discourse at the micro level might be an

article of a law or reproducing the racism at the macro level (Van Dijk, 2001: 354). The current research also aims to bridge the gap between cultural hegemony in the terrain of Islam at the macro level of social interaction and the dissemination of particular religious discourses at schools or in daily life at the micro level.

2.3. Bridging the Gap between CDA and the Current Study

To bridge the gap between the theory and the methodology, the discursively legitimised rule of a dominant class/group leads us to the relationship between CDA and the concept of *cultural hegemony*. An important element of power is ‘control’. Such control can be realised through action by directly restricting the actions of subordinate groups or through cognition based on persuading people and manipulating or shaping their thoughts in the direction of the powerful group’s interests. Shaping others’ thoughts is fundamentally a matter of talk and text (Van Dijk: 1993, 254). Coffin (2001: 99) described the fundamental goal of CDA as “to highlight how language serves to construct particular ideological positions which entail unequal relations of power”. Our viewpoints on a variety of issues such as immigrants, nationalism and being British are shaped by means of language. Thus, institutions and people act according to this language since the language is perceived as common sense and neutral (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 25).

What is important in CDA is the persuasive impact of power, a special understanding of power in association with the concept of cultural hegemony in the theory of Gramsci, which explains the means by which dominant classes successfully persuade subaltern classes to ensure the latter’s acceptance of the former’s political, cultural and moral institutions and values. In this sense, hegemonic beliefs, manners and views are constructed by discourse, so they are seen as common sense and usual (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 24).

Fairclough (1995: 94) highlighted two dimensions of the discourse-hegemony relationship. First, the struggle for hegemony and hegemonic implementations considerably manifest themselves as discourse practices in various forms of speaking and writing. Particular discourse conventions (for example, in order to conduct a

doctor/patient consultation, or mass media reportage) tacitly reflect particular ideological stances, world-views, notions and standpoints for different social actors (such as surgeons, patients, respondents in interviews, audiences) and particular viewpoints about the relations between different actors (such as the relationship between a surgeon and a patient). Naturalisation of the discourse conventions is the most influential way of sustaining and reproducing the ideological and cultural aspects of hegemony. Therefore, an important objective of struggling for hegemony is to denaturalise the actual conventions and replace them with new ones (Fairclough, 1995: 94). Fairclough (1995: 95) specified discourse as a site of cultural hegemony and argued that “the hegemony of a class or group over the whole society or over particular sections of it ... is in part a matter of its capacity to shape discursive practices and orders of discourse”.

CDA is a significant means of analysing how legitimation and manipulation occur, how consent is manufactured and how the minds and behaviour of people are directed to the interests of the particular groups which hold the power (Van Dijk, 1995: 18). As Van Dijk (1993: 258) pointed out, shaping people’s discourses, activities and perception of the world can be managed by controlling their knowledge. Education is therefore a site where the discourses, activities and world perception of young generations are shaped and their knowledge on nearly every topic is controlled. Thus, it becomes important to critically analyse the speeches and texts in the means of education in which the construction of knowledge takes place.

Education is one of the case studies in this current study and we can benefit from CDA to critically analyse the textbooks of RCMK lessons. Educational research has widely benefited from CDA because it is a trans-disciplinary and issue-based set of methods and theories (Rogers, 2011: 1). Rogers (2011: 1) stated that “educational practices are considered communicative events; it therefore stands to reason that discourse analysis would be useful to analyze the ways in which the texts, talk, and other semiotic interactions that learning comprises are constructed across time and contexts”.

Based on our research question, which is *How has Islam been used as a site of hegemonic struggle in Turkey in the post-28 February process until 2015?*, we benefit from CDA in order to comprehend the manufacturing of knowledge and the

construction of meaning in the textbooks of RCMK lessons. We can critically analyse how students' discourses, perceptions and values on the terrain of Islam have been shaped by both the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and the JDP. The word 'critically' provides us with the opportunity to go beyond detecting the dominant discourses within the textbooks and to reveal the role of such discourses in wider power and class relationships in Turkey.

Legislation constitutes the second case study of this study and is also analysed by means of CDA. In addition to the coercive dimension of legislation, its discursive dimension and its relationship with power, dominance and class structure are also crucial for our investigation of the role of legislation in the cultural hegemonic struggle. Gramsci (1971) stated that the power possessed by the ruling group could be embedded in laws, statutes, social norms and customs, and take the shape of hegemony. Law is the site where power is expressed (Gellers, 2015: 484).

Legal language is the intersection point of language and social power (Mertz, 1994: 441). Howarth (1995: 124) stated that "hegemony is achieved if and when one political project or force determines the rules and meanings in a particular social formation". Such a meaning is constructed by discourse (Barker, 2004: 55). One of the sources of language is law and law is enforced almost completely by means of a particular language (Gellers, 2015: 484). In other words, law is the site of discourse. Moreover, discourses in a society are also regulated by laws (Määttä, 2007: 166). This means that beyond being the site of discourse on its own, the legal boundaries of acceptable and unacceptable discourses in society are also drawn by the current legislation. Law produces the basis for hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourse – its possibilities and limits, conditions of operation, what is acceptable and unacceptable, legitimate and illegitimate.

Foucault (1978: 88) also underlined the need for persuasion by stating that "power must be exercised in accordance with a fundamental lawfulness". In other words, the actors who use power need to persuade others of the lawfulness of that power usage. Mertz (1994: 441) stated that "through legal language, the state imposes its interpretations and its appropriations (of physical and symbolic power), and social actors struggle to shift existing power relations". Legal discourse is distinctive with its tendency to determine the limits of political envisagement and to persuade society that

social institutions and arrangements are rational and just, or indispensable and accordingly legitimate (Klare, 1982: 1358).

CDA emphasises the production and reproduction of domination and power in a society by means of discourse (Alba-Juez, 2009: 238). By means of CDA, therefore, we can analyse discourses in the legislation to understand legislation's persuasive and consent-manufacturer character. We could thus find an opportunity to reveal how the existing power and domination relations in society are perceived as normal and natural and how the ideological backgrounds of such relations are constructed.

2.4. Using CDA in the Research

Textbooks of RCMK lessons constitute one of the two case studies in the current research study. We shall analyse those textbooks by means of CDA to comprehend how the discourse on the terrain of Islam had been constructed, disseminated and imposed on Turkish society by the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and how the construction, dissemination and imposition of the discourse have been challenged by the JDP. In order to comprehend the construction of cultural hegemony within the textbooks, the following topics were selected which reveal the efforts for cultural hegemony in the textbooks:

- The State;
- The Military;
- Economic differences;
- The Image of Ataturk;
- Laicism;
- *Tarikats* and *Cemaats*;
- Family;
- Alevism.

These topics are either the site of positive discourse construction in favour of the values, beliefs, perceptions, world-views and institutions of the dominant class or the site of negative discourse construction against the values, beliefs, perceptions, world-

views and institutions of the subordinate classes which might pose a threat to the cultural hegemony of the dominant class. In other words, those topics are either the site of creating the common sense or challenging the common sense in Gramscian terms. In accordance with the goals of the CDA, discourses related to each topic will be analysed critically by going beyond the text itself, emphasising their impact in the wider social context and revealing their role in the power relations and class struggle.

To achieve this, an effort was made to detect the discourses which were manufactured to reconcile the Kemalist values with Islam. In other words, we shall emphasise the persuasion of the devout Muslims to minimise the threat perception caused by the laicist principle of Kemalism. For instance, the discourse within the topic of laicism is constructed so that the pious Muslims could be persuaded that the laicism does not pose a threat for Islam.

Dressler (2011: 193) stated that “binaries play an important part in the discursive constitution of the religious in dialogue with its dialectical other, the secular”. In other words, the religious and the secular are defined as opposite concepts. In this definition, the secular one is accepted as hither, whilst the religious one is positioned as other. Dressler (2011: 193) described these binary concepts as “a means of world ordering”. This refers to creating a hierarchy between different conceptions of the world and favouring the one which serves your cultural superiority while otherising the ones which pose a threat to it. We shall seek to detect binaries in the textbooks in order to understand the favoured and unfavoured values, perceptions and viewpoints about the terrain of Islam, laicism and Islam-related issues. In some cases, those pairs of binaries are visible in the text, whereas in other cases one of a pair of binaries is hidden, implied rather than directly stated. Detecting the binaries such as progressive/reactionary, modern/outdated within the texts is significant for understanding how some approaches to Islam are dignified and others are disparaged. For instance, religious and worldly are presented as opposite binaries in the textbooks (Uludag, Hokelekli & Uysal, 2000: 88).

The us-them divide is a general strategy employed throughout the textbooks of RCMK lessons. Pronouns such as ‘we’, ‘us’ and ‘them’ gather people for or against particular viewpoints. The textbook writer presents his views as ‘our shared views’ and constructs a collective ‘other’ opposing ‘our shared views’ (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 84). As Van Tijk (2006: 126) pointed out, such a ‘we-them’ divide is supported by “positive self-

presentation (boasting) and negative other-presentation (derogation)". For instance, the statement of 'our religion', which is used in many of the RCMK textbooks, aims to gather the readers, namely the students, under the umbrella of 'we' and persuade them in favour of 'our interpretation of religion'.

Furthermore, the 'we' position in the 'we-them' divide is concentrated in the personality of Atatürk in the texts. We shall therefore also analyse how the image of Atatürk is used as the guiding reference point for almost every issue. By this means, we might understand how the cultural leadership of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc was guaranteed. We shall also analyse how the JDP has instrumentalised the image of Atatürk to challenge the 'them' position which has been located by Kemalist hegemonic bloc.

Machin and Mayr (2012: 30) pointed out that the textbook authors might choose some specific words to explain something while avoiding using other words. Therefore, lexical choices in the texts become very important when we seek to comprehend the discourse within the texts. We shall therefore focus on word choices in the explanations about religion itself, religiosity or religious practices in the textbooks. The word 'motherland' (Arslan & Eryılmaz, 2000: 83-84), which is used to refer to Turkey, is one example of the lexical choices in the textbooks.

Legitimizing with reference to Islamic sources, such as verses and speeches of the Prophet or sayings of other Islamic figures, is another discursive tactic which we shall look for when analysing the texts. Islamic sources can be used to legitimate the values of the dominant class, to support the institutions of cultural hegemony or to ensure the internalisation of the domination. For instance, under the topic of 'Military' in the fifth-grade textbook, sayings of the Prophet Muhammad are instrumentalised to gain consent for compulsory military service (Akgül *et al.*, 2015: 131-132).

Another important point is the presuppositions within the texts about "what kinds of meanings are assumed as given in a text"; some meanings in a sentence might be taken for granted by the authors (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 153). For instance, the identity of 'Turkishness', instead of 'Muslimness' is taken for granted in many texts as the national identity.

The choices about the representation of people is another point which will be analysed in Chapter 5. Within the texts, some dimensions of a person's identity can be underlined or neglected, which influences perceptions, values and views about them (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 77). Role models are presented in the textbooks and acceptable or favourable religiousness is defined by reference to those role models. For instance, Ataturk is a strong figure presented as a role model for students with his views, values, beliefs and discourse about Islam. His sayings about Islam are carefully selected in both the textbooks used before 2002 and those used in 2015.

CDA not only helps in analysing the verbal dimension of discourse, it also assists in analysing different semiotic dimensions such as pictures, music, sound and movies (Van Dijk, 1995: 18). We shall therefore also analyse the discourse in the illustrations and pictures in the textbooks of the RCMK lessons as they are important tools for constructing common sense on the terrain of Islam. Under the subtitle of the 'Image of Ataturk', we shall seek to understand how the image of Ataturk is constructed for cultural leadership of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and for the consensual relationship with devout Muslims. Under the subtitle of 'family', we shall seek to understand how the favourable Muslim family image was constructed.

To understand the construction of cultural hegemony by means of legislation, the Articles regulating the following issues were selected:

- Religious everyday life;
- The State;
- The Presidency of Religious Affairs
- Political parties;
- Associations and foundations;
- The Headscarf;
- Primary and Secondary Education;
- Imam-Hatip Schools; and
- Higher Education.

The most significant feature of legislation for the current study is its direct role in constructing discourse about a variety of issues from the daily actions of individuals to institutions and lifestyle. The topics listed above are sites of discourse about religion,

laicism, the role of religion in political, social and economic life, religious institutions, religious and non-religious lifestyle. The aim is to detect the construction of discourse in those areas within the legal texts which will be analysed.

To analyse the legislation, discourses were selected which reflect the values of the dominant Kemalist hegemonic bloc. Such discourses are significant for equating the Kemalist values with the official paradigm of the state and positioning those values as common sense. For instance, the Constitution states the principle of laicism as one of the fundamental features of the Republic. By this means, a laicist interpretation of Islam becomes common sense by means of legal discourse.

Detecting binaries within the legislation is another point which will be emphasised. By exploring binaries, we shall emphasise what distinguishes a legal religious practice from an illegal religious practice, such as wearing a headscarf in schools and public institutions. Illegalising particular actions on the terrain of Islam directly shapes people's perception of religion and influences the place of religion in their daily life. Understanding the criteria for being 'unacceptable' according to the existing legislation, which is the means of controlling, restricting and banning particular discourses on the terrain of Islam, is vital in order to understand which acts or discourses are regarded as normal, natural and acceptable and which are regarded as unusual, criminal and antagonistic to the existing order.

When analysing the legislation by means of CDA, similar to the analysis of the textbooks, we shall also emphasise the lexical choices of the law-makers. Lexical choices in legislation are significant in shaping the vocabulary of people. For instance, the word 'enlighten' is used to describe the duties of the Presidency of Religious Affairs (Official Gazette, 1965: 1), which can be interpreted as a reference to the 'Age of Enlightenment'. Presuppositions can also be detected in the legislation, such as the necessity and favourableness of 'harmony', 'unity' and 'integrity' among people when determining the rules of acceptable wearing standards in public institutions.

The use of honorifics (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 82) and metaphors (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 163-165) are other discursive tactics of text producers. It is also possible to detect such tactics in the legislation. In the preamble of the Turkish Constitution, Ataturk is described as the "founder of the Republic", which is an example of the use of

honorifics, and as an “immortal leader and the unrivalled hero”, which is an example of the usage of metaphor as a tactic to manufacture consent in favour of Ataturk and Kemalism.

We shall also analyse the discursive actions and situations which emerge as a result of the enforcement of the legislation. For instance, the structural constraints on graduates of Imam-Hatip schools stemmed from legislation regarding the Student Selection and Placement Examination (SSPE) and resulted in the domination of secular values within the social space of the university. The situation which emerged from such constraints possesses a discursive dimension in itself.

In both case studies, finally, we shall approach the issue of discourses in the wider context with its relation to power relations, structural hegemonies and hegemonic projects. We shall seek to comprehend how the discourse was used both to sustain and to challenge the existing class structure in Turkey. The current study is therefore more of a political examination of texts rather than a technical one which focuses on linguistic techniques. In accordance with the main goals of the study, we shall emphasise the role of discourse manufacture on the persuasion of the Muslims in the process of the cultural hegemonic struggle between the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and the JDP, rather than being drowned in the grammatical structure of the texts.

CHAPTER 5: EDUCATION AS THE MECHANISM OF IMPOSITION OF THE DOMINANT DISCOURSES ON THE TERRAIN OF ISLAM

1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, the data and the research method used in this study were described and discussed. In this chapter, we shall begin to operationalise those data by means of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with the aim of understanding how education had been instrumentalised in order to construct and disseminate the ruling laicist discourses, values, beliefs and perceptions regarding religion and particularly Islam over the pious Muslims. Because the focus is on Islam as the site of a cultural hegemonic struggle between the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and the JDP, special emphasis will be given to religious education in this chapter. The textbooks of RCMK lessons are the main source of the data in this investigation of religious education.

Gowarek (1977: 55) stated that “by examining the structure, processes and contents of an educational system we may learn more about the fundamental aspects of a society than by any other [means]”. So by directing our attention to the Turkish education system, we aim to understand the existing dominant discourse in society which reflects the official standpoint of the state and the dominant class in Turkey. For this aim, Chapter 5 starts with a discussion of the theoretical framework which reveals the role of education in the manufacturing of consent and the establishment of cultural hegemony. We shall then move on to the operational section of the chapter by selecting the texts in the RCMK textbooks which serve to establish a cultural hegemony and we shall analyse the discourses in the texts by emphasising their role on the normalisation, universalisation and internalisation of dominant values.

2. Education and Cultural Hegemony

Beyond being merely an informative practice, the ideological, cultural and hegemonic aspects of education have been highlighted by many scholars (Lipset, 1959; Key, 1961; Inkeles, 1969; Gramsci, 1971; Shapiro, 1974; Gowarek, 1977; Goultman, 1977; Giroux, 1981; Bowles & Gintis, 2011). Culture and education were very significant for Gramsci's thinking (Forgacs, 2000: 53). Our starting point in considering the relationship between cultural hegemony and education is Gramsci's (1971: 350) statement that "Every relationship of hegemony is necessarily an educational relationship". In Gramscian terms, education has three main roles. First, to construct discourse and shape the values, perceptions and thoughts of people and by this means to gain their consent. Second, to influence the hierarchy in society as a consequence of inequality of opportunity in the education system. And third, as Gramsci highlighted, to gain intellectual autonomy (Forgacs, 2000: 53).

Gramsci (1985: 42) focused on the instrumentality of schools in the process of shaping the world perspectives of the new generations by commenting that "tomorrow, like today, the school will undoubtedly be a crucible where new spirits will be forged". The metaphor 'crucible' symbolises the place where steel is forged and the action of forging symbolises the giving of a shape to the steel. He therefore perceived the school, and the education system by extension, as the site of shaping individuals in line with the goal of creating a new 'conception of the world'. According to Gramsci (1985: 39-40), schools possess a significant role both for the present generation to realise a communist society and for the future generations to be raised with the mentality of the new order. Gramsci (1985: 40) explained this role as follows:

The present generation will be educated into the practice of the social discipline necessary for the realization of a communist society, with assemblies and direct participation in deliberation and the administration of the socialist state. The school will have the task of rearing the new generations, those who will enjoy the fruits of our sacrifices and efforts, those who will reap, after the transitional period of national proletarian dictatorships, the fullness of life and development of international communist democracy.

In every society, regardless of its simplicity or complexity, education is instrumentalised for the socialisation and integration of citizens. The main goal is to convey essential knowledge, abilities and values to people for the reproduction and

maintenance of the social order (Gowarek, 1977: 55). Bowles and Gintis (2011: 11) similarly stated that schools perpetuate the legitimate forms of inequality by designing the prototype of the social relations of an economic system in the school environment and by accustoming students to their eventual positions in the social hierarchy, labour market and work-place environment which they will later face. In developing countries, education is regarded as the most significant factor which can compel individuals to break with tradition and to tend towards modernity (Inkeles, 1969: 212). Attending a school influences an individual's attitude to God, to destiny, to the opposite gender, to the earth and to politics (Inkeles, 1969: 212-13). The school is the space where people internalise values (Inkeles, 1969: 213).

Giroux (1981: 94) suggested that there are four different but interrelated stages of hegemony operating in a school curriculum. First, a culture which is supposed to be popularly legitimate is determined. Second, cultural elements in society are categorised as being subordinate or superior. Third, the relationships in the classroom and school are determined and legitimised. And finally, the diffusion of and accession to various forms of culture and information by different cultural groups are organised. Giroux argued that all of these stages in the curriculum indicate how particular purviews and values are imposed to guarantee the hegemony of the dominant culture.

Gramsci (1971: 242) clearly associated the state's role in the field of formation and education with the issue of gaining the consent of the masses. What he meant by the state's formative and educative roles is the construction of a newer and more developed civilisation and the shaping of that civilisation and the moral level of the people in it in accordance with the needs of economic means of production in order to ensure their uninterrupted development. Gramsci consequently referred to raising a new type of human being, even in physical terms.

Gramsci (2000: 63) emphasised that the child of a family from the proletarian class was not able to attend school even though he/she had enough qualifications and intelligence. In other words, education was accessible only by the privileged part of the society. Hence, the education system was a tool for the maintenance of the existing social structure. Rutz and Balkan (2009: 38) similarly pointed out the influence of education on the emergence of a hierarchy in society:

A hierarchical system of attained levels of education is conducive not only to the reproduction of a social hierarchy but also attuned to economic hierarchies related to expertise and manpower needs for a developing division of labour in an emerging industrial economy. Together these features function to satisfy the role that the education system plays in socializing individuals to become loyal citizens and disciplined workers in modern nation-states.

Gramsci criticised the education system in Italy for being merely the affair of the bourgeoisie. He argued that the secondary schools and high schools administered by the state were funded by state income derived from direct taxation of the proletarian class but that only children of families from the bourgeois class, who possessed the economic freedom necessary for continuous study, were able to receive an education in these schools (Gramsci, 2000: 62-63). He argued that education and culture became a service for the privileged. There was no option for the children of the proletariat except mispending their qualifications on other activities or becoming autodidacts or vagrants (Gramsci, 2000: 63). To overcome such a problem, for him, the education system should be accessible for everyone in the society (Gramsci, 2000: 63-64). The school should be a place of freedom and children of the proletarian class should have the opportunity to access options in terms of education for the development of their character so that their productivity can be at maximum level both for themselves and for society (Gramsci, 2000: 64).

In the early stages of his thinking on education, he emphasised the question of how people from the working class can gain autonomy intellectually. For Gramsci, achieving intellectual autonomy could enable workers to make their own decisions without delegating decision-making to career intellectuals of the bourgeois class. By this means, they could act as a ruling class (Forgacs, 2000: 53). So the notions of intellectuality and education are vital interrelating aspects of Gramscian understanding of cultural hegemony (Hoare & Sperber, 2016: 39). Gramsci (1971: 10) regarded school as the means of training intellectuals from a variety of levels. Intellectuals who have been educated and shaped at school then play a role in the education of ordinary men and develop their intellectual capacity. Consequently, those ordinary men possess the capacity for self-education and convert into independent actors of the newly arising culture (Hoare & Sperber, 2016: 39).

Finally, a significant question which needs to be addressed when researching the hegemonic role of education is whether education is within the boundaries of civil society or political society in Gramscian understanding. Civil society and the state should not be regarded as physically distinct and completely separate terrains. Both terrains primarily consist of social relations (Simon, 2015: 72). Therefore, an organisation can be within the boundaries of both civil and political society. In the case of education, Gramsci particularly regarded the school as an element of civil society since the pedagogic relationship between educator and student does not have a coercive character (Simon, 2015: 73)

In the case of Turkey,³⁰ modern education was seen as an instrument for the realisation and legitimation of the Republic and the creation of a modern economy and a national culture (Rutz & Balkan, 2009: 37). The ‘modern’ character of Turkish education stemmed from the radical departure from religion and was actualised by introducing the laicist education reforms which the laic nation-state required (Rutz & Balkan, 2009: 39). According to Ataturk and his cadre, cutting the ties with the Ottoman-Islamic past could be realised by means of education based on nationalism (Simsek, Kucuk & Topkaya, 2012: 2816). Ataturk told teachers that “The Republic requires guards who are powerful in terms of ideology, scholarship, science and corporeality and possess high moral quality. Raising the new generation in accordance with these qualities and abilities is in your hands” and added that “your achievement will be the achievement of the Republic” (Ataturk, 1989, cited in Simsek, Kucuk & Topkaya, 2012: 2816). These statements can be seen in parallel with education’s role in the creation of ‘a new conception of the world’ in the Gramscian sense.

Considering that the main goals of a ‘war of position’ are the penetration to the terrain of civil society by disseminating a new world conception to society and the preparation of the civil society in cultural and intellectual terms for conquest by an already established hegemony, the political strategy of the Islamists to win a victory in the political battle against the dominant forces should be based on an active, conscious and long-term tactic which prioritise the education and re-education of people in the

³⁰ Following the establishment of the new Republic, a Law on the Unification of Education (*Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu*) was enacted as an initiative of the Republican People’s Party in the Turkish Grand National Assembly in 1924. Under this law, the education system was centralised within the hands of a single state institution, the Ministry of National Education (Rutz & Balkan, 2009: 37).

light of Islamic principles (Butko, 2004: 57). In Turkey's case, education became the site where the JDP's 'war of position' took place. In this sense, Recep Tayyip Erdogan complained about the inability of the JDP government to win the cultural area, stating that "Politically ruling is one thing. Socially and culturally ruling is another thing entirely. We have been in power for 14 years but we still have problems with ruling in the social and cultural field" (HDN, 2017). He pointed out the vital need for education to win the cultural struggle by stating that "Teaching the Qur'an and the life of the Prophet Muhammad in all schools is nice. But we still have many deficiencies in raising the generations that we have dreamt of" (HDN, 2017).

Religious education in Turkey has been designed by state officials based on indoctrination and propaganda and the education system has never provided any technical education in religion. The curriculum was not designed for pedagogic goals but for ideological goals. Diversity in terms of interpretations of religion was completely ignored and a single curriculum was taught throughout the whole country. The curriculum hinged on the claim of defending the absolute truth about religion in defiance of pluralism (Basdemir, 2011: 60). Therefore, the religious discourse within the RCMK lessons becomes a key issue which reveals the cultural hegemonic struggle in a country where clashes take places within the area of religion.

3. The Texts and an Analysis of the Texts in the Textbooks of RCMK Lessons

In this chapter, the textbooks of RCMK lessons used in the post-28 February process until 2002 and the textbooks used in 2015 will be analysed treating each title separately using CDA. The post-28 February process refers to the period starting with the 28 February 1997 *coup d'état* until 2002, when the JDP achieved its first general election victory³¹ just one year after its foundation in 2001. The year 2015 refers to the end of the JDP's third term in government. By comparing the situation in the atmosphere of the post-28 February process with the situation in 2015, the intention is

³¹ In the 2002 general elections, the JDP won 363 of the 550 seats in the Turkish Grand National Assembly with 35% of the total votes, and came to power without the support of a coalition partner (SCE, 2002).

to detect the continuities, evolutions and dramatic changes between those two hegemonic projects under the effect of deeper structural hegemonies, namely the global capitalist order, the religion of Islam and the official paradigm of the State coded in legislation of the country. The study therefore addresses the question:

How has Islam been used as a site of hegemonic struggle in Turkey in the post-28 February process until 2015?

Considering that cultural hegemony refers to the ideational control by the dominant class by producing and distributing the dominant values, social practices and views, and that one of the institutions used for such mental control is the school (Giroux, 1981: 94), we shall focus on the school in order to comprehend the discursive aspect of the cultural hegemonic projects on the terrain of Islam carried out by both the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and the JDP. We shall seek to understand how particular discourses in the education system, more specifically in RCMK lessons, were constructed and disseminated and what changes they underwent between the post-28 February process and 2015. The titles³² explored in this chapter are;

- The State;
- The Military;
- Economic Differences;
- The image of Atatürk;
- Laicism;
- *Tarikats* and *Cemaats*;
- Family; and
- Alevism.

The first three topics are directly related to the three pillars of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc (the Kemalist bureaucracy, the Kemalist military and the Kemalist

³² Although the majority of the texts discussed in this chapter have a direct relationship with religion and religiosity, some texts such as those about the military service under the subtitle 'Military' and the duty of paying taxes under the subtitle 'State' have an indirect relationship with religion and religiosity. There are two reasons for including them in this chapter. First, their presence in the textbooks reveals that those subtitles are associated with Islam by the producers of the textbooks. For instance, the figure of Atatürk with his ideas about Islam and religiosity is presented as a role model for students. Second, some discourses which directly serve the hegemony of the dominant class are supported by means of the references given to religious texts. For instance, the duty to pay tax and the duty to undertake military service promote the idea of obeying and serving the state authority and are legitimised by means of religious references such as Qur'an verses and Hadiths.

bourgeoisie) and signify the organisational dimension of the hegemonic struggle. The discourse regarding those topics directly targets the consent of the pious Muslims regarding these three pillars. The maintenance and/or gradual change regarding the discourse about these topics also gives clues about the tactics and limits of the JDP's hegemonic project. The topics 'The image of Atatürk' and 'Laicism' disclose the ideological aspects of the cultural hegemonic struggle. These topics are the sites where the Kemalist hegemonic bloc aimed at constructing a persuasive discourse which would ensure the normalisation and internalisation of Kemalist values in the eyes of the pious Muslims and minimise the threat perception stemming from the tension between laicism and Islam. The topic '*Tarikats* and *Cemaats*' directs attention to a significant collective organisational force of pious Muslim opposition within the sphere of civil society. This topic reveals the clash of completely different discourses by the Kemalists and the JDP. The topic 'Family' is important because the family as a social institution is one of the determiners of discourse within civil society. Both the Kemalists and the JDP sought to shape the mainstream family image in order to minimise the effect of antagonist families as a determiner of discourse. The topic 'Alevism' is a new topic which was not present in the post-28 February textbooks. It constitutes the national-popular dimension of the JDP's hegemonic project.

The textbooks of RCMK lessons constitute the main source of data for understanding the hegemonic projects of both the Kemalists and the JDP. There are several reasons for selecting RCMK lessons as the source of data. First, the dominant discourses within the texts are in parallel with the dominant discourse in the public sphere and reflect how the state, and accordingly the ruling class, approaches the issues of Islam and Muslimness. For this reason, understanding the discourse in those texts corresponds to understanding the discourse in circulation in the public sphere and public institutions in general. The discourse in the texts can be regarded as a summary of the state's and the ruling group's standpoint on a variety of topics regarding Islam, Muslimness, religious lifestyle, state/religion relationship and other religions. Second, RCMK lessons also reveal the discourse on Islam which is in circulation within civil society. Because students spend most of their time at school away from their parents' influence, the discourse flowing in the educational space has a significant effect on them. Third, a significant feature of RCMK lessons is their capacity to represent the discourse of the entire education system. Beyond merely reflecting the official

interpretation of religion, RCMK lessons also give clues about the dominant discourse and ideological stance which shape the content of other lessons and the cultural tendency of the education system in general.

Table 1 RCMK Lessons' Hours per Week (Official Gazette, 1982a)

Lesson Name		Number of Lessons in a Week for Each Grade											
		Primary School + Middle School								High School			
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Religious Culture and Moral Knowledge	2002	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	*
	2015	0	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1

Finally, under Article 24 of the Turkish Constitution, RCMK lessons are compulsory for all types of school, including private schools, beginning from fourth grade until the end of twelfth grade. All students, with the exception of students from non-Muslim minorities, have to attend RCMK lessons until they leave high school (Official Gazette, 1982a). These lessons are therefore very inclusive in terms of reaching all students, including students from Alevi families, and disseminating the discourse of the ruling class to them.

3.1. The State

The normalisation and internalisation of obedience to authority is vital for the emergence of a consensual relationship between the state and its citizens. The concept of 'state' has a very important place in analyses of the Marxist tradition. It is accepted as the most prominent institution among all other institutions which operate to secure and perpetuate exploitation and class domination (Miliband, 1991: 520). Within the *Communist Manifesto*, it is defined as "the executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie" (Marx & Engels, 486, cited in Miliband, 1991: 520). Gramsci (1973: 204) described the state as

the coercive institution which controls the masses in compliance with a particular mode of production and economic order. So manufacturing consent for the state also means manufacturing consent for its coercion mechanisms.

Gramsci (1971: 244) wrote that “the State is the entire complex of practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains its dominance, but manages to win the active consent of those over whom it rules”. Gramsci (1971: 263) described the state as the sum of political society plus civil society and argued that the state possesses elements of civil society. When the state is regarded as government in the narrow sense, it is protected by means of the hegemony which takes place in the sphere of civil society by private organisations such as schools, syndicates and the Church (Gramsci, 1973: 204). On the other hand, hegemony is guaranteed “by the armour of the coercion” which is realised by the state (Gramsci, 1971: 263). Consequently, the state apparatus lies at the heart of the dominant class’s efforts to achieve cultural hegemony. Construction of positive discourse about the state is directly related to the prestige of the dominant class and to manufacturing consent in favour of the dominant class.

The state was the terrain where the second element of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc,³³ the Kemalist bureaucracy, was located. So manufacturing consent for the state also meant manufacturing consent for the Kemalist bureaucrats. Since a powerful bourgeois class was absent, state bureaucrats used political power to reach the economic level of European countries (Atasoy, 2009: 72). The state therefore became the terrain of a development project carried out by bureaucrats to design a social structure and class relations by supporting the development of large-scale private capital, by creating an industrial national bourgeoisie and by repressing small-scale producers and labour (Atasoy, 2009: 74). Ataturk’s rule was based on the coexistence of capitalists and statist bureaucrats alongside newly emerging entrepreneurs within the structure of his party. He had a mediating role between these two pillars of economic development (Ahmad, 2007: 159). Thus, the state became the site of action for the Kemalist bureaucracy and the instrument for the creation of the Kemalist national bourgeoisie.

³³ As has been explained previously, the Kemalist hegemonic bloc comprised three elements: the Kemalist bureaucracy, the Kemalist military and the Kemalist bourgeoisie.

Consequently, constructing a positive discourse about the state became a key step for manufacturing consent in favour of the state where the Kemalist bureaucrats acted and the Kemalist bourgeoisie benefited from concessions. This was achieved by underlining its indispensability in people's lives by constructing a Muslim-friendly state image and by supporting such a discourse with Islamic references. If we look at how the JDP responded to such a discourse construction, we detect that the JDP did not prefer a frontal attack, a war of manoeuvre, against the state establishment, but rather preferred war of position by gradually increasing its control over the state apparatus. Tugal (2009) named this process a passive revolution, the absorption of Islam. The outcome of this passive revolution was "the integration of antisystem cadres and strategies into the system" (Tugal, 2009: 148) and increasing the loyalty of the Islamist activists to the state (Tugal, 2009: 239). This tendency can be seen in the maintenance of the discourse regarding the state in the 2015 textbooks.

3.1.1. Post-28 February Textbooks

Text 1³⁴

Since the State carries out its duties in the best way towards individuals, people become deeply loyal to it. For this reason, dying for the sake of Allah is considered equal to dying for the sake of the state. Belief has a significant role in the birth and internalisation of such a loyalty.

Each Muslim standing in the presence of Allah accepts loving his/her state as sacred as loving his/her religion. Whenever possible, it is prayed 'May Allah not harm our State and Nation'. In this way, integration of state and nation is also a fundamental principle according to our religion. (Bolay, 1997: 62)

Analysis

Prominent discourses:

- The state is a beneficial entity for the people.
- Being loyal to the state is the same as being loyal to *Allah*.

In the first paragraph, the state is presented as an entirely beneficial entity which carries out its duties for people in the best possible way. By this means, people's loyalty

³⁴ This text, entitled 'Integrity of State and Nation', is from the tenth-grade RCMK textbook.

to the state is rationalised by the discourse of ‘state as the server of people’s interests’. The word ‘deeply’ is the antonym of ‘superficial’ and signifies persistency of loyalty. In the second sentence, sacrificing self for the state is equated to sacrificing self for *Allah*. Considering the position of *Allah* in Islam, the state gains a very sacred importance in the eyes of believers by this discourse.

In the second paragraph, ‘loving the state’ is presented as expected behaviour and the only common attitude for all Muslims. The discourse is strengthened by the discourse that *Allah* confirms the sacredness of loving the state and equates it to the sacredness of loving religion. Since loving Islam is an undeniable condition for being a Muslim, loving the state also becomes an undeniable condition for being a Muslim. Praying against any harm befalling the state and the nation is emphasised. Praying for the state and nation makes any challenging action against the existing state structure and social structure impossible. Finally, integration of state and nation is depicted as a fundamental principle of Islam. By this discourse, every individual as a part of the nation is compelled to be integrated with the state.

Text 2³⁵

The state, with all its institutions and organisations, is responsible for serving the people. The main mission of the state and its rulers is to guarantee the implementation of laws. ... to guarantee peace and mutual trust in society, citizens are supposed to obey the laws.

Laws are written rules designed to conserve trouble-free and harmonious collective habitation and to ensure justice in society. ... Laws are passed to provide society with an environment in which to live at peace. Penalties are determined for those who ruin this peaceful environment.

When making laws, the needs and capacity of society, and the sentimental values of individuals such as morality, manners and customs, are taken into account. Laws made in this way are easily embraced by society.

... In Islam, after obedience to Allah (the God) and Resul (the Prophet), obedience and respect to the rulers of the state come second.

Our religion values rights and liberties. It attaches importance to guarding the rights of others. Accordingly, it can only be possible by obeying and showing respect to the laws. (Arslan & Eryilmaz, 2000: 80-81)

³⁵ This text, entitled ‘Obeying the Laws’, is from the ninth-grade RCMK textbook.

Analysis

Prominent discourses;

- The state is a beneficial entity which always serves the people.
- Laws are necessary for a peaceful society.
- The morality, manners, customs, needs and capacity of society are taken into account when making laws.
- Respecting the state, its rulers and its laws is an obligation in Islam.

The discourse in this text regarding the need for the state and its laws is supported by reference to Islam. A strong emphasis on the positive sides of the state apparatus can be seen at first glance. The state is presented as an entity with the sole duty of serving the people. The implementation of laws is regarded as a requisite for mutual trust and peace in society. The references to ‘mutual trust’ and ‘peace’ link to the relations and issues between people. So an authoritative relationship between state and people is not part of the text. Also, the possible conflicts and problems stemming from the existing laws are not mentioned in the text either. The necessity for and benefits of the current laws are taken for granted. Unquestioning and automatic obedience to the laws is expected from citizens. This expectation makes any opposition to the laws an abnormal and intolerable act.

Two significant benefits of the laws are specified as “to conserve trouble-free and harmonious collective habitation” and “to ensure justice in society”. The law’s mission of ‘conserving trouble-free environment’ makes those who oppose those laws trouble-seekers. The word ‘harmonious’ refers to acting in the same manner and ‘collective’ refers to togetherness in action. So acting together in the same manner is presented as an expected attitude from the people. Thus, any acts against the collectiveness are illegalised and criminalised by this discourse. The discourse about the law’s mission of ‘ensuring justice’ is based on the binary of ‘justice’ and ‘injustice’ and aims at increasing reliance on the laws. With this discourse, the laws cannot be against justice. The discourse locates anyone who opposes the laws as an agent of ‘injustice’. Since the laws are associated with ‘peace’, infringing them is associated with ruining the “peaceful environment”. Penalties are imposed on those who ruin the peaceful environment. The antonym of ‘peaceful environment’ is disorder, which is an undesired

situation for people. So by showing the risk of an undesired situation, the discourse legitimises the punishments for those who oppose or break the law.

In the third paragraph, the main discourse is that moral values and traditions are taken into consideration in the process of legislation. According to this discourse, the laws cannot be against the values of a Muslim society. This aims at persuading the pious Muslims about the compatibility of the laws with Islamic values. It is also expressed that those laws compatible with the values of society are embraced by the people. The text therefore imposes on society the stance that they should take without questioning. Thus, embracing the laws becomes the only acceptable option for people.

Obedying and respecting the rulers of the state is equated with obedience to God and the Prophet. Obedience to God and the Prophet are indispensable and unquestionable prerequisites for being Muslim. Rulers are therefore regarded as being in the same category as God and the Prophet. As obedience to God and respect for the Prophet is an obligation for a pious Muslim, the same is expected in regard to the rulers. This discourse aims at manufacturing the consent of pious Muslims for the rulers of the state who represent the dominance of the dominant class.

In the final paragraph, rights and liberties are presented as values of Islam. But the following sentence reveals that such rights and liberties also belong to other people in society. The concepts of ‘rights’ and ‘liberties’ are used to show the boundaries of people’s actions in order not to violate other’s rights and liberties. Therefore, rather than increasing people’s boundaries of action, the discourse about rights and liberties restricts those boundaries. Obeying the laws is regarded as compatible with the values of Islam. By this discourse, obedience to the laws is ensured with Islamic references.

Text 3³⁶

...

Citizens should be conscious of the sacredness of paying tax, they have to pay tax based on their income to the state because every penny paid to the state is spent for the benefit of the people.

³⁶ This text, entitled ‘Paying Tax and Its Sacredness’, is from the ninth-grade RCMK textbook.

According to our belief, serving the people is equal to serving Allah. The state is an entity which is established in order to serve the people. ... (Arslan & Eryilmaz, 2000: 81-83)

Analysis

Prominent discourses;

- Paying tax is sacred.
- The state serves the people in order to serve God.

Paying tax to the state is defined as a sacred act for Muslims. These payments are said to return to the people as services. The religious word ‘sacred’ grants an Islamic value to the action. Being sacred makes an activity acceptable to God. In other words, such an activity is ethically evaluated with reference to religious norms. In this statement, a value is determined for the services of state. The term ‘tax’ symbolises this value. This discourse gives the message that the services of the state have a value and that people must be grateful for those services. Paying tax is a consequence of showing gratitude.

Moreover, serving the people is associated with serving God. According to this discourse, the state is in line with the commandments of God. From this point of view, the state cannot have a negative effect on people in order not to contradict the will of God. So gaining the consent of people for such a beneficial entity becomes easier for the Kemalist hegemonic bloc which controls the state apparatus.

Text 4³⁷

“O you who have believed, obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you.” (Arslan & Eryilmaz, 2000: 89)

³⁷ Under the subtitle ‘Verses of the Qur’an about the Topic’ in the ninth-grade RCMK textbook, verse Nisa 4/59 is quoted. For the English translation of the verse, follow: <<https://quran.com/4/59>> [Accessed: 15 March 2018].

Analysis³⁸

Prominent discourse;

- People must obey the commands of the public authorities as they obey the commands of God and the Prophet.

This verse states that believers must obey the commands of *Allah*, the prophet as the messenger, and the authorities. Here, the public authorities are ranked alongside religious authorities – God and the Prophet. Thus, people’s obedience to the public authorities is equated with obedience to God and the Prophet. It can be interpreted that Islam is being used as an instrument to legitimise and normalise obedience to the public authorities.

Although it is not specified in the verse, the word ‘authority’ connotes the authorities of an Islamic administration. In the text, however, it is used in order to ensure people’s obedience to the capitalist state apparatus and the public authorities controlled by the Kemalists. Interiorising obedience to authorities diminishes the revolutionary tendencies of the religious groups against the power of the authorities of the capitalist state apparatus.

Text 5³⁹

The motherland is the geographic piece of soil on which people live. At first glance, it is just a piece of land. When this piece of land is in danger, people fight and are prepared to be killed for it. Many mothers lose their sons, many brides lose their valiant husbands. Thus the stones, ground, mountains and rivers of this land gain new meanings. Each of them becomes an obstacle and a bulwark against the enemy. That piece of land is treated with great respect. That piece of land becomes the homeland which is irrigated with the blood of martyrs. ...

One of the emotions is the emotion of religion by which people sacrifice themselves in order to defend the motherland. No other religions have a position like martyrdom in Islam. No other religions have such a strong motive as the honour of being a martyr in Islam. ...

³⁸ It should be noted that how the verse contributes to the discourse in the textbook is interpreted under this title, rather than interpreting the verse itself.

³⁹ Under the subtitles ‘The Understanding of Homeland’ and ‘The Indivisibility of the Motherland’ in the tenth-grade textbooks, the significant passages are quoted here.

... When unity, solidarity, common ideals and common goals are put into action, human groups transform into a nation. The mass becomes no longer a crowd. The coming generations will inhabit a nation and a homeland in which they are proud of living.

...

As is known, the unity of language, religion, history, culture and ideals and common sensitivity and goals in morality, manner and custom constitute the nation. Nation and motherland are like soul and body. For this reason, the Constitution states that “The State of Turkey, with its territory and nation, is an indivisible entity”. (Bolay, 1997: 58-59)

Analysis

Prominent discourses;

- Homeland gains a spiritual meaning when people devote themselves to it.
- Martyrdom has a significant place in Islam.
- Unity, solidarity, common ideals and common goals are the main factors for transforming people from a crowd into a nation.

The text begins with a common definition of the term ‘homeland’ (*vatan*) with reference to its material features. However, the text continues by explaining the process during which those material features gain spiritual meaning. The attention of the reader is directed to the possibility of danger to the homeland. Fighting and even being killed are presented as possible options for people who wish to protect the homeland. The main discourse is the need to sacrifice the self for the country. This is strengthened by scenarios in which a mother loses her son and a bride loses her husband. These scenarios are accepted as the most intense sorrows in society. After such sacrifices and sorrows, the homeland’s physical elements such as stones, ground, mountains and rivers possess a spiritual meaning and value. The word ‘enemy’ is used to define the negative other. All people in the country are described as against such enemies. As a consequence of heroic deeds, the land is transformed into a motherland. The term “blood of martyrs” shows how people have sacrificed their lives for the perpetuity of the motherland. The word ‘blood’ symbolises the extent of both sacrifice and kinship with those who sacrifice themselves for the country.

In the second paragraph, loyalty to the homeland is strengthened by the reference given to martyrdom in Islam. Sacrificing the self is presented as a command

of Islam. Defending the homeland in every condition necessitates always being positioned on the state's side and makes positioning on the side of any group challenging the state impossible. This reduces any revolutionary tendencies of the pious Muslims against the laic regime, since such a tendency would be regarded as unacceptable for Islam because of the value given to loyalty to the homeland and accordingly to the state. Islam is compared with other religions in terms of its approach to martyrdom. By specifying the distinctive value attributed to martyrdom in Islam, special responsibility towards the state is imposed on pious Muslims.

In the third paragraph, “unity, solidarity, common ideals and common goals” are presented as the main conditions of the transformation from crowd to nation. Gramsci (1971: 152) underlined the need for the organisation, centralisation and discipline of the masses for their emergence as a force. A significant function of political society is to ensure political unity. The idea of ‘nation’ represents the realisation of such a political unity in the contemporary world. Tugal (2009: 28) stated that “nationalism becomes not only the expression of the desire for unity but also a way of channelling internal class and status grievances to the international arena and delaying internal struggle”. The word ‘unity’ in the text directs people to act in unison. Nationwide solidarity imbues people with the prioritisation of the interests of the nation instead of individual or group interests. Since the state has the monopoly to determine the ‘common ideals’ as well as ‘common goals’, the agenda of the subordinate classes and religious groups becomes of secondary importance. According to the text, a nation which possesses these qualities becomes a source of pride for the young generations. The term ‘coming generations’ can be interpreted as an effort to direct students towards an attitude of pride in the nation.

There is a strong emphasis on the ‘unity’ of particular elements for the constitution of the ‘nation’. Gramsci (1971: 325) stated that “every language contains the elements of a conception of the world and of a culture”. Therefore, language is able to construct meaning and give shape to values and beliefs. Achieving unity in language would mean achieving unity in culture and world conception. The discourse of ‘unity in religion’ can be seen as an effort to find common ground for pious Muslims and secular segments under the umbrella of a laicised Islam. The discourse on ‘unity in ideals and goals’ aims at directing the religious people to laicist ideals and goals determined by the

laic state by restricting the effect of Islam on people's motivations. The terms 'nation' and 'motherland' are symbolised by the metaphors of 'soul' and 'body', which reflect religion's understanding of existence. They symbolise the supreme type of unity, the unity necessary for human survival. Such a discourse puts strong emphasis on the harmony between state and nation. The paragraph ends with a reference to the Constitution in which the legal base of the idea of the unity is presented.

Text 6⁴⁰

... The motherland is the legacy of our ancestors; we cannot betray it, loving and defending the homeland are duties commanded by our religion. Allah commands as follows: "Fight in the way of Allah those who fight you..."⁴¹ As can be seen, waging war when it is necessary in order to live in liberty and peace is the command of Allah. This is named 'Jihad' in our religion.

As can be seen, protecting the integrity of the homeland is a divine duty for all Muslim men and women. It is, at the same time, a supreme national duty. (Bolay, 1997: 60)

Analysis

Prominent discourses;

- The homeland is inherited from our ancestors.
- Protecting the motherland is a religious duty.

The motherland is described as the legacy of people's ancestors. Being a legacy grants the homeland a sentimental value. The word 'ancestor' signifies kinship relations with former generations. Being a 'legacy of ancestors' imposes a responsibility on the current generations stemming from their gratitude towards ancestors. This discourse prevents people from being contrary to the authorities within the homeland, since those authorities represent the administration of that legacy. Betraying the motherland is regarded as an undesirable attitude against it. The word 'betray' is open to be misuse. Since there are no criteria for deciding what actions are within the boundaries of betrayal, it can be used as a pretext for suppressing oppositional and revolutionary movements. Based on the quoted verse, the text equates holy wars of Islam with wars of

⁴⁰ This text, entitled 'The Indivisibility of the Motherland', is from the tenth-grade RCMK textbook.

⁴¹ The verse of Baqarah 190 is presented in the text. The English translation of the verse is from: <https://quran.com/2/190-193>

the Turkish nation-state. Waging a war involves two sides, the state's side and the enemy's side. When Turkish people participate in a war, they automatically position themselves on the state's side. Therefore, the discourse locates people on the side of the state and constructs a required loyalty against the enemy 'other'. The word '*jihad*' symbolises the ultimate dedication for Muslims in terms of sacrificing the self for the sake of a holy purpose. Another discursive tactic here is to de-Islamise the concept of *jihad* by alienating it from its function as a source for Islamic action and by presenting it as a "secular" national duty. By this means, the Kemalists minimised the concept's capacity to inspire counter-hegemonic Islamist movements.

"Protecting the integrity of homeland" is described as a religious duty for Muslims. The word 'protecting' necessitates an 'other' who is dangerous to the integrity of the homeland. This discourse therefore locates people on the side of the state and demands protection of that integrity by them. Thus, people are conditioned to abstain from engaging in destructive activities against the state. This tendency is a braking mechanism to prevent the devout subordinate classes from acting against the state and the ruling class. In other words, the consent of those classes is possessed by the state.

3.1.2. 2015 Textbooks

Text 1⁴²

...

We possess particular duties towards the state. Some of these duties are paying tax, joining the army, participating in elections and obeying the laws.

...

The state is responsible for preparing conditions which are necessary for the material and moral development of its citizens. The state's realisation of these duties (the construction of schools, roads, bridges, hospitals, communication facilities etc.) can only be possible with the income from taxes. Refusing to pay taxes or evading taxes is a crime in law, a sin in religion and disrespect to the people in morality.

...

⁴² This text, entitled 'Rights, Liberties and Religion' is from the tenth-grade RCMK textbook.

... In order to ensure that fundamental rights and liberties are not violated, we have to adhere to the laws and give consent for our share and others' share.

Everyone has to be conscious of and carry out their rights and responsibilities. Within this framework, the state controls whether its citizens obey the laws or not. According to Islam, people feel that they are under Allah's control. This feeling and belief prevents people from victimising others by violating their rightful share in the areas which are not regulated by law. (Eksi et al., 2015: 107-109)

Analysis

Prominent discourses;

- We have unilateral duties towards the State.
- Refusing to pay taxes or evading taxes a sin in Islam.
- Giving consent for the State and its laws is a religious duty for us.

The text specifies particular duties which citizens are expected to fulfil. The word 'duty' indicates unilateral tasks. Such unilateral tasks construct a hierarchical relationship of authority with the state and expects obedience from citizens.

In the second paragraph, the state is described as having a positive influence on human life. 'Conditions for material development' indicates the control of the state over means of production. 'Conditions for moral development' underlines the role of the state as a source of morality. 'Preparing conditions' signifies control over both means of production and the source of morality. The state, with duties such as constructing schools, roads and hospitals, is presented as an organisation which always serves the public interest. 'Refusing to pay tax' means 'refusing to obey the rules of the state'. 'Evading taxes' means 'infringing the law'. Therefore, in addition to being a crime in law, infringing and refusing to obey the law are presented as "a sin in religion and disrespect to the people in morality". Therefore, obedience to the law is secured with religious and moral references.

People's fundamental rights and liberties are based on their adherence to laws and their consent for their share and others' share. Giving consent for one's own and others' shares signifies giving consent for the existing distribution relations in society. This consent also covers the existing class relations and class positions.

In the final paragraph, everyone is expected to “be conscious of and carry out their rights and responsibilities”. The conscious/unconscious duality reveals that people are not active determiners of those rights and responsibilities but passively learn and become conscious of them. The state’s control over such an internalisation is presented as normal and associated with *Allah*’s control over believers. People are therefore expected to regard the control of *Allah* and the state as the same thing and to take into account that control when acting. In the final sentence, an analogy is made between the law and Islam in terms of being the source of rules. The main discourse in this analogy is that the laws have the same mission as Islam in terms of determining people’s behaviour and actions and that people should obey the legal rules just as they obey the rules determined by Islam.

Text 2⁴³

‘Homeland’ refers to the piece of land where a nation survives and which has determined borders. Homeland, at the same time, is the place where we practise our national and moral values. Nation, on the other hand, is the human community who live on a piece of land together and who have a unity of language, history, ideal, emotion, customs and traditions.

The people live together in solidarity with each other. Their will and desire to live together has resulted in the creation of the understanding of nation (millet) by coming together under the flag of specific values. Those values are language, history, homeland and religious belief. Those values are fed by customs and traditions throughout the years and they become the shared values of the society. Those values which sustain nations and underpin the independence of states contribute to the unity and solidarity.

Possessing a homeland is crucial in the history of civilisations. One’s patriotism manifests itself by serving and protecting the state.

...

This homeland is a heritage protected by and bequeathed to us by our ancestors. Our duty is to protect it and love it. ...

...

Loving and protecting our homeland refers to doing what we can for its development. The statement of His Holiness Ali [Hz. Ali] that “countries develop by means of patriotism” reveals this reality. For the development of a country, the people need to act in unity. (Akgul et al., 2015b: 120-22)

⁴³ This text, entitled ‘We are learning the Concepts of Homeland and Nation’, is from the fifth-grade RCMK textbook.

Analysis

Prominent discourses;

- The homeland is the piece of land where moral and national values are practised and where people are united by the same language, emotions, ideals, customs, traditions, homeland and religious belief.
- A nation is the result of people's need to live in solidarity with each other.
- The homeland provides a safe and comfortable environment.
- The Islamic Caliph Ali pointed out the need for patriotism.

The text begins with a definition of homeland by underlining its features as a piece of land, as the site of the nation's survival, and as possessing borders. The word 'homeland' refers to the political organisation within those borders, namely the state. Basing the nation's survival on the state grants the state a *raison d'être* as a nation. As the homeland is presented as the place where moral and national values are practised, the presence of commonality for those values is taken for granted. Since the homeland is presented as the only way of practising those moral and national values, the homeland necessarily reflects the shared values of society. It therefore becomes impossible for the state apparatus to act against those values of its people. The text continues with a definition of nation with a special emphasis on the unity of language, history, ideals, emotions, customs and traditions. In the second paragraph, homeland and religious belief are also added as the common value of the nation. The main discursive tactic here is putting emphasis on the commonalities which form the rational common ground for the integrity of society and concealing dissimilarities between people.

In the second paragraph, the people in the homeland are expected to "live in solidarity with each other". The statement "their will and desire to live together" indicates that people voluntarily come together and form the nation. The statement "coming together under the flag of specific values" underlines that people have common values. The flag is the symbol of authority and the word refers to the main authority, namely the state apparatus, in the country. Those values are presented as "language, history, homeland and religious belief". History as an element of nation signifies that the understanding of nation has roots stemming from collective experiences in the past.

Those collective experiences can be ‘fighting against the enemies’ or ‘being the subjects of an empire’. The word ‘homeland’ refers to the country in which people live. It also signifies the authority, namely the state, which rules that country. Another element of nation according to the text is “religious beliefs”. Because it is a constituent of the nation, religion, namely Islam, is suggested as a shared value. From this point of view, a state apparatus which prioritises the Islamic lifestyle cannot be against the shared values of the nation. Moreover, according to the text, those values “contribute to unity and solidarity” by sustaining the nation and underpinning the independence of the state. So rather than being a threat, religious values conversely contribute to the nation and the state. When religious values contribute to the solidarity and unity of the nation, any individual who does not share the Islamic values can be interpreted as being against the unity and solidarity of the nation.

In the third paragraph, “possessing a homeland” is presented as a vital issue for a civilisation. The sense of ownership of a land creates a spiritual bond with the country and its citizens. The main requirement for patriotism is presented as “serving and protecting the state”. Serving the state necessitates acceptance of the authority of the state. This discourse conceals the notion of the state as a servant of the people and changes it to the idea that the people are the servants of the state. Moreover, the need to protect the state can hinder people from criticising the actions of the state apparatus.

Being a legacy of ancestors makes the homeland a sentimental heritage which people possess. Just like a heritage passed down a family, the homeland gains a meaning which needs to be protected. This need interiorises the tendency to serve the homeland and its rulers instead of criticising it. The injunction “to protect and love it” is used to give people the responsibility to favour the state in any circumstance.

Making the maximum effort for the development of the country is presented as the main indicator of loving and protecting the homeland. According to this discourse, any acts which oppose or challenge the current regime could be categorised as treason, or at least aversion. The quotation from Ali⁴⁴ is used to encourage people to possess the manner of patriotism. The main discursive tactic is strengthening the discourse by

⁴⁴ Ali (Ali ibn Abi Talib) was a significant religious figure for both Sunni Muslims and Shia Muslims. He was the son-in-law and cousin of the Prophet Muhammad and is accepted as the first imam by Shia Muslims and the fourth Caliph by Sunni Muslims (Esposito, 2003: 15).

giving reference to a highly influential religious figure and instrumentalising his influence on Muslims. Thus, loyalty to the political entity which governs the homeland is secured.

Although it is not possible to define the JDP as a nationalist⁴⁵ political party in the Kemalist sense, we might argue that the JDP pragmatically included nationalist discourse in its hegemonic project as can be seen from this text. Tugal (2009: 96) underlined the absorption of Islamic internationalism into Turkish nationalism in the process of Islamism's passive revolution. Oztan (2014: 84-89) defined the JDP's hegemony as a "neo-liberal nationalist hegemony". When identifying the nationalist discourse in Erdogan's speeches, he summarised the JDP's nationalism as "compassion for, commitment to, and 'love of service' towards the nation" (Oztan, 2014: 86). Therefore, the nationalist discourse, which also possesses a religious nuance, is pragmatically included in the text.

Text 3⁴⁶

When creating humankind, Allah gave them the obligation that all human beings need to and are obliged to live together. Division of labour has contributed to the natural and historical links between the human beings who already exist. New links are those which make up the shortages of humanity and secure the tomorrows in addition to the todays. (Akgul et al., 2015b: 122)

⁴⁵ As was discussed in Chapter 1 in detail, the term 'nation' (*millet*) referred to religious communities in the Ottoman Empire (Hess, 2009: 5). Similarly, the Islamist political tradition in the history of Turkey named its political stance the 'National Vision' (*Milli Gorus*). The word 'national' (*milli*) in Islamist tradition referred to the 'Islamic' (Hale & Ozbudun, 2009: 5). On the other hand, the Islamist tradition in Turkey also possessed a Turkey-centred perspective within the Islamic world. By emphasising the universality of Islam, the Islamist tradition was also continually expressing Turkey's potential leadership in the Islamic world (Hale & Ozbudun, 2009: 6). The JDP, whose cadres had their political education within the National Vision Movement, also determined its position as "the opposite of introverted, reactionary, pessimistic nationalism" (Oztan, 2014: 86). The *Rabia* gesture can be seen as the summary of the JDP's nationalism. In his speeches, Erdogan has often used the gesture of *Rabia* by raising four fingers and he associates this gesture with his motto of 'One Nation, One Flag, One Homeland and One State' (HDN, 2015). According to the JDP's perspective, Islam is the cementing value for national brotherhood and national unity (Oztan, 2014: 86). It should be noted that the gesture of *Rabia* emerged after the Egyptian *coup* regime's brutal handling of the protestors against the *coup d'état* in *Rabia* Square in Cairo. The gesture is also popular among the supporters of the Muslim Brotherhood worldwide (HDN, 2015). It is therefore possible to argue that the JDP's understanding of nationalism, which the Party pragmatically includes in its discourses, carries an Islamic tone which is completely different from the Kemalist understanding of nationalism.

⁴⁶ Text 3 is from the same unit of the fifth-grade RCMK textbook.

Analysis

Prominent discourse;

- People's need to live together with others stems from *Allah* (the God).

In the text, the necessity to live together with other human beings is presented as a consequence of God's will. When a necessity stems from God's will, such a necessity becomes unquestionable and undeniable. The reference to the creation grants such a necessity the feature of naturalness. Use of the term 'human beings' instead of 'people' or 'citizens' strengthens the discourse by underlining the independence from artificial social structures.

Moreover, "division of labour" is accepted here as a positive development for society. This acceptance legitimises the organic social structure in society. People interiorise their roles within the division of labour and take the organic structure of society as granted. 'Division of labour' is associated with the natural and historical links already in existence in society. This makes it more significant, since such a discourse accepts its harmony with historical and natural elements.

In the final sentence, "the new links" refers to the division of labour relations between people. According to the text, division of labour compensates for shortages in society and secures the future. Therefore, those who refuse to play their part in the division of labour also refuse to play their part in making up the shortages in society and securing its future. As a response to our research question, religion is used here as an instrument to legitimise and internalise the division of labour, and by this means the organic structure of society and the social roles of the individuals within the structure of the society.

Text 4⁴⁷

...

We need to show respect to everyone in our country. We should regard our homeland as our home and we should regard each person living in this country as a member of our home. His Holiness Ali [Hz. Ali] told us that "The homeland is our home. What else will you defend if you do not

⁴⁷ This text, entitled 'We are all a Nation on This Homeland', is from the fifth-grade RCMK textbook.

defend your home?” From this point of view, we need to keep in mind that each person in this country is a part of this common culture. ...

We need to act in unity in order to live in a happy and peaceful environment. We need to abstain from those acts which might endanger our unity. We can overcome all difficulties in this manner. (Akgul et al., 2015b: 123-24)

Analysis

Prominent discourses;

- The homeland is like our home.
- All people in the homeland are like members of our family.
- We need to act in unity.

The text begins with a call to respect everyone in the country. The word ‘homeland’ is used to refer to the country. The word is a compound of the words ‘home’ and ‘land’. ‘Land’ refers to the region where people live and ‘home’ refers to the place where a person lives. It also points out the sense of ownership of a place. It therefore constitutes a vital bond between the land and the people living on it. ‘Motherland’ also covers all elements of the country from the state apparatus and officials to its people as a whole.

Moreover, everyone living in the country is presented as “a member of our home”. This discourse is based on an imagined society which is like a family composed of people connected to each other by kinship bonds. With this image, understanding society as a family conceals the class divisions and struggles between classes within it. For this reason, this discourse is beneficial for the dominant class which seeks to distract the attention of the subordinate classes from their domination. Moreover, accepting society as a family has significant outcomes in terms of identity in the case of Turkey. Finding a common identity is directly related to efforts to create an historic bloc with the subordinate classes which are composed of different identity groups. By propagating a sense of kinship, the ruling class becomes able to prevent the sense of exclusion among different ethnic and sectarian identities. By this means, the ruling class can take precautions against any threat or challenge to the existing social and political structure stemming from a sense of exclusion.

In the text, the discourse about the homeland is supported with an Islamic reference. The text repeats the same discourse with reference to a significant Islamic figure, Hz. Ali. He also defined the homeland as “our home” and associated defending the homeland with defending the home. This discourse aims to unite the people within the country against the ‘other’. In the statement “each person in this country is a part of this common culture”, the discourse of creating a common culture can be interpreted as an effort to nullify cultural differences and show the country as a single homogeneous body.

Moreover, acting in unity is presented as a prerequisite for living “in a happy and peaceful environment”. As a consequence of such a discourse, any differences and any opposition stemming from those differences can be interpreted as a threat to a peaceful and happy environment. The word ‘peaceful’ is used to direct people to a passive attitude. This passive attitude is strengthened in the following sentence: “We need to abstain from those acts which might endanger our unity”. This is therefore a useful discourse since any opposition from antagonistic groups can be regarded as a danger to unity.

In summary, cultural differences and class struggle are concealed within the text by emphasising unity and presenting the country as a home and the people living in it as members of a family. Considering our research question, religious references are used in the text in order to encourage people to always act in favour of the country with all its elements from the state apparatus to its people.

3.2. The Military

‘Military’ is another significant topic in the RCMK textbooks. It was historically one of the pillars of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc together with the Kemalist bourgeoisie and the Kemalist bureaucracy. Its importance stems from its role as a determiner of civilian politics. In Turkey’s history, civilian politics have been directly intervened in by the TAF (Turkish Armed Forces) four times (1960, 1971, 1980 and 1997). Following the 1960 *coup*, the TAF dominated civilian rule and adopted a watchdog role over civilian politicians (Sarigil, 2012: 8). As Narli (2000: 108) pointed out, the TAF has been positioned as the defender of the Republic and the guardian of

laicism and Atatürk's main principles. Especially following the 1980 *coup d'état*, the leading actor of the hegemonic strategy in Turkish politics was the TAF which established an authoritarian rule and gained the consent of the daunted masses exasperated by the economic and political crisis (Yalman, 2002b: 41).

Considering these roles of the military in the political arena, a carefully constructed positive discourse about the military would mean constructing a positive discourse about the values and the ideology which the military represents and protects. Such a positive discourse would also legitimise the TAF's interventions in civilian politics and its restrictions on groups which challenge Kemalism. In the textbooks, we can therefore detect a completely positive discourse about the military which underlines the sacredness of military service. The JDP determined the same hegemonic strategy for its discourse about the military as it determined about the state. Considering the power of the military, the JDP did not attempt to construct a completely negative discourse in the school textbooks. In other words, the party preferred a war of position with gradual reforms of the military, rather than a war of manoeuvre targeting the military.

3.2.1. Post-28 February Textbooks

Text 1⁴⁸

...

The homeland on which we live is not a mere piece of land. Homeland is a sacred value which was irrigated by the blood of heroes and martyrs who sacrificed their lives without any hesitation. We also carry out the duty for our homeland and its independence. We have to join the army when we reach the age that is determined by law.

Military service is a necessary duty to protect the state and homeland. Every young Turk should be willing to accept this duty which is one of the most fundamental duties that we need to carry out for our state. ...

Our nation regards the people who join the army as valuable people who fulfil a sacred duty. Beyond being a civic duty, joining the army is a religious obligation.

⁴⁸ This text, entitled 'Joining the Army', is from the ninth-grade RCMK textbook.

Our Supreme Lord commands in the Qur'an as follows:

'Fight in the way of Allah those who fight you but do not transgress. Indeed. Allah does not like transgressors (Bakarah, 2/190)'. This means that serving in the army and contributing to the defence of the homeland is a command of Allah. On this issue, our beloved Prophet has many hadiths in addition to the verses. Some of these are:

- *The feet which get dusty on the way of Allah do not go to hell.*
- *Hellfire does not burn the eyes which stand guard during military service.*

Our beloved Prophet hailed those commanders and leaders who educate soldiers about ascending to heaven by stating that "Allah welcomes three people to heaven: the craftsman who makes an arrow out of love, the one that shoots the arrow and the one who helps the person who shoots the arrow." (Arslan & Eryilmaz, 2000: 83-84)

Analysis

Prominent discourse;

- Joining and serving in the army is a command of Islam.

In the first paragraph, the homeland is described by the adjective 'sacred', which gives a meaning of Islamic importance and value to the country. The statement "irrigated by the blood of heroes and martyrs" creates a sense of gratitude. The word 'blood' also represents kinship. By using the words 'heroes' and 'martyrs' in the same sentence, the text equates martyrdom with heroism and presents sacrificing the self for the state as a form of heroism. The statement 'without any hesitation' indicates that questioning military service is unnecessary and unacceptable. This discourse therefore underlines obedience to the commands of the military as the only correct behaviour. The emphasis on the age determined by law shows the need to obey the law.

In the second paragraph, by presenting military service as a 'necessary duty', the text leaves no room for any avoidance of military service. As protecting the state is presented as expected behaviour in the texts, any challenge or opposition to the state becomes impossible and unacceptable. The word 'willing' refers to consent. This discourse conceals the coercive character of compulsory military service and seeks to manufacture consent from 'every young Turk'.

Basing the value and sacredness of joining the army on appreciation of the nation can be interpreted as an effort to create loyalty for the military and defining military service as a ‘sacred duty’ gives it a moral significance confirmed by Islam. Students are incentivised and motivated to join the army by a religious reference describing military service as a ‘religious command’. The statement “beyond being a civic duty” constructs a moral base for military service in addition to the legal base.

The discourse is strengthened with references to verses and *hadiths*. In the verse, engaging in war for the nation-state is associated with a holy war on behalf of *Allah*. Therefore, any war under the command of the laic nation state is regarded as a holy war. Since “serving in the army and contributing to the defence of the homeland” is presented as a command of *Allah*, obedience to the military and the state also becomes a command of *Allah*.

The discourse is also supported by the Prophet Muhammad’s *hadiths*. The first *hadith* emphasises that those who make efforts for *Allah* are rewarded by escaping the risk of going to hell. Getting dusty refers to something wearing off, so being affected negatively while making efforts for *Allah* is accepted as normal. Making efforts for *Allah* refers here to fighting in the military. In the second *hadith*, standing guard during military service is presented as a way of achieving salvation since it keeps people from being punished by hellfire. ‘Hellfire’ represents the punishment caused by sinful actions following interrogation in the afterlife. So military service guarantees a positive result from that interrogation. In the final paragraph, there is a reference to a saying of the Prophet Muhammad about commanders and leaders who educate soldiers. Consequently, as a response to our research question, Islam has been instrumentalised in the text in order to ensure obedience and loyalty to the military and therefore to the state.

3.2.2. 2015 Textbooks

Text 1⁴⁹

Military service is the art of defending the homeland against enemies. ...

⁴⁹ This text, entitled ‘Doing Military Service is Our Duty to Our Homeland’, is from the fifth-grade RCMK textbook.

Defending the homeland is an indispensable duty for a nation. To fulfil this duty, we need to do our military service at the right time. We need to keep in mind that this service is a duty stemming from being a citizen.

Our dear Prophet defined military service as a divine duty, stating that “There are two types of eyes that will not be burned: the eyes which cry from the fear of God, and the eyes that keep guard at the borders of the homeland in the way of the God”. (Akgul et al., 2015b: 131-132)

Analysis

Prominent discourses;

- Doing military service is a divine duty in order to defend the homeland.

Military service is presented as “the art of defending the homeland against enemies”. The word ‘art’ represents the creation of an artist whom people admire. Artists achieve prominence through their special abilities which help them to display the best performance in a particular field. So associating military service with the ‘art of defending the homeland’ puts a special emphasis on the ability of military personnel.

Military service is described as “an indispensable duty for the nation”. When something is indispensable, no-one can question it and its necessity is taken for granted. The necessity of military service, according to this discourse, is taken for granted and cannot be questioned. The phrase “for the nation” emphasises that serving the nation is a significant duty for each individual and everyone has to sacrifice their time and labour for the sake of the nation. In the statement that “this service is a duty stemming from being a citizen”, the prominent discourse is that being a citizen is not a free gift but requires sacrifices for the state, such as labour, time and even liberty, as in military service. The reference to citizenship can also be interpreted as a reference to legal obligation.

The text continues by basing the need for sacrifices for the sake of the military and the state on religious discourse. With reference to the expression of the Prophet, “the eyes that keep guard at the borders of the homeland in the way of the God” are accepted as possessing equal value to “the eyes which cry for the fear of God”. First, since the quotation is from the Prophet of Islam, this discourse is expected to be more influential on Muslims. Second, regarding the attitude towards military service as

equivalent to the attitude towards God makes the service unquestionable and inescapable.

The discourse on military service is a symbol representing the idea of serving the state. When it is considered that the state apparatus is the main instrument of the dominant class, such a discourse is used for the internalisation of the service as the instrument of the dominant class. Moreover, internalising military service refers to internalising the division of labour and its role in the existing social structure. At the end, the discourse in this text points out the importance of serving the state and accepting this role in the social structure by basing the injunction on religious references.

3.3. Economic Differences

‘Economic differences’ is another topic which can be found in the RCMK textbooks of the post-28 February process. The text below constructs a causal relationship between religiosity and economic conditions of individuals. The mainstream discourse about socio-economic differences is significant since the acceptance of socio-economic differences as natural reduces people’s revolutionary attitudes and compels them to internalise and be integrated into the existing economic system. Moreover, accepting the economic differences between different segments of society is equal to internalising the historical centre-periphery cleavage between the Kemalist centre and the pious Muslim periphery and thus to normalising the current class structure in Turkey. Consequently, the discourse distracts attention from the structural hegemony of the deep economic system and and Kemalists’ privileged position in this economic system and directs it to the personal religiosity of pious Muslims.

It should also be noted that the topic ‘Economic Differences’ has been removed from the content of the 2015 textbooks. This can be interpreted as both a challenge to the discourse which normalises the subordinate socio-economic position of the pious Muslims in society and an inevitable outcome of the rise of the Muslim middle class to the centre.

3.3.1. Post-28 February Textbooks

Text 1⁵⁰

An individual's economic conditions influence his/her thoughts and behaviours. The understanding of religion is also affected by the economic structure of society. Economic developments also influence the emergence of different ways of living and thinking. Advancements in the fields of economy and technology cause the break-up of systems of thought. This results in the emergence of a variety of religious understandings. For instance, the understanding of religion in a modern individual who has good economic conditions is different from that of a poor individual who lived 500 years ago. The understanding of religion in an underdeveloped society is different from that in a developed society. In developed industrial societies, religion is mostly an individual lifestyle whereas it is practised as a social norm in underdeveloped societies. Sudden material changes cause imbalance in the distribution of wealth in a society. This results in widespread social disharmony. The discomfort in society compels people to look for new remedies. In order to cope with the discomfort, different groups develop different understandings of religion. (Aydin et al., 2002: 91)

Analysis

Prominent discourses;

- Economic conditions in a society influence people's understanding of religion.
- In developed industrial societies, religion is within the personal, private sphere.
- In underdeveloped societies, religion is more powerful as a social norm.

According to the main discourse in the text, the thoughts and behaviours of people are affected by their economic conditions and their class position. People's perception of religion and religious practices are also influenced by the "economic structure of society". Here, 'economic structure' refers to the existing class structure in society. According to the text, people's understanding of religion changes with economic and technological advancements. The term 'economic developments' refers to capitalist development and 'advancement' refers to proceeding to a progressive phase

⁵⁰ The topic is treated in the eighth-grade RCMK textbook.

from a reactionary phase. In other words, as people move to a more progressive phase, they give up their former understanding of religion.

The text continues with binary words which are used for dividing the socio-economic differences into two categories: On the one side, 'modern individual' is associated with 'good economic conditions' and on the other, the word 'poor' is used to describe an individual who lived 500 years ago. It is underlined in the main discourse of the text that a person needs to change his/her understanding of religion if he/she aims to be a contemporary individual living in good economic conditions. In other words, people from the lower classes cannot maintain the existing place of religion in their lives when they climb to a higher position in the country's class structure.

The binary statements 'underdeveloped society' and 'developed society' are similarly used to point out the differences in people's understanding of religion. How the understanding of religion differs between underdeveloped and developed societies is clarified in the subsequent sentences by asserting that religion is a 'lifestyle' at the individual level in developed industrial societies but a strong social norm in underdeveloped societies. Since the word 'lifestyle' refers to individual choice, religiosity is limited to the individual level and loses its character as a source of world conception in Muslims's life. When religion and religiosity are individualised, religion's interpersonal and social power is diminished. Being a 'social norm' for a religion refers to going beyond the individual level and having a prescriptive rule-making role in society. Such a role is associated with underdevelopment in the text. Moreover, this role also contradicts Atatürk's principle of laicism which aimed at limiting Islam's social power as a source of collective action by the pious Muslims.

The word 'disharmony' is used to explain the outcomes of an unbalanced distribution of wealth. In the final part of the text, diversification in the understanding of religion is presented as the outcome of efforts to find remedies for the discomfort in society. The word 'remedy' is linked with the feeling of discomfort, rather than with the poverty which results from the unbalanced distribution of wealth. In other words, it is not a real remedy, but a consolation for the discomfort. This discourse regards religion as a reaction to the negativities in society. Therefore, such a discourse ignores religion's position as the basis of all other values in human life and reduces it to a reaction against the disadvantaged economic conditions.

The discourse in the text normalises the gap between Kemalists and the pious Muslims in terms of religiosity, since it presents such a gap as the natural outcome of economic conditions. Moreover, such a discourse also normalises the economic superiority of the secular people, since it relates religiosity with underdevelopment and presents the hierarchy between the seculars and religious people as a natural stratification stemming from economic conditions. The discourse embedded in the text also directs readers' attention from the differences in people's economic conditions to the differences in people's understanding of religion. In other words, the text takes the economic differences in society as a given and seeks to explain them in the understanding of religion with reference to dichotomies such as being developed and underdeveloped.

3.4. The Image of Ataturk

The education system is one of the areas in which the image of Ataturk, as the founder of the Republic of Turkey, has dominated every aspect of the discourse. Students face Ataturk's image not only in the content of the textbooks, but also in physical spaces such as classrooms and the schoolyard, in oral elements such as the 'Student Oath' and in activities such as celebrations of national holidays or the commemoration of Ataturk.

How his image is presented in the RCMK lessons is especially important for this study since these lessons directly reveal the construction of discourse about Ataturk's ideas in relation to Islam and Muslimness. Acceptance of Kemalist values, perceptions and beliefs as superior values, perceptions and beliefs by the subordinate pious Muslims is vital for the moral and intellectual leadership of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc. Ataturk's moral superiority is therefore frequently emphasised in RCMK lessons to give the message that Ataturk is morally superior even when the main issue is Islam.

The textbooks begin with a portrait of Ataturk and 'Ataturk's Address to Youth'. A unique and perfect image of Ataturk dominates different units of the textbooks. This image made a significant contribution to the historical prestige of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc. The qualities of 'moral and cultural leadership', to use Gramsci's (1971: 57-58) term, which are attributed to him give the Kemalists a kind of licence to

lead society as a result of being true followers of Ataturk. Under topics such as ‘Ataturk’s views on Laicism’, ‘Ataturk’s view on religion’ and ‘Islam for Ataturk’, Ataturk is presented as a leader who was a reference point for virtually every issue. The perception that ‘Ataturk is always right’ has been applied to the Kemalists as the perception that ‘the Kemalists are always right’. Efforts to reconcile the principles of Ataturk with Islamic values and to construct an image of ‘devout Ataturk’ aimed at preventing the religious people from perceiving any threats from the laicist Kemalists. By this means, the Kemalist hegemonic bloc has benefited from the unique image of Ataturk to gain the consent of the religious subordinate classes.

On the other hand, Ataturk’s image was also a significant issue for the JDP. First, a positive discourse towards Ataturk, instead of a radical negative discourse against him, was important to minimise the threat perception of the Kemalists stemming from the ideology of the JDP and from the move of the Islamic middle class from the periphery to the centre. Gramsci (1971: 160) pointed out the need to make some sacrifices to convince the antagonist groups in society. From this point of view, the positive discourse about Ataturk can be interpreted as a sacrifice by the JDP to gain the consent of secular and Alevi groups. Second, the JDP benefited from the construction of a ‘religious Ataturk image’ by instrumentalising such a construction to legitimise its policies regarding the Sunni interpretation of Islam, compulsory religious education and religious scholars.

Moreover, the ‘depoliticisation of the other’ has always been a hegemonic strategy used by both the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and the JDP. In terms of Ataturk’s image, the JDP sought to depoliticise Ataturk’s image to prevent it from being a source of oppositional discourse against the JDP. Erdogan commented that Ataturk’s image was “used by certain mentalities” as a “tool for ideological purposes”. He condemned the RPP, the political party founded by Ataturk, for “abusing Ataturk’s name” and pointed out the importance of protecting Ataturk from the “ideological bigotry which instrumentalizes his name.” (HDN, 2017). He also stated that “We consider it a duty to give Ataturk due credit as the commander-in-chief of our Independence War and the founder of our Republic, at the front of our nation” and added that “There is nothing more natural than respect for a name who was the leader of such a struggle to have a valuable place in the nation’s hearts” (HDN, 2017). These statements can also be seen

as an attempt to depoliticise Ataturk by emphasising his commandership during the War of Independence and by ignoring his revolutions and principles and thus by isolating him from any political debates against the position of the JDP. By this means, the Kemalists were deprived of benefiting from the historical prestige of Ataturk's political ideas, principles and values against the JDP.

3.4.1. Post-28 February Textbooks

The Portrait of Ataturk

The RCMK textbooks at every grade start with a portrait of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. The picture differs between books but the following portrait is an example:

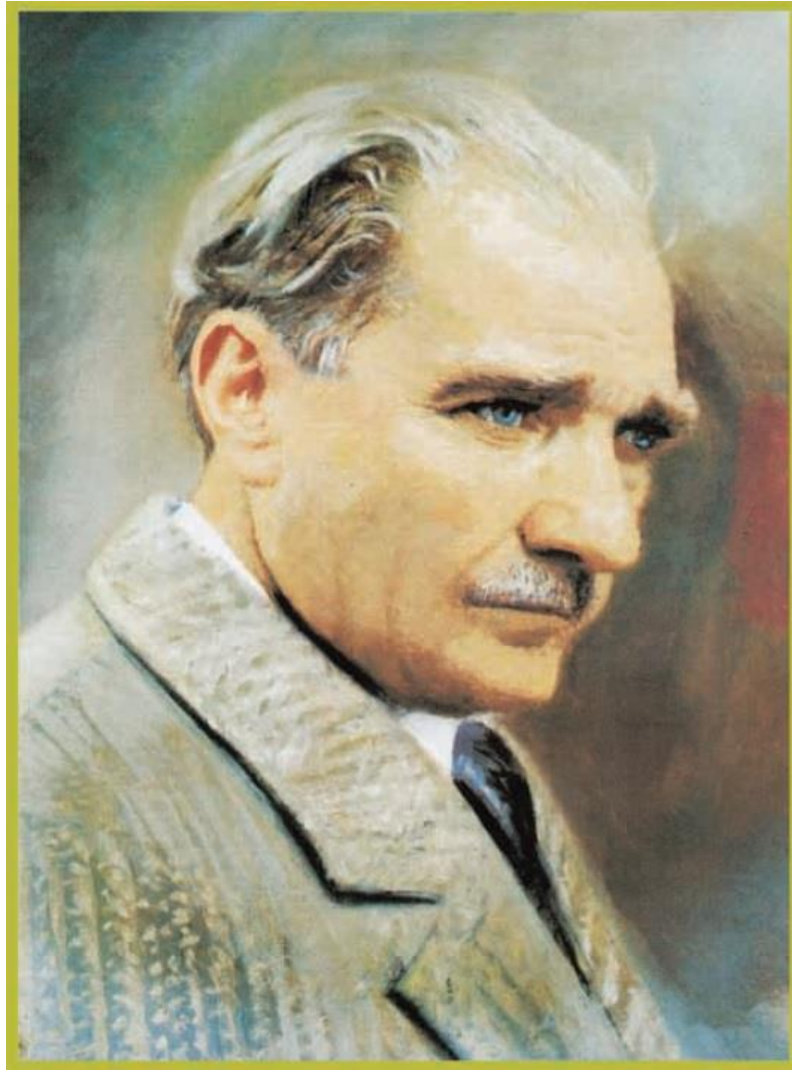


Figure 1 A Portrait of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk (Uludag, Hokelekli & Uysal, 2000: 1)

Analysis

Prominent discourses;

- Ataturk is a unique leader with his world-views, beliefs, values and perceptions.
- Ataturk's views and principles are compatible with Islam.

The picture of Ataturk at the beginning of the textbook represents his privileged position and uniqueness in Turkish society, since no-one else could form the starting image of those textbooks. Moreover, under a law enacted in 1934, Mustafa Kemal gained the surname 'Ataturk', which means "the Father of Turks" (Akyol, 2011: 186). The word 'Ata', which means 'ancestor', was combined with the word 'Turk' and became the compound word 'Ataturk'. Just as a family chronology often starts with pictures of family elders, the picture at the beginning of the textbook implicitly reproduces Ataturk's image as an ancestor (*ata*) which was granted him by his surname. Furthermore, beginning a textbook with a specific historical figure's picture grants him/her a leadership role in the topic of that textbook. The picture at the beginning of the RCMK textbook implicitly reproduces the discourse of 'great leader'⁵¹ (*Ulu Onder*), which is a very common metonymy used to refer to Ataturk in Turkey. His 'greatness' derives from his position as the first and the only historical figure who has a picture at the beginning of the textbook. By means of such discourses, he is presented as a role model for students with his values, world-views, beliefs, discourses and perceptions. Beginning the books with a portrait of Ataturk means that he is the only one who is the main reference for students for every topic, including religious issues and Islam. He is the only person whose path should be followed by the students. This discourse grants him a privileged position in terms of being the point of reference and rightfulness for all times and for all cases. His followers, namely the Kemalist hegemonic bloc, also benefited from this privileged position and rightfulness in issues of religion.

Moreover, a significant aim of locating the portrait at the beginning of the books is to minimise the threat perception of the pious Muslims stemming from Kemalist revolutions and principles. As the books start with a portrait of Ataturk, his principles

⁵¹ Ataturk is also described as the 'immortal leader' in the Preamble of the Turkish Constitution (Official Gazette, 1982a). Just as the Turkish Constitution begins with the commemoration of Ataturk by calling him 'immortal leader', the RCMK textbook also begins by commemorating him with his picture.

and world-view do not pose a threat against Islam or Muslimness but signifies the compatibility of Ataturk's views and principles with Islam and with the interests of Muslims.

These discourses about Ataturk's image have significant outcomes in terms of the cultural hegemonic struggle and class domination in Turkey. Gramsci (1971: 57-58) stated that a dominant class cannot rely solely on its governmental power. For Gramsci, moral and cultural leadership was also essential for a dominant class to maintain its class position. Ataturk's image can be interpreted as the concentration of the cultural and moral leadership qualities in single body. By means of the positive, outstanding and unique features attributed to him, his ideas and principles, and thence the Kemalists as his followers, possess licence to lead society. The Kemalists have a comparative moral, ideological and intellectual advantage by means of this image against other ideological groups and classes in society.

Loyalty to his principles and ideas, rather than questioning them, becomes the main norm that each citizen is expected to follow. By this means, gaining the consent of people for the superiority of Ataturk's followers becomes easier. As the main reference with his ideas and preferences on nearly every issue, Ataturk also gains consent for his standpoint regarding economic policies and for the class structure stemming from his preferences in the field of economy. The discourse of 'main reference for every issue' makes it impossible to question Ataturk's ideas and principles. Criticising those ideas and principles can easily be perceived as an abnormal and even transgressive act. This discourse could easily be instrumentalised by the Kemalist hegemonic bloc as a protective shield in their struggle against the Islamist counter-hegemonic movements. For instance, TUSIAD, the representative of the Kemalist bourgeoisie, called for an early election against the JDP government in a press statement released on 29 April 2007 stating that an early election was inevitable for the protection of laicism and the indivisible unity of democracy (TUSIAD, 2007).

Text 1⁵²

Ataturk abolished the Caliphate after establishing the Republic. Ataturk's attitude was not welcomed by those who did not think in parallel with him. Some even said "we become suspicious of our religion, our belief without a Caliph. In this situation, can we be Muslim?" However, Turks had not been suspicious of Islam before Yavuz Sultan Selim passed the Caliphate to the Turks.

Ataturk stated: "Omar called himself an emir, not a caliph. Therefore, caliphate is equal to government. Thereby, there are three conditions of government: consultancy (consulting the people's representatives), justice (ensuring equality and freedom) and obedience to the order (ensuring obedience to the duties of the state). Our government possesses all of these qualities. The goals of forming a government are to protect the nation and country, and to ensure the comfort and happiness of the nation. A government which is able to realise these goals is good, but a government which does not is bad. Therefore, today, the nation protects its state and liberties in pursuance of Allah's commandment." (Bilgin, 1991: 82-83)

Analysis

Prominent discourses;

- There is no need for the Caliphate in contemporary Turkey.
- Consultancy, justice and obedience are three elements of the Caliphate.
- The governments in the Turkish state have all the qualities that Omar possessed.

The text begins by highlighting the abolition of the Caliphate by Ataturk and negative reactions to the abolition are stated. The adverb 'even' is used to underline the 'presumption of critics' stemming from criticising Ataturk's decision. As a response to critics who claim the need for the Caliphate for maintaining Muslimness, the text gives reference to the period before Yavuz Sultan Selim when the Caliphate was not within the borders of the Ottoman Empire. This discourse aims at trivialising the institution by showing the situation of Muslims without it. The discourse about the Caliphate is significant since it has the potential to provide the political leadership which Gramsci (1971: 88) specified as a vital element for the development of cultural hegemony.

⁵² Within the unit 'Ataturk's Views about Our Religion and Laicism', the text entitled 'The Republic of Turkey and Laicism' is dedicated to a discussion of the need for the abolition of the Caliphate with reference to the views of Ataturk.

In the reference to Omar, Ataturk associated the institution of the Caliphate with laic government in the modern sense. He completely neglected the Islamic character of the institution by merely emphasising its administrative role in a technical sense. Three features of the Caliphate are specified as consultancy, justice and obedience to the order. The explanation of consultancy, namely “consulting the people’s representatives”, is used for gaining consent for the Grand National Assembly of the Republic. The word ‘consultancy’ is associated with the parliamentary system. The concept of ‘justice’ reflects a secular understanding which refers to “ensuring equality and freedom”. The Islamic tone in the definition of the concept is totally ignored. The statement “obedience to the order” aims at manufacturing consent for the current regime, namely the laic Republic of Turkey. By this means, an Islamic term ‘Caliphate’ is used to ensure obedience and loyalty to the laic regime.

In the statement “our government possesses all of these qualities”, the government of the Republic is presented as a successor institution to the Islamic Caliphate fulfilling its political and administrative role. “Our government” refers to the governments of the Republic which serve the principles and ideals of Ataturk. Being a successor of the Caliphate grants the governments of the Republic the opportunity to represent the fundamental values and historical authority of the Caliphate. Such a discourse can be interpreted as an effort to gain consent for the government of the Republic which serves the same goals as the Caliphate of Islam. The features of a government are restricted to “to protect the nation and country” and “to ensure the comfort and happiness of the nation”. Therefore, Islamic features of the Caliphate are totally ignored in the text. Features of the Caliphate which do not contradict the principle of laicism are selectively emphasised and the features which can provide sources for Islamist political action are totally ignored.

People are encouraged to display loyalty to the state with the statement that the “nation is protecting their state and the state’s independence in parallel with *Allah*’s commandment”. This loyalty is defined as a commandment of *Allah*. This can be interpreted as an effort to gain the consent of pious Muslims for the current regime controlled by the Kemalist hegemonic bloc by instrumentalising belief in *Allah*.

Text 2⁵³

Ataturk showed interest in Islam and expressed positive opinions about our supreme religion in his speeches. Here are some of his statements about our religion:

“I believe in our religion as I believe in reality. It does not have any elements that are against reason and advancement.

A commandment of Allah is to work hard. ... Working hard does not mean getting tired in vain and sweating. Benefiting from science, technology and inventions to the utmost is a requisite.

Our religion does not advise being bad, lazy and vile. On the contrary, both Allah and the Prophet commended to nations and people to maintain their greatness and honour.”

Ataturk expressed these complimentary statements about our Prophet:

“He is the first and supreme human of Allah. Millions of people follow him today. My name, your name can be forgotten, but his name lives for ever. (Uludag, Hokelekli & Uysal, 2000: 93)

Analysis

Prominent discourse;

- Ataturk is a true Muslim who should be regarded as a role model for Muslims.

The text starts by underlining Ataturk’s interest in Islam. All of his thoughts about Islam are summarised in one word: ‘positive’. The statement “expressed positive opinions” implies that ‘his views are in favour of Islam’. His views therefore cannot contradict Islam or disadvantage Muslims. The adjective ‘supreme’ indicates the superiority of Islam compared with other religions and can be interpreted as an effort to show that the existing regime represents Islam.

In the quotation from Ataturk, there is strong emphasis on his belief in Islam. In the statement “our supreme religion” in Ataturk’s own sentences, the word ‘our’ refers to a ‘sense of possession’. By using the word ‘our’, Ataturk is presented as a Muslim who explicitly embraces Islam. The quotation aims at revealing that the interests, goals

⁵³ This text expresses Ataturk’s views about Islam and the Prophet Muhammad under the subtitle ‘Ataturk and Islam’ in the eleventh-grade RCMK textbook.

and viewpoints of ‘Muslim Ataturk’ coincide with the interests, goals and viewpoints of the pious Muslims. This discourse is intended to minimise the threat perception felt by devout Muslims from the values of Ataturk and his followers. There is also an effort to harmonise religion with science. By this means, any negative influence of Islam on the positivist development strategies of Kemalism would be restrained. “Working hard” is highlighted as a command of God. According to Ataturk, working hard refers to “benefiting from science, technology and inventions”. This can be interpreted as an effort to divert attention from the social, political and economic roles of Islam to the non-social, non-political and non-economic issues which reduce the boundaries of Islam to the individual level, such as working hard and being interested in science. By this means, the potential of Islam to challenge the Kemalist cultural hegemony could be impeded.

Moreover, Islam’s opposition to being lazy, bad and vile is expressed and maintaining greatness and honour is advised. The emphasis on the concept of ‘nations’ can be interpreted within the scope of the identity-building of Kemalism. When we consider how Kemalism defined the concept of ‘nation’, here ‘greatness’ and ‘honour’ are used to describe ‘Turkishness’.

The final quotation from Ataturk in which he praised *Allah* and the Prophet can also be seen as an attempt to construct a ‘Muslim Ataturk’ image which can serve to minimise the threat perception stemming from the principles and values of Kemalism.

Text 3⁵⁴

Although Ataturk is in favour of true religion purified from superstition, he is, nevertheless, against bigotry and the exploitation of religion for any reasons and the misuse of religion for personal benefit. He expressed his opposition to people who exploit religion for their personal interests as follows:

“People who gain material benefits are immoral. We are against this. We do not allow this. Such religion traders deceive our pure and innocent people. They are the people with whom we and you struggle.”

Ignorance and bigotry are the most convenient environments for the exploitation of religion. Ignorant societies fall into the trap of bigotry,

⁵⁴ This text, entitled ‘Ataturk’s Views about the Exploitation of Religion and Bigotry’, is from the eleventh- grade RCMK textbook.

and they suppose superstitions to be true religion. Ataturk regards this issue as follows:

“However, the existence of people who use religion as an instrument for various kinds of political and personal goals by benefiting from ignorance and bigotry at home and abroad does not prevent us from speaking out on this platform.

The only way of combating the exploitation of religion and bigotry is learning religion in a correct way and raising religious scholars who can teach religion correctly.” (Uludag, Hokelekli & Uysal, 2000: 91-92)

Analysis

Prominent discourses;

- Ataturk’s understanding of religion represents the true religion.
- Some people exploit religion for their personal benefit.
- Ignorance and bigotry are the main reasons for the exploitation of religion.

The text claims to reveal Ataturk’s understanding of religion and starts with an emphasis on his opposition to the exploitation and misuse of religion. The discourse is based on the implicit binaries of ‘true religion’ and ‘distorted religion’. In order to specify favourable Islam, the statement “purified from superstition” is used. The existence of ‘true Islam’ also requires the existence of a ‘distorted Islam’. The word ‘bigotry’ refers to extremism in religiosity. As the antonym of bigotry, the text implicitly positions Ataturk’s understanding of Islam as ‘moderate’. The word ‘exploitation’ as a feature of ‘distorted religion’ is used three times in the text and is very often instrumentalised in the political arena in the discourses targeting Islamist and conservative parties. For instance, the Republican People’s Party deputy Mahmut Tanal made a legal approach to the Supreme Committee of Elections about the propaganda song *Haydi Bismillah* (‘In the name of *Allah*, let’s [start]’) of the JDP before the 2015 elections by claiming that the JDP had exploited people’s religious and moral feelings. As a result of this litigation, the propaganda song was banned (*Daily Sabah*, 2015).

In the quotation from Ataturk, the statements “the people who gain material benefits” and “religion traders” are used to point out the economic dimension of the hegemonic struggle. ‘Material benefits’ refer to economic gains; ‘trader’ signifies trade

relations which hinge entirely on seeking economic interests and deriving profit. The words 'pure' and 'innocent' are used to show the good intentions of pious individuals stemming from their unawareness and ignorance.

In the third paragraph, the words 'ignorance' and 'bigotry' are used to point out the main causes of exploitation of religious people. 'Ignorance' refers to the unawareness of pious Muslims who cannot recognise what is good and what is bad. An ignorant pious Muslim needs to be educated so that his\her religious feelings cannot be exploited. Bigotry is a more severe form of ignorance and comprises more a persistent attitude than ignorance. By these words, pious Muslims are regarded as passive objects deprived of reason and open to the influence of exploiters. This discourse creates an intellectual hierarchy between aware laicist Kemalists and unaware pious Muslims who need to acquire awareness through the guidance of aware Kemalists. This intellectual hierarchy contributes to the moral and intellectual leadership (Gramsci, 1971: 57) of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc, which is a significant prerequisite for a successful hegemonic project. So religion possesses a negative image in which it is a tool used for deceiving pure and innocent devout people.

In the quotation from Ataturk, there is an emphasis on the instrumentalisation of religion for personal and political goals. The word 'instrumentalisation' signifies the possibility of gaining economic and political interests by means of religious discourse. This discourse aims at preventing Islam from being a source of economic and political action and from providing discursive support for counter-hegemonic Islamist movements. According to the text, the emergence of 'ignorance' and 'bigotry' among Muslims requires an action plan to get rid of the 'distorted Islam'. Ataturk presented this action plan as "learning religion in a correct way" and "raising religious scholars who can teach religion correctly". The first action can be interpreted as the declaration of efforts to shape the discourse on Islam among ignorant and bigoted Muslims in order to restrict the influence of the representers of so-called 'distorted Islam' on the Muslims and increase the influence of the representers of 'true Islam', namely the Kemalists, on them. The action of "raising religious scholars" offers alternative religious intellectuals who would teach 'true Islam', the Islam which would not damage the laicist hegemony of Kemalism.

3.4.2. 2015 Textbooks

Picture 1

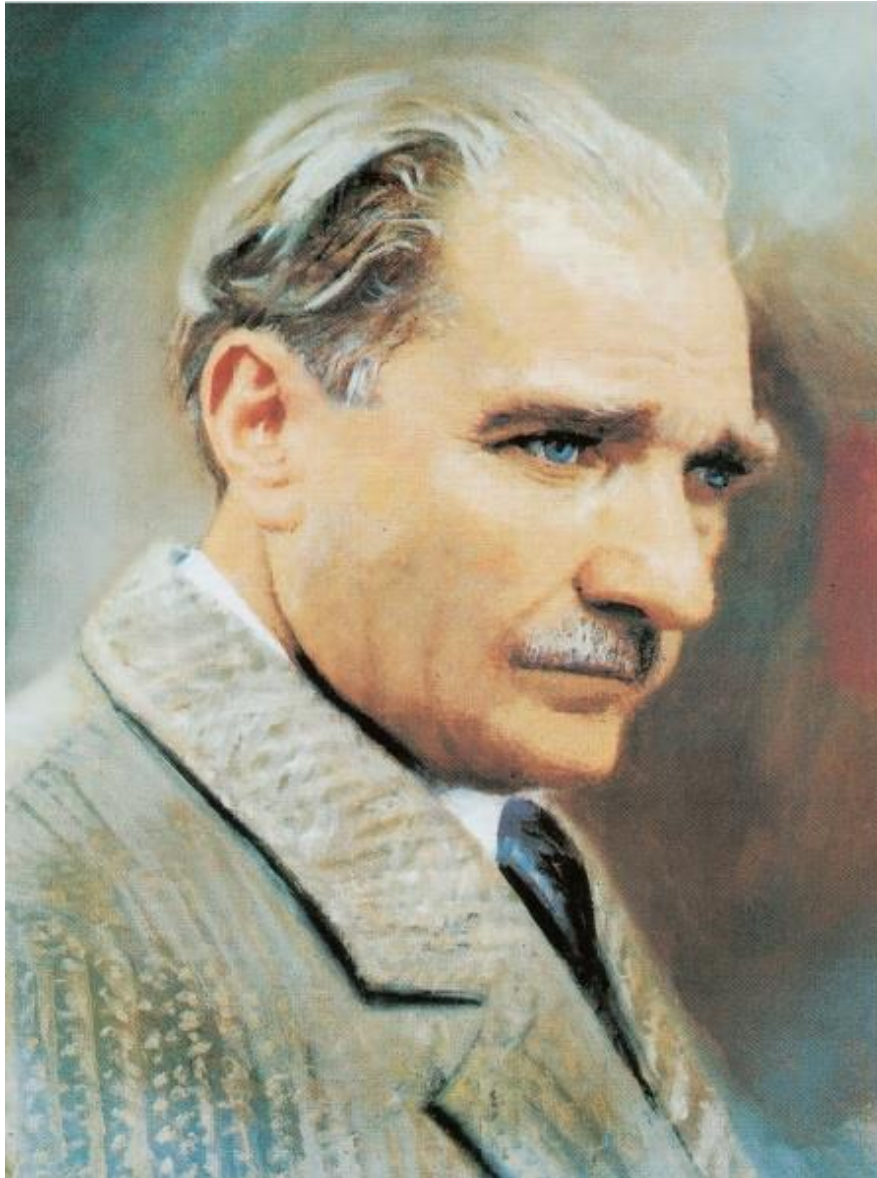


Figure 2 The Portrait of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (Akgul et al., 2015b: 5)

Analysis

Prominent discourses:

- Atatürk is the reference point in the field of Islam for the Muslims.
- The principles of Atatürk are not in contradiction with Islam

The image of Ataturk in the textbooks is one area which the JDP did not prefer to challenge. Like the post-28 February textbooks, the 2015 textbooks begin with the same portrait of Ataturk (*see* Pictures 1 and 2). Beginning a book with someone's portrait is equal to accepting him/her as the main reference point for the issues handled in the book. His ideas consequently hierarchically became more important than anyone else's. Such a privileged position for his ideas also applied to the issues regarding Islam. The Kemalist hegemonic bloc, as the followers of Ataturk, also benefited from being a reference point in terms of values and lifestyle. It can therefore be argued that the privileged position of Kemalist segments in terms of ideology remained unchallenged in 2015.

On the other hand, the JDP did not construct a completely negative discourse against Ataturk but preferred to construct a positive discourse to find a reconciliation point with the laicist segments in society. The effort to seek a reconciliation point with the laicist segments can be seen in parallel with the JDP's desire to build more dialogue-oriented relations with non-Islamist segments of society (Cizre-Sakallioğlu & Cinar, 2003: 326). So in its first term in office, the JDP enjoyed the fruits of this dialogue-oriented discourse as in the instance of Guler Sabanci, the chairwoman of Sabanci Holding's executive board, who accepted that the JDP had managed to relocate itself to the centre of the political spectrum to represent all segments of society (*Hurriyet*, 2007). However, this does not mean that the JDP had completely overcome any tensions stemming from the laicist/Islamist divide and articulated the Istanbul bourgeoisie to its hegemonic project. As shown by a press statement of the Kemalist Istanbul bourgeoisie association in 2007 (TUSIAD, 2007), this tension remained a central issue between the JDP and the Istanbul bourgeoisie.

Picture 2

Construction of a 'religious Ataturk' image can frequently be noticed in different units of RCMK lessons. The sixth unit of the ninth-grade textbook, entitled 'Laicism and Religion', begins with the following picture:



Figure 3 Mustafa Kemal Atatürk shown praying with Religious Scholars (Turkan et al., 2015: 98)

Analysis

Prominent discourses:

- Atatürk is a pious Muslim.
- There is no tension between Atatürk's principles and Islam's ideals.
- Atatürk cannot be instrumentalised by laicists for their political goals.

The unit 'Laicism and Religion' begins with a picture of Atatürk praying with Muslim religious scholars. The religious scholars seem to be representing Sunni Islam. Atatürk is seen praying in the forefront of religious scholars and other people. Since the praying style depicted symbolises Sunni Islam, it can be interpreted that the construction of a 'pious Atatürk' image is the aim of the picture.

Gramsci (1971: 160) remarked that a dominant class should make sacrifices to some degree and that by means of those sacrifices, a compromise can be ensured in order to persuade the dominated groups. When both the post-28 February textbooks and the 2015 textbooks are considered together, a common tendency shared by both the Kemalists and the JDP to make a compromise between Islam and the figure of Atatürk

can be detected. This effort to achieve a compromise can be interpreted as a way of creating a unified bloc with various segments of society. We can argue that gaining the consent of the antagonist group(s) is the aim of both situations: on the one hand, the Kemalist hegemonic bloc aimed at minimising the threat perception of the pious Muslims by creating an Islam-friendly Atatürk image, and on the other, the JDP aimed at minimising the threat perception of the Kemalist segments of the society by creating an Atatürk-friendly interpretation of Islam. This discourse can be used to minimise the oppositional attitudes of those classes whose lifestyle is characterised by secular values in society and to hinder any counter-hegemonic attempts.

The image of ‘religious Atatürk’ could also be used by the JDP for ensuring the legitimisation of its power by claiming the approval of ‘religious Atatürk’ for its policies and discourses on the site of Islam. By this means, the JDP constructed a counter-discourse to any attempt to declare the policies of the JDP on the terrain of Islam as illegitimate on the pretext of contradicting Atatürk’s principles.

A significant discursive tactic of the JDP was the depoliticisation of Atatürk’s image in order to nullify the advantage of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc stemming from Atatürk’s privileged position. By pruning his function as a source of political action, the JDP sought to construct a neutral Atatürk image which could not be instrumentalised by the Kemalists in their political discourse against the Islamic movements and pious Muslims.

Text 1⁵⁵

...

Atatürk believed that people should have a modest understanding of religion. For this reason, he objected to the superstitions which had entered religion subsequently... Atatürk stated his views on this issue as follows: “The Turkish nation needs to be more religious, in other words, I mean that the Turkish people need to be religious with full modesty. As I believe in reality, I believe in my religion. It does not comprise any elements which are against awareness and progress...” (Akgul et al., 2012: 83)

⁵⁵ This text, entitled ‘Religion Targets the Individual’, is from the twelfth-grade RCMK textbook.

Analysis

Prominent discourses within the text are as follows:

- Religion is a necessity in the life of human beings and in society.
- Ataturk advised people to have modest religiousness and to avoid superstitions.

Under the unit ‘Laicism’, this text aims at showing how necessary religion is with reference to the ideas of Ataturk. The main discourse here is that laicism complies with Islam and that there is no tension between them. Ataturk’s statements regarding the necessity of religion are underlined in order to support religiosity instead of an irreligious lifestyle. “Modest understanding of religion” refers to being religious with a true heart, instead of pretending to be religious. Superstitions are presented as the sole problem with religion. Therefore, terms such as ‘exploitation of religion’, ‘reactionism’ and ‘bigotry’ are not used here. Ataturk’s statement that the “Turkish nation needs to be more religious” directly gives authority and legitimacy to the existing JDP government for cultural projects on the terrain of Islam which consolidate its rule. In his statement “As I believe in reality, I believe in my religion”, Ataturk is presented as a religious figure. The religion in this statement refers to Sunni Islam. As previously discussed, Ataturk’s image is instrumentalised by the JDP to prevent any irreligious tendencies which can challenge the religious and cultural supremacy of the JDP. Moreover, Ataturk’s statement that Islam does not possess “any elements which are against awareness and progress” is used as a response to claims from the laicist segments of society which associate religiousness with irrationalism and reactionism.

Text 2⁵⁶

...

Ataturk believed in the necessity that the people who teach religion must be trained well in accordance with the contemporary age. In one speech, he stated that “As it is necessary to train well-educated professional experts in every area, we also need to have higher education institutions to train the prominent religious scholars who research the real philosophy of our religion and have the ability to inspire others technically and academically.” He desired religious scholars to be well-educated and expected them to guide the Turkish nation in accordance

⁵⁶ This text, entitled ‘How Ataturk Understands Religion’, is from the ninth-grade RCMK textbook.

with the national and religious values of society. Ataturk established the Presidency of Religious Affairs. He pioneered studies for the Qur'an to be understood better and he encouraged the translation and explanation of the Qur'an. (Turkan *et al.*, 2015: 104-105)

Analysis

Prominent discourses;

- Ataturk believed that well-educated religious scholars can guide the nation in parallel with the national and religious values of society.
- The Presidency of Religious Affairs (PRA) was founded by Ataturk.

The quotation from one of Ataturk's speeches emphasises the need for the education of religious scholars and teachers. In the term 'religious scholars', the JDP was able to find discursive support for the permanence of the Imam-Hatip Schools which had been opened to provide education for imams and preachers within the Turkish education system, although there was significant opposition from the laicist segments of society against them. Also, according to the text, well-educated religious scholars are expected to guide the people in accordance with religious and national values. With this statement, "the national and religious values of society" are taken as positive, necessary and significant. The discourse that those values are accepted and shared by the whole society aims at constructing the idea of a homogenous society. Moreover, presenting the condition of guiding society grants religious scholars the qualification of being opinion leaders for society. This discourse can be interpreted as an effort to create organic intellectuals, in Gramscian terms, from pious Muslims. This discourse therefore deems religious scholars worthy of moral and intellectual leadership when they have been educated well. The discourse also legitimises the religious education policies of the JDP since education targeting well-educated religious scholars is provided by the JDP government.

Moreover, the emphasis on Ataturk as the founder of the PRA grants legitimacy to the institution. So criticising the PRA equates to criticising an institution founded by Ataturk. The text ends with a positive discourse about Ataturk's pioneering role in the study of the Qur'an. Consequently, by presenting Ataturk's efforts on the terrain of Islam, the JDP aims at increasing its legitimacy and gaining the consent of the laicist segments of society regarding its own activities on the same terrain.

Text 3⁵⁷

Religion is a social reality. A significant element of the reality of religion is the religious scholars who provide religious services to society. Because religion is necessary for society, religious scholars who serve society are also necessary.

...

Ataturk has always praised religious scholars and appreciated their work. During his visits across the country, he met with religious scholars and complimented those who had become prominent through their knowledge and intelligence.

Religious scholars played a significant role in the establishment of organisations such as Kuvayi Milliye (Turkish Revolutionaries) and participated in the forefront of the Turkish War of Independence. They encouraged the Anatolian people to resist the occupation. ...

...

Religious scholars who comprehend the principles of religion very well and have sufficient intellectual capacity can motivate people for a common purpose by keeping their hopes alive in the hard times as they did during the Turkish War of Independence. During the time of peace, they can have a role in spreading universal moral values and social norms. (Akgul et al., 2012: 87-88)

Analysis

Prominent discourses:

- Ataturk appreciated religious scholars for their positive role.
- Religious scholars played a significant role in the War of Independence.

A positive discourse about religious scholars was one of the new issues introduced in RCMK lessons by 2015. Extracts from Ataturk's speeches were instrumentalised to legitimise religious scholars. The statement "religion is a social reality" underlines the unavoidable place of religion in social life. Including this quotation can be interpreted as an effort to strengthen the place of Islam in society by glorifying Ataturk's image in the eyes of secular segments of society. Moreover, religious scholars (*dini alimler*) are presented as "a significant element of the reality of

⁵⁷ This text, entitled 'The Value of the Religious Scholars in the Eyes of Ataturk', is from the twelfth-grade RCMK textbook.

religion”. The term ‘religious scholars’ refers to Islamic scholars. In Gramscian terms, Ataturk’s statements are instrumentalised to support the intellectual capacity of Islamic scholars to contribute ‘intellectual and moral leadership’ of Islamic segments in society. Accepting religious scholars as ‘necessary’ means moving away from a neutral position towards them and supporting their existence in society.

Ataturk’s praise for and appreciation of Islamic scholars can be seen as an effort to construct a positive discourse about them using Ataturk’s image as the founder of the state and his privileged position as the ‘reference point’ on nearly every issue. The emphasis on the ‘knowledge and intelligence’ of religious scholars increases the reliance on their intellectual capacity to lead society morally and intellectually.

The discourse about Islamic scholars’ participation in the Turkish War of Independence can be regarded as a response to Ataturk’s negative discourse about religious scholars, such as “The Turkish Republic cannot be the homeland of sheikhs, dervishes, disciples and lunatics”, which has often been given as a reference by Kemalists. Moreover, including Ataturk’s statements about the positive role of religious scholars in the War of Independence is significant to overcome the negative discourse about so-called ‘reactionary Islamists who disrupted the struggle for the independence of the Republic’, since such a discourse is expressed by the founder of the Republic.

Religious scholars are described as people “who comprehend the principles of religion very well and have sufficient intellectual capacity”. By this discourse, religious scholars gain the approval of Ataturk for their intellectual capacity and competence to be followed by people in Turkey. Moreover, religious scholars are associated with “universal moral values and social norms”. This discourse nullifies the discourse which regards Islamic scholars as unmodern and outdated. By this shift in the discourse regarding religious scholars, they become people who should be followed and taken as role models. This discourse is completely opposite to the discourse which depicted them as reactionary and dangerous and advised people to maintain a distance from them.

3.5. Laicism

Laicism (*laiklik*) is a key topic which directly affects the cultural hegemonic struggle between the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and the JDP on the terrain of Islam. Its significance stemmed from the tension between laicism and Islam and from efforts to reconcile them. As a significant element of cultural hegemonic strategy, Gramsci (1971: 328) pointed out the importance of maintaining an “ideological unity” for all social blocs and attributed the mission of cementing and unifying a social bloc to the ideology. Laicism was an exceptionally significant principle of Kemalist ideology in the modernisation of Turkey. For the Kemalists, it was the fundamental requisite for reaching the level of contemporary civilisations (Keyman, 2007: 221). Kemalists therefore needed to conscientiously construct a discourse on laicism which could have a unifying role for the social structure of the Republic.

Considering that a significant element of exercising power is persuasion in Gramscian understanding (Simon, 2015: 17), the laicist founders of the Republic needed to persuade the pious Muslims to accept their values, beliefs, lifestyle and ideology to gain the consent of the pious Muslims in favour of the laic Republican regime established and maintained by the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and for the cultural leadership of Kemalism. Common ground between laicism and Islam, in other words a laicist interpretation of Islam, became a necessary reconciliation with the religious Muslims for the Kemalists. As the boundaries of hegemonic projects are drawn by deeper social structures (Joseph, 2002: 132), Islam, in this case, created the need to find common ground with the religious people and determine the limits of Kemalist hegemonic projects.

So a laicist interpretation of Islam was significant for the Kemalist cultural hegemony for three reasons. First, endearing Atatürk’s principle of laicism to the pious Muslims was significant for the Kemalist hegemonic bloc to decrease pious people’s threat perception stemming from the tension between laicism and Islam. By this means, reconciliation with laicism would mean reconciliation with the Kemalists. Second, as the global capitalist economic order forms another deeper structural hegemony which limits hegemonic projects in Turkey (Kucukali, 2015: 9), transforming the pious Muslim groups into individual customers becomes a key issue for the sustainability of such a structural hegemony. Secularisation, and by this means individualisation, of the

Muslims served the privileged class position of the Kemalist bourgeoisie by weakening the ties between pious customers and Islamic enterprises and thus eliminated the comparative advantage of Muslim enterprises stemming from sharing the same values, beliefs and lifestyle with the Muslims. Third, the preference between the laicist and non-laicist interpretations of Islam affects the power of Islam in people's lives. As people's sympathy for laicist values increases, Islam becomes restricted to the individual level and loses its social, political and economic roles as the main determiner of human action and behaviour. Consequently, Islam cannot maintain its role of uniting the religious masses and organising the collective will of the people, and loses its capacity as a source of counter-hegemony against the Kemalist hegemonic bloc.

On the other hand, the JDP's attitude to laicism is also significant in order to comprehend its counter-hegemonic project against the cultural hegemony of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc. The discourse in the 2015 textbooks regarding laicism was nearly the same as the discourse in the post-28 February textbooks. The JDP determined a similar strategy to its strategy regarding the image of Atatürk. Rather than constructing a completely negative discourse about laicism, the JDP preferred to redefine the concept by minimising its challenging power and by rendering it harmless against its Islamic values. Tugal (2009: 235), who defined the JDP's move to the centre as 'passive revolution', pointed out that a hegemonic strategy was developed by Turkish Islamism which was absorbed by Turkish laicist hegemony. In its official Political Vision document, the JDP defined laicism as "the impartial stance of the state toward all religions and beliefs" and underlined that the Party took laicism neither irreligion nor to be enmity to religion; but rather, the Party interpreted laicism as "the guarantee of all religions and belief systems" (JDP, 2012: 23). It can be seen in the redefinition of the JDP that laicism is not defined as a means of modernising social engineering project. Rather than creating a new type of human, it aims to draw boundaries to state action in the sphere of religion. It is also stated in the same document that the JDP regards "inciting and discriminating against religious people for their choice and lifestyle, or the exploitation of religion to put pressure on people having different lifestyle" as unacceptable situations (JDP, 2012: 24). This can be interpreted as a criticism of the Kemalist understanding of laicism and an attempt to nullify the Kemalist project which aimed at transforming the religious stance of the pious Muslims into a laicist stance.

Moreover, Gramscian hegemony necessitates sacrifices and compromises with other groups in society (Sassoon, 1991: 230). So another reason for not constructing a completely negative discourse about laicism can be minimising the threat perception felt by secular people and maximising its bloc by gaining the support of different segments of society which have a secular lifestyle. The JDP, which was founded by the reformist faction of the Islamist WP, revised its stance by deriving lessons from the 28 February experience of the WP. The party prevented its political agenda from being dominated by Islamic issues. By taking into account the heterogeneous character of society, the JDP sought a dialogue-oriented and consensus-oriented tone in its party discourse towards the non-Islamist segments in society (Cizre-Sakallioglu & Cinar, 2003: 326). So maintaining the principle of laicism with a new definition can be interpreted in this dialogue-oriented and consensus-oriented tone.

3.5.1. Post-28 February Textbooks

Text 1⁵⁸

The term 'laicist'⁵⁹ [laik] stems from the word 'laicus' in Latin. It was introduced into Turkish with a French pronunciation. In the dictionary, it refers to a person who is not spiritual (ruhani in Turkish) (neither ecclesiastic nor clerical). As an adjective, 'laic' [laik] is also used for views, institutions and principles which have no relationship with religion.

In the light of this definition, laicism [laiklik] comprises views, institutions and principles which are not religious, are not based on religion, and are independent from religion. Although laicism varies in terms of implementation, its core meanings can be indicated as follows:

- a) Non-intervention of the state in religious affairs, and non-intervention of religion in state and political affairs,*
- b) Separation of religious and worldly authorities from each other,*
- c) Existence of the state without an official religion, and existence of a state which is impartial and tolerant of all religions,*

⁵⁸ The topic 'Laicism' can be found in different grades' textbooks in the RCMK curriculum. The text analysed here is from the eleventh-grade RCMK textbook.

⁵⁹ In the original text, the Turkish word *laik* is used. Since both the words 'laic' and 'laicist' refer to a single word *laik* in Turkish, we translate the word *laik* into English according to the meaning of the word in the text.

d) Ensuring freedom of religion and conscience, non-intervention in religious practices and the freedom to pray. By this principle, religious affairs are left to the conscience of individuals. (Uludag, Hokelekli & Uysal, 2000: 86)

Analysis

Prominent discourses;

- The state and religion do not interfere with one another according to the principle of laicism.
- Laicism separates the worldly from the religious.
- A laic state is impartial and tolerant.
- Laicism does not intervene in religious practices and guarantees freedom of prayer.

The text begins with the root of the concept 'laicism'. After stating the Latin roots of the word 'laicist', its introduction into Turkish in a French form is stated. This emphasis on French reflects the influence of the French model on the world-view of the Kemalist bourgeoisie. A laicist is defined as someone who is not spiritual. In this definition, ecclesiastical and clerical are regarded as spiritual. This definition is a reflection of the view that spirituality is not a common feature of all human beings.

The concept also includes institutions, principles and ideas. Categorising something with reference to the spiritual/non-spiritual dichotomy is based on the discourse which regards religion as solely unworldly and restricts it to the spiritual life of individuals. Therefore, unworldly religion cannot have any influence on political, social and economic life.

Four features of laicism are presented in the text. First, the word 'non-intervention' is used to explain the reciprocal independence of state and religion. Here, reciprocal non-intervention can be understood as a bargaining between state and religion. The statement "non-intervention of religion in state and political affairs" is significant in terms of the class struggle in Turkey. Religion is a significant factor which gathers the pious Muslims together and enables them to be organised under religious associations, foundations and Islamist-conservative political parties. Religion therefore provides the religious masses with a potential common ground to form oppositional

organisations and to organise political action which can challenge the Kemalist hegemony. Such a discourse restricts the organisational capacity and boundaries of political action for the religious masses by depoliticising Islam.

The second feature of laicism is propounded as the “separation of religious and worldly authorities from each other”. A dichotomy of worldly/unworldly is seen in this statement and religious authorities are not regarded as within the boundaries of the worldly. So the sphere of the worldly is assigned to secular authorities, and religious authorities are placed in the sphere of religious. Gramsci (1971: 9) stated that every individual performs intellectual practice to some extent, maintains or changes ‘a conception of world’ and creates a new way of thinking. The discourse in the text, however, limits the area of intellectual practice for religious authorities, impedes their impact on the masses and prevents them from having a say in various worldly issues from politics to the economy.

The third feature of laicism is manifested as the “existence of the state without an official religion” and “the existence of a state which is impartial to and tolerant of all religions”. The emphasis here is on the impartiality of the state. The words ‘impartial’ and ‘tolerant’ are given together as complementary features of the state. ‘Impartial’ means that the state does not favour any religious beliefs; the message given to the religious masses is that the laic state does not favour other religions as well as Islam. The word ‘tolerant’ is used to express a guarantee for religious people of freedom of religion and conscience. By this discourse, the religious majority would not regard laicism, the fundamental element of Kemalist ideology and values, as a threat to their belief. This discourse therefore prevents the religious masses from strong reactions against the Kemalist hegemonic bloc which might stem from the threat perception caused by the practice of laicism.

The fourth feature of laicism is securing freedom of religion and conscience. Similar to the third feature, the discourse regarding ‘freedom of religion’ uncovers the effort to show the religious masses that the Kemalist principle of laicism does not pose a threat to their religion and religiosity. A significant reason for this effort is to hinder the organisational power of Islam which might create a severe challenge to the Kemalist hegemony. When specifying freedom of religion, there is an emphasis on the “non-

intervention in religious practices and the freedom to pray”. The message in this statement is that the lifestyle of religious people is guaranteed by virtue of laicism.

Text 2⁶⁰

Through Ataturk’s views about laicism, the meaning which we attribute to laicism can be understood better. How Ataturk interprets laicism is significant because it is one of the fundamental principles of the Republic of Turkey...

For Ataturk, laicism is not only the separation of religious affairs from worldly affairs, but is also a guarantee of freedom of conscience, prayer and religion for all citizens. Careful attention shows that this definition reveals two things:

a) Religious and worldly are separate.

b) Freedom of religion and of prayer are guaranteed for all people.

In the light of this, everyone can practise his/her religion in accordance with his/her conscience. No-one can intervene in the religious views and life of others, and no-one can despise others.

Ataturk explained freedom of religion and conscience in speeches made at different places as follows:

“Each individual is free to think whatever he/she wants, to believe, to possess a political view, to practise the religion that he/she chooses to believe, to abstain from practising religion. It is impossible to control one’s thoughts and conscience. Freedom of conscience is unconditional and cannot be contravened. It is defined as one of the most important rights of individuals.”

“All people in the Republic of Turkey can pray to God at will. Nothing can be done to anyone because of his/her religious views. The Republic of Turkey has no official religious belief. There is no-one in Turkey who can impose his/her thoughts on other people by force, and it is not allowed.” (Uludag, Hokelekli & Uysal, 2000: 88)

Analysis

Prominent discourses;

- Ataturk’s views on the fields of Islam and laicism should be the main reference point for Muslims.

⁶⁰ The concept of ‘laicism’ is introduced with reference to the views of Ataturk in this text, entitled ‘How Ataturk Understands Laicism’ in the eleventh-grade RCMK textbook.

- Worldly and spiritual, as well as religious affairs and state affairs should be separated.
- Laicism ensures freedom of religion, conscience and prayer.

The most significant point in the discourse here is its Atatürk-centred explanations about laicism. When explaining the meaning of laicism, Atatürk's views are taken as the main and the only reference. As a consequence, Atatürk's standpoint hierarchically becomes superior to other standpoints in society. This superiority also provides an advantage to the Kemalist bourgeoisie in terms of cultural domination over the religious masses. Since Atatürk is an unrivalled figure, the Kemalist hegemonic bloc, claiming to be followers of Atatürk, become safe from objections in terms of religious beliefs, culture and lifestyle. Thereby, the Kemalist hegemonic bloc gains a comparative advantage in terms of moral and intellectual leadership, which is a significant element of cultural hegemony according to Gramsci (1971: 57-58).

The principle of laicism is presented as the fundamental principle of the Republic of Turkey. As a consequence of being 'fundamental', it becomes an irrevocable principle which defines and characterises the Republic so withdrawal of the principle is not negotiable.

The binary words 'worldly' and 'religious' are used to explain the meaning of laicism. This worldly/religious dichotomy makes religion an unworldly matter. Being unworldly restricts religion's radius of action in social, political and economic life. As a consequence of this discourse, Islam, as a religion which regulates every aspects of world life, is a limited, individual spiritual sphere. The word 'separation' refers to the divided and separate areas of the religious and the non-religious. The idea of the separation of such areas makes religion's power a source of legitimacy and an organiser of religious people's collective will impossible.

Moreover, one of the features of laicism is presented as the guarantee of freedom of prayer and religion. In the broadest sense, praying can be regarded as a religious practice which possesses important communal roles in the social and the political dimensions. Throughout the RCMK textbooks and the current text, however, the religious and the worldly are completely separated without leaving any intersection point between the two. After stating that "religious and worldly are separate", the text

continues by stating that “freedom of religion and of prayer are guaranteed for all people”. Presenting these two statements consecutively means that the guarantee does not cover the worldly dimensions of religion and that praying is understood as primarily an individual act which does not have social, political or economic dimensions. So the individualistic aspects of religion are brought to the forefront, whereas the social, political and economic dimensions of Islam are totally ignored.

In the subsequent paragraph, the practical dimension of religion is focused on. By saying “no-one can intervene in the religious views and life of others and no-one can despise others”, limited independence is given to people from one another in their thinking and their practice of their religion. ‘Religious life’ should be understood as the spiritual and practical dimensions of religion at the individual level. By considering the speeches of Ataturk regarding freedom of religion and conscience, religion is intangibly understood at the thought and feeling level. Freedom of religion and conscience refers to non-interference in the thoughts and feelings of people.

Text 3⁶¹

Ataturk desired the Republic of Turkey to be laic, since the nation was fragmented as a consequence of various views based on religion at the time when the Ottoman Empire was weak and education and training had regressed. The people who made advancements incompatible with their personal interests achieved making those advancements look as if they were against religious beliefs. As a consequence, scientific studies in our country stopped and the adoption of and benefit from the inventions and technical advancements in other countries were delayed. The state was not able to prevent this situation. Ataturk propounded the principle of laicism by expressing that ‘the state does not possess a religious belief’ in order to protect the nation and country from such dangers. The state is not an individual; accordingly it cannot possess a religion. The state establishes institutions according to the needs of the nation. These institutions serve in accordance with their main mission. The state also establishes religious institutions and these institutions carry out religious affairs. (Bilgin, 1991: 80)

⁶¹ The reasons behind Ataturk’s preference for a laic state structure are discussed under the sub-topic ‘How Ataturk Understands Laicism’ in the textbook of the fifth-grade RCMK lesson.

Analysis

Prominent discourses;

- Islam should not be included in state affairs. The state should not have an official religion.

The text begins with Ataturk's preference for the laic structure of the state. The word 'fragmentised' is used with negative connotations to explain the structure in the Ottoman Empire period. The variety of views on religion at that time is presented as the cause of such a fragmented situation. Such differences in society are regarded as negative and undesired.

Training and education in the Ottoman Empire are defined with the word 'regressed'. From this point on, being 'regressed' requires progressive action. Two opposing groups are highlighted. On the one hand, there are "the people who made advancements incompatible with their personal interests", and on the other, there are the people who put those advancements into action. At the centre of this antagonism, there is the issue of religion, namely Islam. According to the text, the advancements are associated with an 'irreligious' image. That is to say, those advancements do not pose a threat to religion, but it is a delusive claim by the people who made advancements incompatible with their personal interests. The ceasing of 'scientific studies' and the delay of "the adoption of and benefit from the inventions and technical advancements in other countries" are presented as the result of the dominance by people who had reactionary views and regarded those advancements as irreligious. The term 'personal interests' refers to the power of the reactionary people in society. By explaining that "the state was not able to prevent this situation", the inadequacy of the state is acknowledged and the need for a change in the structure of the state is emphasised. Ataturk's preference for laicism is presented as the remedy for getting rid of 'such dangers'.

In the statement "the state is not an individual; accordingly it cannot possess a religion", the scope of religion is limited to the individual level. Together with Ataturk's statement that "the state does not possess a religious belief", the discourse means that the involvement of religion in state affairs impedes advancements in science and

technology and causes the state to regress. According to the text, Ataturk found a solution by offering the principle of laicism for the new Republic. In the statement “the state establishes institutions according to the needs of the nation”, the ultimate decision-maker about the establishment of new institutions is the state, which responds to the demands of society. The statement “in accordance with their main mission” refers to the mission determined by the state. From this point of view, the religious institutions established by the state also serve the mission determined by the state. So the final say about religion and Islam belongs to the power holders of the state. This discourse gives the state apparatus, and by extension the Kemalist bourgeoisie which controls the state, the power to rule Islam in accordance with class interests.

3.5.2. 2015 Textbooks

Text 1⁶²

The most significant feature of Ataturk’s understanding of laicism was his criticism of the exploitation of religion which had been the consequence of withdrawing the original version of religion. Ataturk knew that religion, the sense of religion, the area of belief and prayer are not going to be damaged by embracing laicism; on the contrary, their value is going to increase by the principle of laicism. For this reason, he stated that “We insist on the principle of laicism because freedom of religion, which is the most sacred value of national will and humanity, can be protected by being loyal to the principle of laicism.”

Ataturk’s understanding of laicism is certainly not against religion itself. According to him, religion is an issue of conscience. Everyone is free to follow or not to follow his/her conscience. Ataturk regards laicism as a principle which forms the basis of the practice and development of religion, and which even guarantees its protection. Ataturk does not deny the reality of religion, he acknowledges the need for religion and states “Religion is a necessary entity.” ... (Turkan et al., 2015: 104-105)

Analysis

Prominent discourses;

- Ataturk’s principle of laicism is not against Islam.
- Laicism guarantees freedom of religion and conscience.

⁶² This text is from the ninth-grade RCMK textbook under the subtitle ‘How Ataturk Understands Religion’.

The text begins by revealing Ataturk's objection to the "exploitation of religion". It therefore positions laicism at the centre of the analysis and defines religion from laicism's point of view. The statement "withdrawing the original version of religion" is based on the binaries of 'original religion' and 'distorted religion' and classifies Ataturk's understanding of religion as the original religion while categorising all opposing understandings as distorted religion. A prominent discourse is that embracing laicism does not damage religion, belief or prayer, but increases their value. This discourse aims at annihilating the threat perception felt by the pious Muslims stemming from Kemalist laicism. In the quotation, Ataturk specifies laicism as the only means of protecting freedom of religion. His use of the word 'sacred' can be seen as an effort to highlight his adherence to and his desire to protect freedom of religion. By the image of an 'advocate of freedom of religion', Ataturk's defence of laicism is strengthened.

The discourse throughout the text is constructed to highlight harmony between laicism and Islam. Seeking ground for the compromise between Ataturk's image and Islam was also the hegemonic strategy used by the JDP. By this means, the existing rule of the JDP would be accepted as legitimate and acceptable even if it was not favoured by the laicist segments of society. So the discursive goal of the text is to prevent the perception of a radical change regarding the discourse on laicism. One of the points which the JDP could not challenge by 2015 was the confining of Islam to the area of personal conscience. Freedom of religion is still defined as the freedom to believe or not to believe. As will be discussed in the next chapter, however, deeper structural hegemonies such as the legal system and global capitalism prevent Islam from carrying out the function of challenging the legal and economic *status quo*. Ataturk's statement that "Religion is a necessary entity" can also be seen as an attempt to instrumentalise the figure of Ataturk, to construct a 'religious Ataturk' image and to consolidate the deeper structural position of Islam in society by giving reference to Ataturk's positive views regarding Islam.

Tugal (2009: 235) pointed out that Turkish laicist hegemony absorbed Turkish Islamism. The passive revolution of the JDP and the absorption of Turkish Islamism are the most visible elements under the subtitle 'Laicism' within the RCMK textbooks. Most of the discourse about laicism still remained unchallenged in the 2015 textbooks.

Therefore, the hegemonic strategy of the JDP to find a reconciliation ground with laicism had made it impossible to mobilise the pious Muslims against the Kemalist bloc.

3.6. *Tarikat* (Religious Order) and *Cemaat* (Religious Community)

Tarikat (religious order) and *cemaat* (religious community) are significant elements of religious life in Turkey which deserve to be discussed under a special sub-topic. Although *tarikats* were declared as illegal in 1925, they carried on their activities as secret underground brotherhood organisations. Establishing foundations was the means of legalising those underground organisations to be able to operate and to raise funds for their activities (Narli, 1999: 45 [fn. 5]). So illegalising the *tarikats* was not a totally successful solution for the Kemalists and a discourse which could distract the pious Muslims from the influence of *tarikats* was required. The texts analysed in this part are not only important for the creation and distribution of such a discourse, they are also important for reflecting the general attitude of the state apparatus and the dominant class about the *tarikats*.

Tarikats and *cemaats* have had a significant role in social and political life in Turkey. Heads of *tarikats* and *cemaats* have been very influential and able to shape the viewpoints of their communities (Ozgur, 2012: 118). The Nurcu Movement, a prominent religious order in Turkey, allied with the Democratic Party (DP), the centre right political party, in the 1950s (Narli, 1999: 45 [fn. 7]). Likewise, *Naksibendi Tarikati* was one of the significant religious orders which affected political life in Turkey. The power of this religious order was used by the first two Islamist political parties, the National Order Party and the National Salvation Party, in the 1970s (Sabah, 2006). *Iskenderpasa Cemaati*, one of the branches of *Naksibendi Tarikati*, was founded by Mehmet Zahid Kotku, who motivated his followers to undertake political activities such as taking responsibility in active political life, forming political parties and spreading their views in the bureaucratic structure of the state (Ozgur, 2012: 118-119). For instance, Turgut Ozal, former prime minister and former president of Turkey, was one of the prominent disciples of Mehmet Zaid Kotku (Sabah, 2001). As can be seen, *tarikats* and *cemaats* can be the source of organisational ability for the pious Muslims

and their leaders can give inspiration to political movements. They could therefore pose a threat to the political domination of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc.

The religious segment of the Kurdish population is mostly from the Shaafi school of Sunni Islam. A significant proportion of the Kurds has always been conventionally pious and *tarikats* have been particularly influential among the pious segment of the Kurds, who are influenced by sheiks and *tarikats* leaders under the impact of the feudal structure in the Eastern part of Turkey (Narli, 1999: 46 [fn. 18]). Therefore, the capacity of *tarikats* and *cemaats* to organise the religious Kurds can be interpreted as an obstacle to integrating the Kurdish population into the individualistic laic nation state.

Moreover, *tarikats* and *cemaats* have significant economic power. *Tarikats* possess a variety of enterprises generally united under holding companies. Server Holding, the enterprise of the Iskender Pasha Cemaati, is an example of the economic capabilities of *tarikats* (Ozturk, 2015: 120). Similarly, Ihlas Holding is owned by Enver Oren, the head of the Isikcilar Cemaati (Karpas, 2001: 108). As these examples show, *tarikats* and *cemaats* control a significant amount of capital and possess economic power. This has always represented a potential threat to the domination of the Kemalist bourgeoisie for two reasons. First, such economic power can be used for sponsoring alternative cultural hegemony instruments such as schools, the media and publications. As a consequence, the economic power based in the organisation of Islamic identity becomes a challenge in the struggle for cultural hegemony. Second, the capital of the *tarikats* and *cemaats* rivals the Istanbul capital. It should be remembered that many senior members of TUSIAD, the business association of the Kemalist bourgeoisie, welcomed the 28 February 1997 *coup d'état* which resulted in the resignation of the government led by the Islamist Welfare Party (Atasoy, 2009: 115). It is possible to interpret this support as the threat perception of the Kemalist bourgeoisie against the rising Anatolian middle class which is characterised by its Muslim identity (Erdogan, 2007: 25).

The *tarikats* and *cemaats* are related to resistance to cultural hegemony through their possession of cultural hegemony instruments such as education and the media. In terms of education, *tarikats* and *cemaats* provide informal religious courses in their education facilities in addition to the formal religious education opportunities in schools

and mosques and in the Qur'an courses provided by the state (Akpınar, 2007: 162). For instance, the Suleymani Cemaat is known for its Qur'an courses and dormitories located in nearly every Turkish city (Konuralp, 2006). Similarly, Ihlas Holding has thirteen private schools (IHW, 2017a). In terms of the media, Ihlas Holding owns two TV channels, TGRT Haber and TGRT Belgesel, one newspaper, the *Turkiye Gazetesi*, one radio station, TGRT FM, and one news agency, the Ihlas News Agency (IHW, 2017b). As can be seen, *tarikats* and *cemaats* possess different types of cultural hegemony instrument which can be used to mobilise the devout masses and challenge the laicist cultural hegemony by circulating the discourse of the religious perspective. Those instruments were influential in creating an alternative discourse which could unite the religious masses and challenge the discourses, values, perceptions and world-views of the Kemalists.

According to Mardin (1991: 28), the *tarikats* have been one of the pillars of the prolongation of religion. They are significant instruments for maintaining particular Islamic discourses in society which can create a common discursive base for the constitution of an Islamic tradition for the unity of the devout people. As a consequence, Islam becomes a significant factor which shapes the discursive roots of the religious opposition groups against the Kemalist hegemony.

The most vital discursive change in the textbooks is that about *tarikats* and *cemaats*. The post-28 February textbooks were dominated by a completely negative discourse regarding *tarikats* and *cemaats*. In those texts, *tarikats* and *cemaats* were presented as dangerous entities which exploit the beliefs of devout people. They were regarded as a threat to individual development and their closure was presented as the only option for a free society. In the 2015 textbooks, however, the negative discourse about *tarikats* and *cemaats* had dramatically evolved into a completely positive one. The text highlights the benefits of *tarikats* and *cemaats* for people in terms of both spiritual and social life. Thus the influence of *tarikats* and *cemaats* as a collective challenging force increased as the official discourse about them evolved. They provided instruments of cultural hegemony such as media organs, education facilities and religious organisations.

3.6.1. Post-28 February Textbooks

Text 1⁶³

“In the Islamic tradition, tarikats are entities which are based on Islamic Sufism. This has resulted in different interpretations of Islam for different tarikats. Tarikats emerged a long time after the period of the Prophet Muhammad. Individuals in tarikats act according to the guidance of the group. For this reason, tarikats are harmful entities which hinder individual development and restrict liberties, and exploit religion and religious sensitiveness for group interests. People must abstain from these entities.

In the Ottoman period, many tarikats were founded. The places where members of the tarikats gathered were called tekke and small tekke were called zaviye. Those tarikats had sheikhs (seyh), dervishes (dervis) and disciples (murit). They deceived many ignorant people by means such as preparing amulets or praying for illnesses. They derived benefits by forcing people to donate and sacrifice animals to tekkes, and turbes (tombs). They convinced people to sacrifice animals in order to guarantee that their prayers would be accepted by God. By these means, they exploited people’s pure religious beliefs. Since sheiks and dervishes had an influence on people, they were also interested in politics. Mustafa Kemal aimed at closing the tarikats which make the thinking dull and sponge on the people, and at making the members of religious orders more beneficial to society. By this means, he aimed at preventing the exploitation of people’s beliefs. He thought that there is no room for the tarikats in the Republic of Turkey which is based on laicism and hinges on the outcomes of reason and science; he said: “The Republic of Turkey cannot be the homeland of sheiks, dervishes, disciples and lunatics (meczip); the truest and the most proper path is the path of civilisation. Following the orders and desires of civilisation is enough in order to be a human”. In the light of Ataturk’s enlightening thoughts, the tarikats which had become the site of laziness, reactionism and exploitation were closed by the revolution law no. 677 enacted on 30 November 1925. By this means, a new understanding of religion which is suitable for modern Turkey has emerged.” (Aydin et al., 2002: 93)

Analysis

Prominent discourses;

- The emergence of *tarikats* occurred a long time after the period of the Prophet Muhammad.

⁶³ *Tarikats* are addressed under the sub-title ‘Entities based on the Divergences in the Perception of Religion’ in the eighth-grade RCMK textbooks.

- *Tarikats* are harmful for the development and liberties of human beings.
- *Tarikats* exploited people's pure religious feelings and religion itself.
- *Tarikats* gained monetary benefits by exploiting ignorant people.
- The *tarikats* cannot exist in a laic country based on science and reason.

Throughout the text, *tarikats* are presented as dangerous and harmful entities. They are regarded as a significant cause of divisions among Muslims. Such divisions are presented as a negative circumstance for Muslims. This discourse is compatible with the 'homogeneous society' ideal of Kemalism. There is an emphasis on the 'individuality' of Muslims in the text. Two words, 'group' and 'individual', are presented as antonyms. In other words, the existence of one is a threat to the existence of the other. The sentence "individuals in *tarikats* act according to the guidance of the group" asserts that people's actions depend on the values, beliefs and world-views of *tarikats*. Therefore, this was a significant obstacle for the Kemalists to make their own values the leading values. The influence of *tarikats* on collective behaviour is clear in the expression "... exploit religion and religious sensitiveness for group interests". 'Group interests' refers to the political and economic interests of *tarikats*. The main message of this statement is that Muslims should be aware of the need not to be instrumentalised for the collective interests of *tarikats*. *Tarikats* were regarded as a threat to the individuality of Muslims. The emphasis on individuality aimed at restricting the Muslim identity to the individual level and preventing social and political projects which are based on collective action stemming from Muslim identity.

The members of *tarikats* are referred to as 'ignorant' in the text. The word 'pure' is used to describe the religious beliefs of those people. The words 'ignorant' and 'pure' together underline the good intentions of members of *tarikats*, but these good intentions resulted in exploitation since those ignorant people were not able to distinguish between what is wrong and what is right. From this point of view, preferring to be a member of a *tarikats* does not stem from a person's free will, so a normal person cannot be a member of these entities. In this way, membership of the *tarikats* is marginalised.

The words 'exploit' and 'exploitation' are repeated four times in this text. The members of *tarikats* are believed to be exploited by the religious leaders of the groups. The threat perception arises from the power of *tarikats* to influence their members in terms of belief, discourse and world-view. If people are open to the influence of

religious groups which produce alternative discourses in society, this diminishes the power of the laicist dominant class to influence and shape the beliefs and religious discourses of ‘ignorant’ people and to dominate them culturally, and ultimately it restricts the capability of dominant class to gain the consent of the pious Muslims. Therefore, the emphasis on the individuality of Muslims is important to restrict any effects on them by the *tarikats* leaders.

There is also an emphasis on the economic power of *tarikats*. In the text, it is stated that the exploitation of ignorant people results in monetary benefit for *tarikats*. As indicated at the beginning of the topic, *tarikats* have significant economic power with their holdings and small firms. The main discourse in the text aims at preventing the religious Muslims from contributing to the economic power of *tarikats* and from creating an alternative economic bloc. So all kinds of contribution to *tarikats* are considered as a kind of exploitation of people’s pure religious beliefs. As a consequence, a discourse which makes contributing to *tarikats* undesirable is constructed.

Another discourse in the text is that *tarikats* cannot survive in a country based on the principle of laicism. The concept of laicism is described by reference to science and reason. This discourse can be interpreted as an effort to articulate the pious Muslims to the industrialisation and individualistic capital accumulation processes of the country. According to the founding cadre of the Republic, science was the means of acknowledging the objective universal truth regarding the world. For them, the main prerequisites for comprehending and controlling developments in the world were the “technological applications of science, and science-driven technology”. By this means, the country would achieve complete industrialisation and become a thriving contemporary society (Irzik, 1998: 165). Such a positivist discourse of Kemalism aimed at minimising the influence of Islam on people’s lives and integrating them into the industrialisation process of Turkey.

In Ataturk’s statement that “The Republic of Turkey cannot be the homeland of sheiks, dervishes, disciples and lunatics”, the main goal is to prevent the leaders of *tarikats* from being opinion leaders for the pious Muslims. The terms sheiks, dervishes, disciples and lunatics are used pejoratively. As an alternative to sheiks, dervishes, disciples and lunatics, Ataturk is presented as the role model for the Muslims with his

enlightened thinking and his call for civilisation. According to this discourse, intellectuals whose world-view was opposed to Ataturk's were not able to fulfil the role of intellectual leadership. Moreover, the word 'civilisation' represents Western civilisation. Therefore, following the orders and desires of civilisation is equal to accepting the superiority of the West and becoming westernised, which were propounded as the only requisites for being human.

By applying the guidance of Ataturk through his own words, a significant discursive tactic is detected in the use of implicit binaries. Describing Ataturk's thinking as 'enlightened' automatically positions other thoughts as unenlightened. The statement 'in the light of' positions all other challenging thoughts to a position of darkness. By associating the *tarikats* with 'reactionism', 'laziness' and 'exploitation', the legal arrangement which had closed the *tarikats* takes on the position of progressivism, diligence and goodwill. A new understanding of religion without *tarikats* is presented as 'suitable for modern Turkey'. Being 'new' makes the previous form 'outdated'. The 'new' is legitimised by underlining its appropriateness to modern Turkey. The word 'modern' refers to the modernisation project of Kemalism. So being suitable to the modernisation project is presented as a desired goal in the text.

Text 2⁶⁴

Religious communities are unions composed of people who are gathered around a religious viewpoint and belief. However, religious communities cannot be widespread and cannot be extensive, like religious orders. They comprise people from a narrower environment. They unite their members under the umbrella of a religious understanding which is appropriate only to their conditions. Thereby, they differ from other kinds of group. Like religious orders, religious communities are dangerous entities which group people. They hinder individual liberties and personal development. Therefore, we have to keep away from religious orders and communities; we need to learn our religion from its source, the Qur'an. We should know that we do not need intermediaries to learn our religion. (Aydin et al., 2002: 93).

⁶⁴ Like *tarikats*, the texts about *cemaats* can also be found under the sub-title 'Entities based on the Divergences in the Perception of Religion' in the eighth-grade RCMK textbooks.

Analysis

Prominent discourses;

- *Cemaats* are dangerous and harmful entities to personal development and individual liberties.
- Religion should be learned from the Qur'an, not from the *cemaats*, the self-appointed intermediaries between people and God.

The discourse regarding *cemaats* is similar to the discourse about *tarikats*. Like *tarikats*, *cemaats* are also regarded as a significant cause of divisions among Muslims and presented as dangerous and harmful entities. The element which makes them dangerous is their grouping of people. Since the act of 'grouping people' is regarded as a threat to the homogeneous ideal society of Kemalism, a negative discourse is constructed for the action. Unlike *tarikats*, however, being less extensive and less widespread are presented as the features of *cemaats*.

Like *tarikats*, *cemaats* are also regarded as a threat to personal development and individual liberties. Since the *cemaats* possess significant functions in the hegemonic struggle with the organisational power which they provide to the pious Muslims in their efforts for counter-hegemony, the negative discourse regarding the *cemaats* targeted their organisational power. In the context of the deeper structural hegemony of global capitalism, the words 'personal' and 'individual' reflect an individualistic discourse which aims at transforming the pious Muslims acting collectively into individual clients in the market. *Tarikats* and *cemaats* played a significant role in the prevention of people from alienation and traditional groups from atomisation in the context of the urbanisation process and a rapidly-growing market economy (Ayata, 1996: 49). According to the main discourse of the text, the members of *cemaats* do not have strong will and all of their practices, viewpoints, beliefs, perceptions and values are determined by the *cemaats*. For a laicist dominant class, such a situation decreases the effect of an official discourse about Islam on the pious Muslims, and prevents them from embracing the Kemalist values and thus from accepting the cultural and intellectual leadership of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc.

The statement “we need to learn our religion from its source, the Qur’an” constructs the discourse that Islam must not be learnt from ‘other’ sources. Here, the *cemaats* represent ‘other’ sources and pose an obstacle to learning religion in a correct way. This statement makes a distinction between the Islam in the Qur’an and Islam learnt from the *cemaats* and regards the *cemaats*’ understanding of Islam as conflicting with the Islam in the Qur’an. The discourse about the unnecessary of ‘intermediaries’ when learning about religion aims at minimising the influence of religious entities such as *tarikats*, *cemaats* and religious figures on pious Muslims and increasing the influence of the Kemalist discourse on them.

3.6.2. 2015 Textbooks

Texts 1⁶⁵

The differences in the sensations, thoughts and characters of people influence how they interpret things. Since religious scholars have grown up in different places, possess different cultures and use various methods, religion is interpreted differently. ...

One of the reasons behind the diversity of interpretations is the human factor. Each human being has some features peculiar to him/her. ... The differences which people have in their daily lives are also influential on their understanding and interpretation of religion. In this manner, religious scholars interpreted the verses (ayet) and hadiths (hadis) according to their knowledge and they reached different conclusions on different topics. (CMNE, 2015: 80-81)

Analysis

Prominent discourses;

- Since religious scholars have different backgrounds in terms of sense, character, thinking and geography and use different methods, their interpretations of religion vary.
- The human factor causes different interpretations of religion.

In contrast to the post-28 February textbooks, the main goal of this text is to construct a positive discourse regarding *tarikats* and *cemaats* by basing their emergence

⁶⁵ This text entitled ‘The Reasons behind the Differences in the Understanding of Religion’, is from the seventh-grade RCMK textbook.

on the diversity between humans in terms of interpreting religion. The text begins by underlining the differences between people in different fields, such as sensations, cultures and thinking. The reasons for these differences are associated with the interpreter subjects, rather than the object interpreted. Such differences are therefore regarded as natural and normal. It is underlined that “religious scholars have grown up in different places and possess different cultures”. Rather than favouring a specific geography and culture, all different cultures and geographies in the Muslim world are regarded as equal. This discourse can be interpreted as a response to the Kemalist discourse which claims to hold the monopoly on truth. According to the text, different methods used by scholars are also seen as a factor which causes the diversity of interpretations. So using different methods is also regarded as acceptable and normal.

The ‘human factor’ is presented as one of the main causes of diversity in different interpretations of Islam. The message is that as human beings are distinctive, their interpretations are also distinctive. The word ‘human’ in the term ‘human factor’ refers to biological species, rather than a legal definition such as ‘citizen’. Basing the diversity on the human factor signifies the naturalness of the differences. Therefore, the *tarikats* and *cemaats* are presented as the result of unconscious uncontrolled natural factors, rather than conscious malicious intentions of their founders. ‘Daily life’, which is also a non-political factor, is also introduced as a possible determiner for the diversity in interpretations. Unlike the goals attributed to *tarikats* and *cemaats* in the post-28 February textbooks, there is no attribution to any political or power-related goals regarding *tarikats* and *cemaats* in the passage. According to the text, the variety in the interpretations of verses and hadiths made by religious scholars are equally acceptable. All of those who bring a different interpretation to Islam are referred to as ‘scholars’ instead of any pejorative word. Being a scholar signifies to these interpreters an intellectual capacity in Gramscian terms.

Text 2⁶⁶

One of the forms within Islamic thought is that which emphasises morality. The interpretations which emerged in order to morally educate people and to beautify morality by leaning the fundamental principles of the religion are called Islamic Sufism (tasavvuf)... Sufi interpretations

⁶⁶ This text, entitled ‘Sufi Interpretations’ is from the same unit of the seventh-grade RCMK textbook.

focus on the moral bases of religion. The aim of this is to educate and develop people by encouraging them to be loyal to Allah.

Sufi interpretations helped the religion of Islam to spread to different places. For instance, Islam mostly spread to Anatolia, the Balkans and Central Asia by means of Sufi interpretations. Names such as Hoca Ahmet Yesevi, Abdulkadir Geylani, Bahaeddin Naksibend, Mevlana, Haci Bektas Veli, Yunus Emre, Ahi Evran and Haci Bayram Veli have played a significant role in the dissemination of moral values to different regions, Anatolia being the first place. Sufi interpretations are significant for the diffusion of values such as tolerance, respect and love within society. Through these values, people whose origins are from different social and cultural environments can live together peacefully and happily. (CMNE, 2015: 85)

Analysis

Prominent discourses;

- Sufi interpretations aim to educate people morally and direct them to the fundamental principles of the religion
- Sufi interpretations helped Islam to spread to other places.

What is meant by ‘Sufi interpretations’ in this unit is the *tarikats*. The text begins with the information that Islamic Sufism emphasises the issue of morality. Two goals, “to educate people morally” and “to beautify morality”, are attributed to *tarikats*. Regarding the issue of morality as the focus of *tarikats* means rejecting any political or economic agendas which were attributed to them in the textbooks used before 2002. Moreover, in order to educate people morally one needs to possess moral qualifications. Therefore, the moral qualifications of the *tarikats* are taken for granted in the text. The word ‘beautify’ has a positive connotation. It is taken for granted that the *tarikats* have enough moral capacity to beautify morality. It is also pointed out that Islamic Sufism teaches the basic principles of religion. Unlike the discourse before 2002 which regarded the *tarikats* as an obstacle between God and believers, they are now not seen as a threat to the relationship but as one of the ways of being loyal to *Allah*. From this viewpoint, their situation shifts from being dangerous entities which exploit people’s religious sensitivity to entities which equip people morally and help them spiritually.

In the text, there is an emphasis on the contribution of Sufi interpretations, namely *tarikats*, to the spread of Islam in different geographic locations such as Anatolia, Central Asia and the Balkans. It can be understood that the understanding of Islam in those places was shaped or at least influenced by Sufi interpretations. As a consequence of these interpretations, *tarikats* cannot be exploiters of religion in those places since the interpretation of Islam there is already affected by the *tarikats*' interpretation of Islam. Moreover, it is also stated that the leaders of the Sufi interpretations had a "significant role in the dissemination of moral values to different regions". This requires those *tarikats* to reach a particular level of moral quality. Sufi interpretations are associated with the words 'respect', 'love' and 'tolerance', which all have completely positive connotations and are important components of a peaceful society. In the text, *tarikats* are regarded as a significant reason for living together happily and peacefully in Turkey. Therefore, the benefit of *tarikats* for society is taken for granted with no negative criticisms against them.

In the light of the analysis above, a radical shift in terms of the discourse about *tarikats* and *cemaats* can be detected in the texts. This radical shift has significant consequences in terms of class struggle and vertical mobility in society. As has been already discussed, *tarikats* and *cemaats* possess social, political and economic power. A positive shift in the state's attitude towards them increases their radius of action, since both the legal and the discursive restrictions on them are lifted.

Textbox⁶⁷

Hodja Ahmet Yesevi, Abdulkadir Geylani Bahaeddin Naksibend, Mevlana and Haci Bektas Veli; What do you know about these Islamic notables? (CMNE, 2015: 85)

⁶⁷ The subtitle 'Sufi Interpretations' includes a textbox under the same topic.

Analysis

Dominant discourse:

- These five names are notable people and opinion leaders within the Islamic tradition.

Within the textbox, five names from different religious orders are presented and students are asked what they know about them. The word ‘notable’ is used to describe them. ‘Notable’ has a positive connotation and is used in the text to mean opinion leader. These names are accepted as those who lead a school within the Islamic tradition. Such a radical change in the attitude towards these *tarikats* leaders can be interpreted as an acquittal of the *tarikats* which had previously been defined as dangerous entities. This change in the discourse on *tarikats* has given the devout followers of those names the possibility of possessing vertical mobility opportunities within the class structure of society.

Text 3⁶⁸

Kadirilik is a Sufi interpretation based on the thoughts of Abdulkadir Geylani.

Similar to other Sufi interpretations, according to Kadirilik, obeying the Qur’an and Sunnah is the main principle. For this reason, the emphasis is on the obedience of human beings to the commands and restrictions of religion. So humans should repent for their sins and gravitate with honesty towards prayer. The most significant mission in Kadirilik is serving and fulfilling the needs of the poor... (CMNE, 2015: 88)

Analysis

Prominent discourses;

- The fundamental principle in *Kadirilik* is obeying the Qur’an and Sunnah.
- Serving and fulfilling the needs of the poor is the most important mission for *Kadirilik*.

The text begins with a statement regarding *Kadirilik* within the tradition of Sufi interpretations. In the text, “obeying the Qur’an and Sunnah” is presented

⁶⁸ This text, entitled ‘Kadirilik’, is from the same unit of the seventh-grade textbook.

as the fundamental principle of *Kadirilik*. This means that *Kadirilik* interprets Islam in a correct way and there is no doubt about the loyalty of *Kadirilik* to the main principles of Islam. This symbolises a radical shift from the discourse in the post-28 February textbooks which regarded *tarikats* as exploiters of religion. Moreover, helping the poor is highlighted here as the principle of *Kadirilik*. The image of *tarikats* has radically shifted from being dangerous to being beneficial. Thus, the attitude of the text towards *Kadirilik* is not neutral and *Kadirilik* is associated with solely positive qualities.

Text 4⁶⁹

Naksibendilik is a Sufi interpretation based on the thoughts of Bahaeddin Naksibend...

In Naksibendilik, referring to Allah every time is given importance for getting rid of evil...

In Naksibendilik, loyalty to the Qur'an and Sunnah and praying are valued. One of the most significant features of this Sufi interpretation is being together with good and well-behaved people in social gatherings of science and knowledge. (CMNE, 2015: 89)

Analysis

Prominent discourses;

- Loyalty to *Allah*, the Qur'an and Sunnah is the valued action in *Naksibendilik*.
- Meeting well-behaved and good people in knowledge and science gatherings is valued in *Naksibendilik*.

The text begins with a statement which accepts *Naksibendilik* as a type of Sufi interpretation. According to the text, “referring to *Allah*” is accepted as the most important principle in the *Naksibendilik*. This means that *Naksibendilik* truly follows the path of *Allah*.

In the second paragraph, it is stressed that the Qur'an and Sunnah, the two main sources of Islam, are prioritised as the main reference in *Naksibendilik*. “Being together with good and well-behaved people” is presented as the most important characteristic of

⁶⁹ The *Naksibendilik* is one of the most active, powerful and well-known *tarikats* in Turkey. This text, entitled '*Naksibendilik*', is taken from the same unit of the seventh-grade RCMK textbook.

Naksibendilik. The adjective ‘well-behaved’ refers to those who have reached a required standard of moral level. This means that the environment of *Naksibendilik* is composed of people who possess moral qualifications. The term ‘social gatherings of science and knowledge’ can be understood as an emphasis on the importance given to knowledge and science by *Naksibendilik*. This discourse can be interpreted as a response to the discourse of “*tarikats* are harmful entities which hinder the individual development and restrict liberties” in the textbooks used before 2002. The shift is from an entity which is harmful to individual development to a beneficial entity which contributes to the development of individuals through its value of science and knowledge.

This radical change in the discourse regarding *Naksibendilik* has significant consequences since it is one of the most powerful and influential religious orders in Turkey. As it is an entity which provides its devout members with the ability to be organised and to act collectively, those people possess the capacity to challenge the hegemonic power of the Kemalist bourgeoisie. Second, the *Naksibendi* religious order has an economic power stemming from its wide-ranging commercial enterprises. A radical change in the discourse regarding *tarikats* removed the constraints on such economic entities and in the new process, those entities started to develop and to rival the hegemonic Kemalist bourgeoisie. Moreover, the Ismail Aga Cemaati, a branch of *Naksibendilik*, possesses the means of hegemony such as television and radio channels (*Lalegul TV* and *Lalegul FM*), a publishing company (*Lalegul Yayinevi*), a monthly magazine (*Lalegul Dergisi*) and its own mosque (*Ismail Aga Camii*) and education facilities (*Ismail Aga Ihtisas Medreseleri*). It can therefore challenge the discursive hegemony of the Kemalist bourgeoisie by creating an alternative discourse by means of its own media and education institutions.

3.7. The Family

The family is a significant element of civil society in which a child is born and raised from the very beginning of his/her life. Family is an important agency of human socialisation. Primary socialisation⁷⁰ is realised by the family during which infants and children experience the most intensive phase of cultural learning in their early years. In this phase, they learn fundamental behaviour and language. Secondary socialisation begins in childhood and develops through to maturity during which time the family shares the responsibility of socialisation with other actors such as education institutions, the media and social circles. This is the phase in which individuals internalise the norms, beliefs and values which shape their cultural patterns (Giddens & Sutton, 2013: 339). So the family is a vital terrain which fulfils the duty of ideological control needed by a cultural hegemony (Giroux, 1981: 94).

Family is the primary foundation where culture is transmitted to young generations (Semmes, 1979: 185). According to Gramscian understanding, it is one of the civil society institutions where the cultural hegemony is exercised (Giroux, 1981: 94). Therefore, restricting the influence of parents on children and shaping the discourse manufactured within the family is a significant step in shaping the values, beliefs and discourses within the sphere of civil society. In the texts analysed in this section, the family image changed dramatically between the post-28 February period and 2015. In both periods, the state presented a particular family image which reflected the official ruling values. By presenting a particular family lifestyle as common, natural, universal and mainstream, the textbooks compelled students to question their families which did not share the same values and lifestyle as the image depicted in the textbooks.

⁷⁰ The term 'socialisation' refers to "the process whereby the helpless human infant gradually becomes a self-aware, knowledgeable person, skilled in the ways of the culture into which he or she was born" (Giddens & Sutton, 2013: 335).

3.7.1 Post-28 February Textbooks

Pictures 4, 5 and 6⁷¹



Figure 4 (Gokbulut & Ocal, 2002: 82)



Figure 5 (Gokbulut & Ocal, 2002: 83)

⁷¹ These three family pictures were taken from the seventh-grade RCMK textbook.



Figure 6 (Gokbulut & Ocal, 2002: 85)

In Picture 4, a family which has a secular lifestyle is posing with all its members. In Picture 5, the same family is spending free time walking outside together. In Picture 6, the parents waken their daughter. In all three pictures, the family images reflect a secular Western lifestyle. The characters are selected from non-Turkish, European models who do not reflect a devout Muslim image. The parents represent white-collar, middle-class people. The father character has neither a beard nor a moustache. The mother character does not wear a headscarf. No Islamic practice or Islamic symbol can be seen in any of the pictures.

Pictures 7, 8 and 9⁷²



Figure 7 (CMNE, 2002: 102)

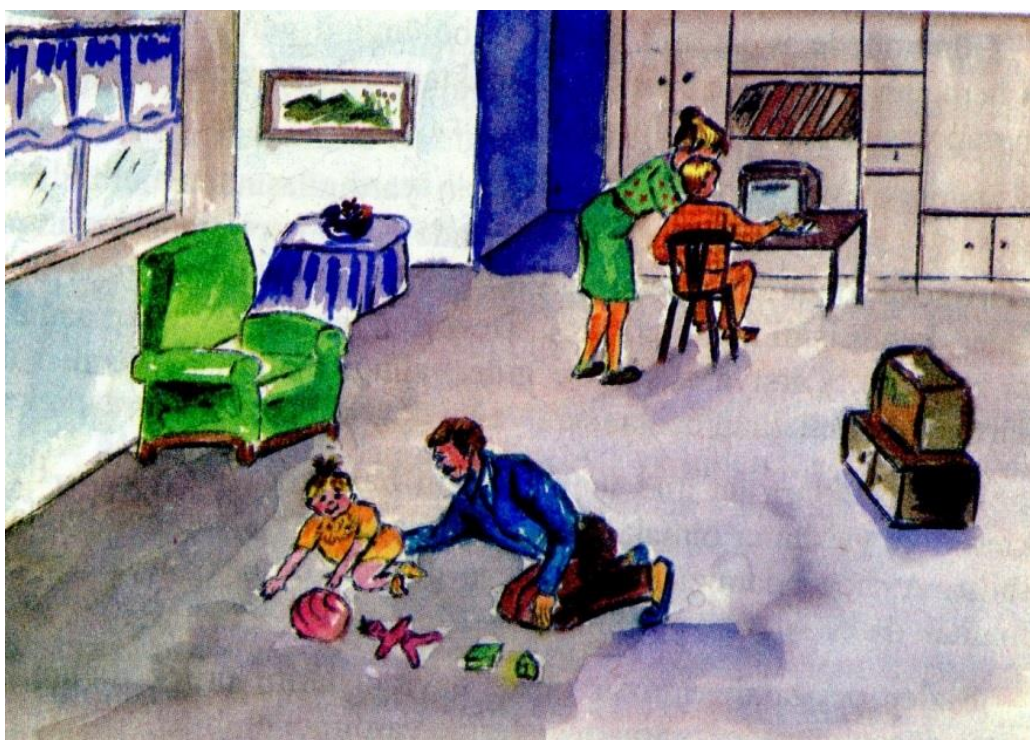


Figure 8 (CMNE, 2002: 99)

⁷² Figures 7, 8 and 9 were taken from the fifth-grade RCMK textbook.



Figure 9 (CMNE, 2002: 103)

Although drawings instead of real pictures are used in the second set of illustrations, the mother and father characters reflect a similar secular Western family image. The father character possess neither beard nor moustache. The mother character does not wear a headscarf and she wears a skirt. There is no Islamic symbol or Islamic practice shown in the figures 7, 8 and 9.

Analysis

The prominent discourses in these figures are;

- The Western and secular family type is the main family model in Turkey.
- The members of an ordinary family do not have an Islamic appearance.
- Religious practices do not play any part in ordinary family life in Turkey.
- The houses of mainstream families do not possess any Islamic symbols.
- Children imitate the values, lifestyle and appearance of their secular families.

The main discursive tactic in these pictures and drawings is selectively constructing the discourse about family with images which reflect completely Western and secular values, appearance and lifestyle. By this means, a Western and secular family becomes ordinary, normal and mainstream whereas a pious Muslim family is regarded as unordinary, abnormal and out of mainstream. Moreover, showing the

Western secular family image in the RCMK textbooks highlights a distinctive discourse: the capacity of the RCMK lessons to determine the boundaries and standards of religiosity and to represent religious values is higher than in any other lessons. Therefore, those textbooks are more effective in shaping the mainstream family image in the minds of the students.

A significant outcome of such a discourse is the discrepancy between the Western secular family image and the pious family image in the minds of children who were born in a pious family and raised by pious Muslim parents. The child from a pious family might think that his/her family does not come to mind as a prototype family model and does not represent the mainstream values and lifestyle in the country. In the minds of the pious families' children, such a discourse corresponds to possessing an unusual family type. Since those children might perceive the secular family type as the universally ideal family model, they do not regard their own families as cultural, ideological and intellectual role models. The discourse diminishes the intellectual impact of parents on their children and lowers their power to shape the values, discourses and perceptions of their children. Consequently, the family institution cannot fulfill its roles as the challenger of the existing cultural hegemony and as the contributor of a counter-hegemony within civil society.

For the sake of the Kemalist cultural hegemony, the domination of public space by people who have a secular lifestyle needs to be internalised and should be regarded as natural by the pious Muslims. The family images discussed above ease the internalisation of secular values and lifestyle by increasing the visibility of secularity in public space. As will be shown in the next chapter, there were structural obstacles to Muslim women, such as the headscarf ban which prevented them from working in both public and private sectors. Such obstacles resulted in the occupation of the public space by those women who had a secular lifestyle. Ultimately, this contributed to the class differences between the pious Muslims and the Kemalists.

3.7.2. 2015 Textbooks

Pictures 10, 11, 12 and 13

The four pictures shown below were taken from the fourth-grade RCMK textbooks.



Figure 10 (Akgul et al., 2015a: 107)

A devout Muslim family image is seen in Picture 10. The female characters wear headscarves and the daughter character imitates her mother's dress style. Thus the parents are presented as role models and as main determiners of their children's values, lifestyle and appearance. All members of the family are depicted as happy characters which shows their pleasure in their lifestyle.



Figure 11 (Akgul et al., 2015a: 108)

A pious Muslim family and an acquaintance with her daughter are seen in Figure 11. The adult women characters wear headscarves. The acquaintance has the same lifestyle as the family. The main discourse is that the pious Muslim lifestyle is not only possessed by children's own family, it is also embraced by the wider environment. The main goal of the image is to show how widespread the devout Muslim values and lifestyle are. Moreover, the father character is reading a religious book (*ilmihal*). The two women and the children are listening to him attentively. Hence, the father possesses a 'narrator' role and he is accepted as the main authority in terms of determining the world-views and values of the family. Such a discourse increases the pious Muslim father's intellectual leadership role over his family.



Figure 12 (Akgul et al., 2015a: 109)

Picture 12 shows two children receiving religious education. The female child character is reading the Qur'an and the male child is listening to her. Learning and practising Islam, and by this means acquiring the Islamic values and lifestyle, are accepted as common, expected and necessary acts for children. Moreover, both children have an Islamic appearance. Therefore, religious values are presented as the only option alternative for the children. The main goal of picturing the children reading the Qur'an can be interpreted as presenting them as role models for students.



Figure 13 (Akgul et al., 2015a: 117)

A young pious Muslim couple reading the Qur'an are shown in Picture 13. The woman wears a headscarf, which is the symbol of Muslimness. The couple spend their time reading the Qur'an. This shows that religious activities have a significant role in people's daily life in Turkey. In this way, the necessity of having a religious lifestyle is taken for granted in the text. This discourse symbolises a radical shift from the family image in the post-28 February textbooks which depicted walking outdoors as the ordinary activity of families to the family image in the 2015 textbooks which depict reading the Qur'an as the common activity.

Analysis

The main discourses within the four pictures are;

- A pious Muslim family type is the ordinary, mainstream family type in Turkey.
- The members of an ordinary family have an Islamic appearance.
- Religious practices play a significant part in ordinary family life in Turkey.
- Children imitate the values, lifestyle and appearance of their pious Muslim families.

In all four pictures, the main discursive tactic is selectivity; that is, selecting images which reflect elements from a particular value set, lifestyle and appearance, while completely ignoring all other value sets, lifestyles and appearances. As can be seen in these pictures, there is a sharp change in terms of family image in the 2015 textbooks. This change has significant meanings regarding the cultural hegemonic struggle between the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and the JDP because they depict particular values, beliefs and world-views as common, normal and mainstream.

As already discussed, the family is the basic institution where children are culturally shaped and receive their first education. There is a significant alternative here in terms of the family having an educative role which can bypass the school in the process of constructing and disseminating particular discourses within the sphere of civil society. As the effectiveness of the family shapes children's minds in opposition to the values of the ruling class increases, the effectiveness of the state to shape the minds of children diminishes and consequently the ruling class loses its monopoly on the education of the young generations.

How the family image is represented in the textbooks becomes a vital issue for determining the influence of families on their children. The family images which reflect pious Muslim values and lifestyle give students who were born and raised in secular families the message that the pious Muslim values and lifestyle form the normal, common, mainstream values and lifestyle. Since the lifestyle of students' own families is not reflected in the images, they might realise the differences between their secular families and the common, mainstream family type and tend to regard their own families as unordinary, abnormal and out of mainstream. Thus, the influence of their family on them decreases as they would start to question the place of their family in society. In this regard, from the family image before the JDP period, the children of the devout families internalised the secondary position of their families in society. Following the changes in the family image in the textbooks in the period of the JDP, the children of devout families would have a greater tendency to regard their families as role models for themselves, since their families had started to represent the mainstream, ordinary family type.

The change in the representation of the mainstream family in the textbooks also has important outcomes in terms of the class struggle in Turkey. It symbolises the move

of the Islamic middle class from the periphery to the centre and the increase in the visibility of Islamic values, symbols and lifestyle in civil society. Civil society, which was formerly dominated by secular values, has become dominated by Islamic values in recent years. Thus, the textbooks reflect the increasing visibility of Islamic values and lifestyle in society. This change also influenced the consent relations in Turkey. In the past, the Muslim lower and middle classes were invisible at the level of the public sphere due to the structural restrictions used to internalise and normalise their invisibility, since they had acknowledged the discursive dominance of the Kemalist values in both public and private spaces. However, as the pious Muslim lower and middle classes began to challenge that discursive dominance by means of different hegemonic instruments such as school textbooks, pious Muslims were encouraged to question their secondary position within the existing class structure. On the other hand, it also diminished the Kemalists' sense of moral and intellectual leadership and increased the normalisation and internalisation of Islamic values in both the public and civil spheres.

3.8. Alevism

Alevism was one of the new topics which was introduced into the RCMK curriculum in the period of the JDP. Analysis of the texts about Alevism is very significant since those texts reveal a failed attempt by the JDP at the construction of a political bloc with the Alevi groups who were the sufferers from the nation-building process of Kemalism.

Alevis can be described as the “carriers of religious traditions that partially overlap with the Islamic tradition, but also with other local and regional religious traditions that were carried by the peoples of Anatolia and their neighbouring geographies (in particular the Balkans, Mesopotamia, and Iran)” (Dressler, 2015: 446). Alevis often underline their distinction from the Sunni tradition of Islam (Dressler, 2008: 281). The Alevi population, composed of Turkish, Kurdish and Arabic Alevis, was approximately 20% of the population of Turkey (Gunes-Ayata & Ayata, 2002: 145). The ‘Alevi question’ arose from the nation-building process led by the founders of the Republic (Dressler, 2011: 190). The Alevi groups faced homogenising policies

based on the principles of nationalism and laicism (Dressler, 2015: 446). During the secularisation of the Republic, the Alevi religious and social organisations, and the institution of *dedelik*, shared the same fate as the Sufi *tarikats* which were closed and their activities were banned (Dressler, 2008: 284-285).

Within the frame of the *national-popular* dimension of cultural hegemony in Gramscian understanding, a class which seeks national leadership should respond to “the popular and democratic demands and struggles of the people, which do not have a purely class character, that is, which do not arise directly out of the relations of production” (Simon, 2015: 20). So as a response to the democratic demands of the Alevis, the JDP initiated a process (*Alevi Acilimi*) for the Alevis which included Alevi workshops, the organisation of Alevi *iftars*, and changes in the curriculum of RCMK lessons (Ozkul, 2015: 83-84). Hence, the topic of ‘Alevism’ was included in RCMK lessons from the 2011-12 academic year (Ozkul, 2015: 87). On the other hand, significant numbers of Alevi groups who were opposed to compulsory RCMK lessons argued that those initiatives of the JDP reproduced the dominance of Sunni Islam and triggered disputes stemming from cultural and religious distinctions between the Alevis and the Sunnis. In particular, steps to include Alevism in a chapter dedicated to Sufi understanding of Sunni Islam were interpreted by Alevis as the Sunni Islamisation of Alevism (Kaya, 2013a: 153). It can therefore be argued that the topic of ‘Alevism’ represents a failed attempt of the JDP’s cultural hegemony project, since it merely reproduced the Sunni discourse regarding Alevism.

3.8.1. 2015 Textbooks

Text 1⁷³

An Alevi is a person who loves, respects and acts on behalf of Ali. Alevis are people who believe in the oneness of Allah, who accept Muhammad as the last prophet, whose holy book is the Qur’an, and who love the Prophet Muhammad and his family.

...

Alevi-Bektasi thinking seeks to disseminate the moral principles of Islam among people as other Sufi thoughts do. In this context, it imitates the Prophet Muhammad and his family. (CMNE, 2015: 91-100)

⁷³ This text, entitled ‘Alevism–Bektasism’ is from the seventh-grade RCMK textbooks.

Analysis

Prominent discourses;

- Alevis believe in *Allah*, accept Muhammad as the prophet and the Qur'an as the holy book.
- Alevis want to spread Islamic principles among people.

The text begins with a definition of Alevi belief. The emphasis is on the loyalty of Alevis to Ali. However, the distinctive position of Alevis regarding Ali and political incidents in the period of Ali is totally ignored. The text continues with Alevis' acceptance of *Allah* as the one God. *Allah* is the name of the God in Islam. Therefore, the main discourse here is that Alevis believe in the same God as Sunnis and other Muslims throughout the world. Similarly, it is underlined that they accept Muhammad as their prophet and the Qur'an as the holy book and they love Muhammad and his family just as the Sunnis and other Muslims do. The most significant point in this discourse is totally ignoring any distinctions of Alevism from Sunnism and presenting Alevism as a branch of Sunnism by underlining commonalities between Alevism and Sunnism.

Moreover, the mission of the dissemination of Islam is attributed to Alevism. Disseminating a belief is a further step than being a passive adherent to a belief. So the discourse aims at articulating the Alevis to Sunni Islam by transforming them to the vanguard position of the religion. An analogy between Alevis and Sunni Sufi *tarikats* is made in order to depict Alevi groups as a type of Sunni religious order. By showing Alevi-Bektasi thinking as imitating the Prophet Muhammad and his family, the text locates Alevi thinking within Sunni Islamic thinking.

Two discursive tactics can be detected throughout this text. The first is the official recognition of Alevis as a response to their democratic demands within the frame of the *national-popular* dimension of cultural hegemony in the Gramscian sense. The second is the effort to articulate the Alevis to the Sunni Islamic tradition. By this means, the JDP aimed to correlate the interests of Alevis with the interests of the Sunni majority and create a sense of togetherness and construct a discourse of the 'unity of interests'.

Text 2 ⁷⁴

Cem means a coming together and becoming united. Cems were practised in Dervish convents and squares. Following urbanisation, cem started to be practised in places called Cemevi. Cem is administered by Dede.

During cem, people are directed to Allah. They fill their hearts with the love of Allah. Tevhid (La ilahe illallah [God is supreme]) is read during the cem practice. By putting the hands on the chest, salawat is read for the Prophet Muhammad and his family, and people repent of their sins...

Cemevi is the place where cem is practised. In addition, it becomes the place where Sufi conversations are held, it is used as a food bank for the poor, it becomes a house of unity, peace and fraternity. It is also used as a house of wisdom, education and culture. (CMNE, 2015: 93-95)

Analysis

Prominent discourses;

- Alevis come together and are united under the name of *cem* in order to be directed to *Allah* and to respect the Prophet Muhammad and his family.
- *Cemevi* is solely the place of *cem*, unity, peace and fraternity, a food bank for the poor, a house of wisdom, education and culture.

The text begins with a definition of *cem* (tot). According the text, *cem* refers to “coming together and becoming united”. In this definition, *cem* is defined as a type of social activity. It is stated that “*cem* started to be practised in places called *Cemevi*”. *Cemevi* are regarded as a consequence of urbanisation. This means that a *cemevi* is a newly introduced place which has no historical roots.

In the second paragraph, the practise of *cem* is associated with love for *Allah* and the practice of showing respect for the Prophet Muhammad and his family is emphasised. Therefore, Alevism is depicted within the tradition of Sunni Islam by merely highlighting the common points with Sunni Islam, which are the images of *Allah* and the Prophet Muhammad.

Cemevi is described as a place “where Sufi conversations are held”, a “food bank for the poor”, it becomes “a house of unity, peace and fraternity” and “a house of

⁷⁴ This text, entitled ‘*Cem and Cemevi*’, is from the seventh-grade RCMK textbook.

wisdom, education and culture”. The activities which are emphasised in the last paragraph are related to the social and cultural spheres. Therefore, a *cemevi* is depicted as a place where some very basic religious rituals are practised just like Sunni Muslims do, and where worldly activities, which are no different for Sunni Muslims, are carried out. With such a discourse, the distinctive features of Alevism in terms of belief and worship and more importantly the historical background of Alevism are completely ignored in the text. The only difference between a *cemevi* and a Sunni mosque is presented in the worldly sphere by emphasising the cultural activities and social responsibility projects which are held in *cemevi*.

The main discursive tactic in this text is depicting Alevism within the narrative of Sunni Islam by underlining very fundamental commonalities between Alevism and Sunni Islam and detaching the distinctions of Alevism from the area of belief and locating them to solely social and cultural areas. According to this discourse, Alevism becomes a branch of Sunni Islam with a special focus on social projects and cultural practices.

Text 3⁷⁵

Semah is the whirling of people who ebulliently and ecstatically participate in Alevi-Bektasi cems with a divine love. Alevi-Bektasi people express their divine love for Allah by taking into consideration the fact that everything in the universe is perpetually whirling. (CMNE, 2015: 97)

Analysis

Prominent discourse;

- *Semah* is the expression of divine love for *Allah*.

Semah is a ritual performed by Alevis. In this passage, how *semah* is physically practised is described and the divine love displayed by practising it is emphasised. The significant point about *semah* is that its aim is defined as the expression of divine love for *Allah*. The adverbs ‘ebulliently’ and ‘ecstatically’ reflect the enthusiasm and desire of people who practise *semah*. Their enthusiasm and desire are associated with divine love for *Allah*. The text therefore stresses the most fundamental common point, love for

⁷⁵ This text, entitled ‘*Semah (Sema)*’ is from the seventh-grade RCMK textbooks.

Allah, between Alevism and Sunni Islam. In a similar vein to the first two texts, the distinctions between Alevism and Sunni Islam are overlooked and the sole common point, love for *Allah*, is emphasised. By this means, any tensions and conflicting topics between Alevism and Sunni Islam can be concealed.

4. Conclusion

4.1. Overview of Chapter 5

So far in Chapter 5, we have sought to find the answer to the research question ‘How has Islam been used as a site of hegemonic struggle in Turkey in the post-28 February process until 2015?’ by emphasising the construction of discourses on the terrain of Islam within the RCMK textbooks used in the post-28 February process and in 2015.

Based on the findings of Chapter 5, the discourse under the heading ‘State’ aimed at ensuring people’s loyalty to the state, which was a significant instrument of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and which was the site where the Kemalist bureaucracy was located. The state, with its various institutions and laws, was presented as a completely beneficial, positive and necessary entity. This discourse was strengthened by frequent references to Islamic texts such as verses and hadiths. The discourse under the heading ‘Military’ was nearly the same as the discourse about the state. In the 2015 textbooks, the discourses on the state and the military were almost completely maintained unchanged because the JDP abstained from a direct clash with the Kemalist establishment. Moreover, another reason for the maintenance of those discourses can be the JDP’s increasing influence on the state apparatus and the military over its three terms in office.

The discourse on ‘Economic Differences’ was constructed in such a way as to find a causal relation between economic differences and the understanding of religion and to associate underdevelopment with religiousness. This discourse aimed at legitimising the current class structure in which the Kemalists formed the dominant class and the religious segments in society formed the subordinate class. The discourse

had been completely removed from the 2015 textbooks. This can also be interpreted as the outcome of the Islamic middle class's rise *vis-à-vis* the Kemalist bourgeoisie.

The discourse under the heading 'Laicism' aimed at minimising the threat perception of pious Muslims stemming from the practices of laicism. For this aim, the discourse was mostly based on the presentation of laicism as the guarantor of freedom of religion, conscience and prayer. Another prominent discursive tactic of the Kemalists was the depoliticisation of Islam. The strong emphasis on the distinction between the worldly and the religious was an effort to construct an individualist understanding of Islam and to remove Islam from the social, economic and political spheres and restrict it to the personal sphere. The JDP's response to this discourse was to redefine laicism in such a way as to prevent the concept from constructing an alternative secular world conception to the world conception of Islam. However, such a redefinition of laicism was not actualised in official processes such as the contents of school lessons. The JDP merely achieved such a redefinition of laicism in the party documents and in the unofficial speeches of its prominent members.

Similar to the discourse on laicism, the discourse under the heading 'Image of Atatürk' also aimed at minimising the threat perception of pious Muslims stemming from the reforms, principles and the ideology of Atatürk. Atatürk was presented as the main reference point for nearly every issue including Islam and as a 'true Muslim' whom Muslims should take as a model. The 'religious Atatürk' discourse had been maintained in the 2015 textbooks. The discursive strategy of the JDP was to depoliticise Atatürk's image by preventing it from providing an ideological advantage for the Kemalist hegemonic bloc. This discursive strategy revealed the JDP's careful war of position without initiating a frontal attack on the Atatürk image which still held a privileged position in Turkish society.

The discourse under the heading '*Tarikats* and *cemaats*' in the post-28 February textbooks had been changed from completely negative to completely positive in the 2015 textbooks. *Tarikats* and *cemaats*, which provided a significant organisational power and an umbrella organisation under which to act collectively for some religious groups, were originally depicted as completely harmful entities which exploited people's religious beliefs. That discourse was replaced by a discourse which presented

them as the beneficial outcome of natural distinctions among Muslim people which enriched society.

The ‘Family’ was another topic in which the discourse had been completely changed between the two terms. Whereas the mainstream family image in the post-28 February textbooks had been composed of family members who had a completely secular Western appearance, apparel and lifestyle, the image of the family in the 2015 textbooks turned into a religious Islamic style. The construction of discourse about the family in both periods was a reflection of the efforts to shape the mainstream values, beliefs and lifestyle in accordance with the visibility in both political and civil societies.

The heading ‘Alevism’ was a newly included topic in the 2015 textbooks. As a part of the *national-popular* dimension of cultural hegemony, the JDP attempted to respond to the democratic demands of the Alevi. Since the discourse on Alevism was wholly based on Sunni-Islamic perspective, it became a failed attempt by the JDP to articulate the Alevi to its hegemonic project and to construct a political bloc with the Alevi.

4.2. The Cultural Hegemonic Struggle in the Light of the Key Findings in Chapter 5

In the light of Joseph’s (2000; 2001; 2002; 2008) distinction between deeper structural hegemonies and surface hegemonic projects, the textbooks of the RCMK lessons revealed the deeper structures, namely Islam and global capitalism, which have influenced and restricted hegemonic projects in Turkey. First, Islam, as a significant deeper structure in Turkey just as in other Muslim-majority societies, compelled the Kemalist hegemonic bloc to find common ground with pious Muslims in order to minimise their threat perception stemming from the principle of laicism and the Kemalist values and lifestyle. Therefore, the discourse about Islam and the Islamic lifestyle in the RCMK textbooks can be interpreted as the efforts of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc to construct such a common ground to which pious Muslims could consent. Second, the RCMK textbooks also showed the structural hegemonic dimension of the global capitalism which affected the discourses about Islam, Muslimness and

laicism. The discourses under the titles ‘Laicism’ and ‘*Tarikats and Cemaats*’ aimed at transforming the pious Muslims who act collectively under various Islamic organisations into individualist Muslim customers who were fit for the market economy of global capitalism.

In organisational terms of the hegemonic struggle, the RCMK textbooks revealed the construction of discourses about the sites where all three pillars of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc were located. The discourse on the terrain of Islam was constructed to ensure loyalty to the main instruments of Kemalist hegemony, namely the state, its legal system, and the military, which had always been the source of organisational power of the Kemalist hegemony. The JDP maintained a positive discourse on the state, its legal system and the military as it gradually achieved more control over these institutions compared with the control which it had in 2002 when the party had just come to power. Moreover, the economic system, which had created economic differences between the Kemalist and the pious segments of society, was also normalised by means of the texts in the RCMK textbooks to ease the internalisation of the superior position of the Kemalist bourgeoisie in the class hierarchy *vis-à-vis* the Islamic subordinate classes. The discourses regarding the economic differences were removed from the content of the RCMK lessons and the normalisation of the Kemalist bourgeoisie’s privileged position in the class hierarchy could be hindered by 2015. The JDP achieved limited success in changing the discourse about the family which is the most basic institution in civil society by characterising the mainstream family image with a completely Islamic discourse. The party also changed the completely negative discourse to positive regarding *tarikats* and *cemaats*, which provide a collective organisational power to a significant proportion of pious Muslims, and constructed a completely positive discourse.

The RCMK textbooks also revealed the unrivalled advantageous position of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc in terms of ideology in the establishment of cultural hegemony. The image of Atatürk in the post-28 February textbooks was constructed to present him as the role model in terms of the attitude towards Islam and to position him as the only reference point for every issue regarding religion and religious life. This construction also provided a privileged position to the Kemalist hegemonic bloc *vis-à-vis* the opposing Islamist-conservative groups because of being the successor of

Ataturk. In a similar vein, Ataturk's principle of laicism was presented as the main determinant of attitudes towards Islam and Muslimness. By this means, a laicist attitude towards Islam and Muslimness became the acceptable, normal and mainstream attitude. The JDP sought to soften the absolute advantage of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc in terms of ideology by depoliticising the image of Ataturk and redefining laicism. However, the JDP could not shape the mainstream ideology in accordance with its own value set and consequently failed to gain a comparative advantage *vis-à-vis* Kemalism.

Constructing political blocs was a significant strategy for both the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and the JDP. The majority of the texts in the RCMK textbooks disclosed the Kemalist hegemonic bloc's efforts to find common ground with pious Sunni Muslims who form the majority of the population in Turkey and to construct a political bloc in order to create a homogeneous society with them. On the other hand, the JDP also attempted to find common ground with the Alevi population, who suffered from the social engineering of Kemalism. The aim of such a common ground was to create a political bloc with Alevis against the Kemalist hegemonic bloc. Since the discourse on Alevism in the RCMK textbooks completely reflected the Sunni perspective, the attempt of the JDP was interpreted as the Sunnification of Alevism by Alevis and it failed.

In the light of the discussions above, the RCMK textbooks were significant for understanding the hegemonic strategy of the JDP *vis-à-vis* the Kemalist hegemonic bloc. As the 2015 textbooks revealed, the JDP did not prefer a radical change in the discourses regarding the main institutions and symbols of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc such as the state, the military, the principle of laicism, and the image of Ataturk. Instead, it preferred to introduce a very gradual change by focusing on the discourses regarding the organisations of civil society such as the family and the *tarikats* and *cemaats*. It can therefore be claimed that the JDP began its war of position from the most distant organisations to the state apparatus. In this war of position, the JDP failed to win a new position since it could not persuade the Alevis to support its reform project regarding Alevism. Consequently, it is not possible to argue that the JDP fully established a cultural hegemony on the terrain of Islam. By 2015, the Kemalist hegemonic bloc still possessed significant advantages *vis-à-vis* the JDP in the cultural hegemonic struggle.

CHAPTER 6: LEGISLATION AS THE REGULATOR OF CIVIL SOCIETY

1. Introduction

The aim of this study is to comprehend the struggle for cultural hegemony taking place in Turkey on the site of religion, and specifically on the terrain of Islam. In order to achieve this aim, it is necessary to explore the time during which people carry out their everyday life activities and are exposed to the cultural hegemonic projects, and the space in which people's everyday activities are carried out and in which the cultural hegemony takes place. In the previous chapter, the textbooks of the RCMK lessons which are taught at all types of school were analysed. Schools were significant both in terms of time, since students spend considerable periods of their time there (at least six hours a day, five days a week, over twelve years), and in terms of a space where students socialise outside the home. In this chapter, consideration will be given to all the public spaces where people spend the rest of their time outside the home, studying, working, interacting with other people, getting involved in the economic system, and acting in accordance with the opportunities of the class to which they belong.

This chapter starts with a theoretical discussion about the role of legislation on the establishment of cultural hegemony. It will continue with an analysis of the legislation which regulated the issues regarding religion in Turkey from the 28 February 1997 *coup d'état* until 2015 by means of the critical discourse analysis (CDA) method. Particular attention will be given to legislation ranging from the Turkish Constitution and laws to the bylaws and regulations which regulate the terrain of religion.⁷⁶ The long-term effects of legislation on the manufacture and dissemination of consent, and on the determination of class positions within society, rather than emphasising the 'direct sanction' dimension of legislation, will also be examined.

⁷⁶ The term 'the terrain of religion' not only comprises issues regarding pious Muslims, but also involves people who have a secular lifestyle.

2. Legislation and Cultural Hegemony

Hegemonic struggles are usually understood as a simple inter-group issue in the agency-oriented sense by neglecting the relations between those social groups and the underlying structures. Hegemonic struggles should be understood as conjunctural or coincidental occurrences, but they “have their basis in deeper social relations and processes – such things as relations of production, modes of political power, ideological apparatuses and structures of communication” (Joseph, 2001: 269). At this point, Turkish legal order ranging from the Constitutional system to laws, regulations and bylaws constitutes a deeper structure which directly determines the boundaries of hegemonic projects and the rules of the hegemonic struggle.

Understanding the role of law in Gramsci’s theory is significant in order to highlight the instrumentality of law in the establishment of cultural hegemony, and by this means in maintaining the existing class structure in the hands of the state. Gramsci (1971: 34) pointed out that people need “a legal order which organically regulates men’s life in common” for the realisation of productive human work. According to him, people’s respect for such a legal order must be based on spontaneous consent, rather than merely being based on coercion. That is to say, people must perceive a legal order as a necessary condition for their freedom rather than solely perceiving it as an external imposition.

Gramsci emphasised the educative role of the state for the construction of a new type of civilisation. As he pointed out, when a new structure is created, the means of economic production are developed and reorganised, but this does not mean that the factors of superstructure should be ignored or be compelled to spontaneous development (Gramsci, 1971: 247). On this point, Gramsci commented on the instrumentality of the state in the domain of superstructure as well as in the domain of structure and stated that;

It operates according to a plan, urges, incites, solicits, and ‘punishes’; for, once the conditions are created in which a certain way of life is ‘possible’, then ‘criminal action or omission’ must have a punitive sanction, with moral implications, and not merely be judged generically as ‘dangerous’. The Law is the repressive and negative aspect of the entire positive, civilising activity undertaken by the State. The ‘prize-giving’ activities of individuals and groups, etc. must also be

incorporated in the conception of the Law; praiseworthy and meritorious activity is rewarded, just as criminal actions are punished.

In this comment, Gramsci pointed out the normative and value-attributing character of the law. The state reveals its reaction to the possible actions of its citizens by urging, persuading, soliciting or punishing them. By declaring a ‘particular way of life’ to be possible, and other ways to be criminal, the state attributes value to the actions of its citizens. Gramsci (1971: 258) therefore attributed a negative educative role to the legal system. In contrast to the positive educative role of the school which constructs discourse by directing people to a practice or a value system, the legal system constructs discourse by declaring particular practices or values as illegal. From this point of view, Gramsci (1971: 246) wrote that;

If every State tends to create and maintain a certain type of civilisation and of citizen (and hence of collective life and individual relations), and to eliminate certain customs and attitudes and disseminate others, then the Law will be its instrument for this (together with the school system, and other institutions and activities).

In this quotation, the role of law in constructing “a certain type of civilisation” with its all superstructural elements such as culture and world perception and in creating humans with every aspect of their lives and social relations can be interpreted as an emphasis on its function of creating meaning, manufacturing discourse and constructing a world conception. By this means, law possesses a non-coercive role of leadership by putting forward a particular way of life as acceptable and legal for the state (Litowitz, 2000: 530).

The instrumentality of laws in the establishment of hegemony stems from their social construction function. Social ontology is constructed by laws through declaring particular undesirable behaviours as a crime and particular acceptable actions as legitimate (Litowitz, 2000: 546). In this sense, laws are not only coercive, they are also discursive and normative. Laws possess an official discourse which is based on the values, beliefs and perceptions of the state about what is acceptable and what is not. It is possible to claim that they are not value-free. From this point of view, the dominant discourse regarding religion and religiosity within the legislative texts reflects the discourse of the dominant class in Turkey at a particular point in time. Taking into consideration the significant point in the definition of hegemony which underlines that the subordinate classes accept the discourses, values and beliefs of the dominant class as

natural and universal (Giroux, 1981: 94), legislation serves such an acceptance as a consequence of regulating social life according to the values embedded within it. This also results in the emergence of a hidden suppression on particular kinds of discourse about religion and the religious lifestyle. By hidden suppression, we mean the self-control tendency of people which restricts them from expressing particular discourses about religion and religiosity in order to be accepted as a good citizen according to the law.

The significant dimensions of hegemony are everyday life and space (Tugal, 2009: 29-30). Everyday life provides the terrain for a perpetual struggle between various hegemonic projects. Consent for inequalities is produced by politicians, intellectuals, pedagogues and activists through shared everyday practices by naturalising social hierarchy, class structure and the distribution of power (Tugal, 2009: 29). Legislation, which is the most extensive determinant in people's everyday lives, draws the boundaries of acceptable everyday practices. It constructs and disseminates particular discourses, influences social relations, and encourages or limits particular types of hegemonic instruments such as schools, religious facilities, cinemas and the media. The extensiveness of legislation therefore increases the coverage capacity of this study in terms of space and time.

Moreover, as everyday practices are important elements of hegemony, the location occupied within the space is also another element of manufacturing consent. Hegemonic projects become embodied in a location where social space is shaped in order to ensure the internalisation of the dominance and inequalities in society. Each power relation manifests itself in a space (Tugal, 2009: 30). As the analysis in this chapter shows, social space has been directly shaped by legislation which granted particular privileges for the secular lifestyle while determining legal structural obstacles for a pious Islamic lifestyle in the same social spaces. Such legal structural obstacles were accompanied by the discourse which attaches social space to the people who have a secular lifestyle.

Legislation regulating religious life has directly affected the class position of people in Turkey by providing different opportunities and obstacles to different lifestyles. The headscarf ban in public institutions and universities is a typical example of how laws regulating religious life have shaped the class position of religious women

in society. Using the example of the headscarf ban, we emphasise the long-term effect of legislation on the composition of classes within society, rather than its immediate coercive aspect.

Litowitz (2000: 545) pointed to the exclusivity of laws as a cause of their hegemonic character. Since there is no alternative to the current legal system, the law on which the state has a monopoly holds an absolute position in society regardless of people's opposition to it or criticisms of it. He compared the law with fashion. Fashion also determines rules about what to wear and how to wear it, and people who ignore these rules might face a social sanction from popular culture. However, there is always the possibility of creating alternative modes of dress which would challenge the existing preferences of the dominant fashion without the fear of being punished. On the other hand, one must accept the laws and bear the results for violating them. It can therefore be argued that there is no escape from the binding nature of the current legal system and the world conception which it draws. The dominant group which rules the state has a significant advantage in determining the boundaries of 'legal' and 'acceptable' behaviours and practices of daily life.

3. Analysis of the Legislation

After discussing the role of legislation on the establishment of cultural hegemony, an analysis of the legislation⁷⁷ will now be made using CDA. The aims of CDA here are to understand the official discourse on specific areas and to reveal the effect of legislation on the class struggle and on vertical social mobility. The analyses in this chapter are categorised according to the area which the legislation regulates. Since the influences of the competing hegemonic blocs, namely the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and the JDP, over the judiciary have gradually evolved over time without an exact revolutionary moment, it is impossible to draw a line to separate the instrumentalisation of legislation made by the Kemalists from those made by the JDP. Consequently, the current study endeavours to respond to the question;

⁷⁷ Since the Turkish Constitution is the supreme legal document which all other laws, regulations and bylaws have to be in accordance with, each category begins with the Articles selected from the Turkish Constitution and follows a path towards laws, regulations and bylaws.

How has Islam been used as a site of hegemonic struggle in Turkey in the post-28 February process until 2015?

Answers to this question will be sought by focusing on the following topics;

- Religious Everyday Life;
- The State;
- The Presidency of Religious Affairs;
- Political Parties;
- Associations and Foundations;
- The Headscarf;
- Primary and Secondary Education;
- Imam-Hatip Schools; and
- Higher Education.

The topic ‘religious everyday life’ signifies how the sphere of civil society is regulated in accordance with the Kemalist hegemonic project by means of legislation. Legislation under the topic of ‘the state’ grants a privileged position to specific ideas and principles which shape the state apparatus. Thus, the legislation manifests the fundamental paradigm of the state which constitutes the ideological aspect of Kemalist cultural hegemony. The ‘Presidency of Religious Affairs’ (PRA), which is a significant institution of the state apparatus, is the main instrument of the ruling class for constructing and disseminating religious discourse and is therefore at the centre of the hegemonic struggle on the terrain of Islam. The legislation regarding ‘political parties’ shows the boundaries of the acceptable political action for the Islamic segments of society and Islamist counter-hegemonic movements. The legislation about ‘associations and foundations’ constitutes the organisational aspect of the hegemonic struggle which directly influences the collective action and organisational power of the Muslims. Headscarf bans had a direct negative impact on the raising of pious intellectuals and the class position of pious Muslim women. The topics ‘primary, secondary and higher education’ and ‘Imam-Hatip Schools’ are significant both for being sites for the production and dissemination of the hegemonic group’s values and ideas on the terrain of Islam and for determining the class position of both the secular and the pious segments of society. All of these topics also reveal the limits of hegemonic projects *vis-*

à-vis Islam and fundamental paradigm of the Turkish State as the deeper structures within society.

3.1. Religious Everyday Life

Religious everyday life is a key area where the Kemalist hegemonic bloc sought to establish its cultural hegemony by determining acceptable and unacceptable religious practices, beliefs and lifestyle. Everyday life is a significant ground where hegemonic projects clash with each other. Since religion diffuses to every part of everyday life in most modern and traditional societies, it is necessary to analyse religious everyday life in order to fully understand the sphere of civil society (Tugal, 2009: 29). Therefore, the terrain which religion occupies in the sphere of civil society and the state's attempts to limit those areas become vital for understanding the hegemonic struggle taking place in civil society.

The topic was regulated by Article 24 of the Constitution with additional provisions in Article 14. Rather than drawing the boundaries of state action, Article 24 draws the boundaries of religion and determines the relationship between the state and religion. The title of Article 24 is 'Freedom of religion and conscience', which aims at creating a sense of freedom for pious Muslims in order to defuse their threat perception stemming from the principle of laicism towards which the state leans. It should be noted that the Article was not amended in the period of the JDP.

3.1.1. The Constitution

Article 14

None of the rights and freedoms embodied in the Constitution shall be exercised in the form of activities aiming ... to endanger the existence of the democratic and secular order of the Republic based on human rights.
(Official Gazette, 1982a)

Article 24

Everyone has freedom of conscience, religious belief and conviction.

Acts of worship, religious rites and ceremonies shall be conducted freely as long as they do not violate the provisions of Article 14.

No-one shall be compelled to worship, or to participate in religious rites and ceremonies, or to reveal religious beliefs and convictions, or be blamed or accused because of his religious beliefs and convictions.

...

No-one shall be allowed to exploit or abuse religion or religious feelings, or things held sacred by religion, in any manner whatsoever, for the purpose of personal or political interest or influence, or for even partially basing the fundamental, social, economic, political and legal order of the State on religious tenets. (Official Gazette, 1982a)

Analysis

Prominent discourses;

- Religious practices are acceptable as long as they do not violate laicism.
- Religion cannot go beyond the personal level of belief and prayer and cannot target political, legal, social and economic spheres.
- Religion and religious feelings are open to exploitation and abuse.

Article 24 begins with an emphasis on the freedom of conscience, religious belief and conviction. However, the terms ‘religious belief’, ‘conscience’ and ‘conviction’ indicate a person’s emotional state which is difficult to detect when it is not in practice. It is technically impossible to prevent anyone from believing something or from having a sense of conscience. The discourse therefore directs attention to the personal emotional aspect of religion by overlooking the functions of religion in social, economic and political life.

The second paragraph presents the violation of the provisions of Article 14, entitled ‘Prohibition of abuse of fundamental rights and freedoms’, as sufficient condition for restricting religion and religious practices such as worship, religious ceremonies and rites. The main discourse is that people must be on the side of laicism when there is a conflict between religion and laicism. Such a discourse creates a hierarchy between laicism and religion and places laicism in the superior position.

In the final paragraph, the exploitation and abuse of religious feelings and religion for personal interest or political goals are presented as illegitimate. The discourse of being open to exploitation and abuse depicts religious people as passive unconscious objects who need guidance from conscious Kemalists. Moreover,

illegalising religion's functions which go beyond the personal sphere is intended to nullify the effect of Islam in the hegemonic struggle by excluding religion from legal, political, social and economic areas and constraining it to only the terrain of belief and prayer. Consequently, Islam loses its function of being the source of counter-hegemonic political action.

3.2. The State

As was discussed in detail in Chapter 5, the state is a significant instrument for preserving and justifying the domination and exploitation by the dominant class over the subordinate classes (Miliband, 1991: 520). The state also involves itself in every action by which the ruling group gains the consent of the ruled (Gramsci, 1971: 244). For this reason, determining the fundamental features of the state and ensuring the internalisation of those features are vital for the establishment of hegemony.

Considering that Gramsci (1971: 263) formulated the state as the composite of political society and civil society, all discourses and perceptions within the Constitution about the fundamental principles which the state holds and any values by which the state is shaped also have a significant impact on civil society. Therefore, the 1982 Turkish Constitution became a value-constructing tool for the Kemalist hegemonic bloc within the sphere of civil society. Harmony with that value system can provide the dominant class with an advantageous position in the struggle for cultural hegemony.

The main reference point for understanding the principal paradigm of the state was the Turkish Constitution, which has been the supreme legal document among all the types of legislation. The fundamental features and principles of the Turkish state are defined in the Constitution according to a very specific value system. The Constitution strengthened the Kemalist hegemony by characterising the fundamental features of the Republic in parallel with Kemalism. As Fairclough (1995: 42) pointed out, "Naturalization gives to particular ideological representations the status of common sense, and thereby makes them opaque, i.e. no longer visible as ideologies". In this sense, the Constitution naturalised the Kemalist ideology by transforming it into common sense. The Kemalist principles constituted the pillars of the paradigm of the state and Kemalism gained a comparative advantage over other ideologies in the

hegemonic struggle. By this means, Kemalism went beyond the ideology of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and became the ideology on which the state hinges. It should be noted that the privileged position of Kemalism still continues since the Articles regarding the principles on which the state relies were never amended.

3.2.1. The Turkish Constitution

The Preamble

Affirming the eternal existence of the Turkish Motherland and Nation and the indivisible unity of the Sublime Turkish State, this Constitution, in line with the concept of nationalism introduced by the founder of the Republic of Turkey, Ataturk, the immortal leader and the unrivalled hero, and his reforms and principle;

...

That no protection shall be accorded to an activity contrary to Turkish national interests, Turkish existence and the principle of its indivisibility with its State and territory, the historical and moral values of Turkishness; the nationalism, principles, reforms and civilizationism of Ataturk, and that sacred religious feelings shall absolutely not be involved in state affairs and politics as required by the principle of laicism;

...

With these IDEAS, BELIEFS, and RESOLUTIONS to be interpreted and implemented accordingly, thus commanding respect for, and absolute loyalty to, its letter and spirit;

Has been entrusted by the TURKISH NATION to the democracy-loving Turkish sons' and daughters' love for the motherland and nation. (Official Gazette, 1982a; Official Gazette, 1995; Official Gazette, 2001a)

Article 2

The Republic of Turkey is a democratic, secular [laic] and social state governed by rule of law, within the notions of public peace, national solidarity and justice, respecting human rights, loyal to the nationalism of Ataturk, and based on the fundamental tenets set forth in the preamble. (Official Gazette, 1982a)

Prominent discourses;

- The fundamental features of the state are characterised by Kemalism.
- Any opposition to Ataturk's nationalism, his principles or reforms and his understanding of civilisationism is not acceptable.
- The Republic of Turkey is a laic state loyal to the nationalism of Ataturk.

The preamble of the Constitution expresses the value set on which the Republic is based. The expression of those values starts with an emphasis on Ataturk's understanding of 'nation' and 'nationalism'. There is a strong emphasis on 'Turkishness' and 'Turkish' identity throughout the Preamble of the Constitution. In the first paragraph, the motherland and the state are characterised by the word 'Turkish'. In the second paragraph, the statement 'Turkish national interests' constructs the discourse that those national interests belong to the Turkish identity. By this means, the Turkishness becomes the basis for all standards regarding the state and the society. On this point, Gramsci regarded nationalism as the most serious threat to Catholicism and to other religions in general. This was because nationalism possessed the capacity to construct a particular nationalistic culture by giving it the social base of an alternative to religion, and to unite people under a particular ideology and leadership (Fulton, 1987: 213). So nationalism emerged as an alternative to Islam with its capability to unite people under the ideology and leadership of Kemalism and to provide an alternative culture to Islamic culture. Moreover, the term 'Turkish existence' grants the Turkish identity an existential character which is an alternative to Muslimness as the existential characteristic of the people. Considering that the main definer of identity was religion in the Ottoman period (Togel, 2016: 203), this emphasis on 'Turkishness' can be regarded as a disengagement from the religiously constructed identity of the Ottoman period and the reconstruction of a unifying identity with Turkishness by the founders of the new Republic.

⁷⁸ Within the preamble of the Turkish Constitution, the fundamental features of the state are expressed. The discourse which is related to the current study is analysed rather than all the points within the text. The elements which are significant for this study are those which present Ataturk as the "immortal leader and the unrivalled hero".

Using functional honorifics is a significant discursive tactic which creates a sense of respect for the person represented (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 82). So Ataturk is presented as the founder of the Republic and being the ‘founder’ grants Ataturk and his followers the privilege of determining the founding values and principles of the Republic. Such a privilege also applies to issues regarding Islam and religiosity. As another prominent discursive tactic, moreover, superhuman metaphorical qualities are attributed to Ataturk with the terms ‘immortal leader’ and ‘unrivalled hero’. The word ‘immortal’ refers to the eternity of living organisms and is used here to underline the permanence of his ideas and principles. Those ideas and principles are also contained in the area of Islam and the religious lifestyle. ‘Leading’ is the natural consequence of being a ‘leader’, therefore the attribute of ‘immortal leader’ refers to the eternal and unlimited capacity of Ataturk to lead morally and intellectually. Moreover, being ‘unrivalled’ refers to being uniquely privileged in terms of the validity and impact of his ideas and principles. It therefore becomes impossible to challenge Ataturk’s ideas and principles. The epithet ‘hero’ attributes a moral value to the image of Ataturk which demands appreciation and loyalty towards him. This discourse aims at minimising the threat perception from devout Muslims to Kemalism, since the acts of a hero cannot be against the values and interests of his nation. Consequently, the Kemalist hegemonic bloc gained a constitutional privilege in terms of the values and ideas which stem from Ataturk. The same privilege also applied over the terrain of Islam and religiosity.

By the statement “sacred religious feelings shall absolutely not be involved in state affairs and politics”, the influence of Islam as a reference for state affairs and political struggle is restricted. Here, the term ‘state affairs’ includes all dimensions of the public sphere. In both the Preamble and Article 2 of the Constitution, there is a strong emphasis on the principle of laicism. Following the establishment of the new Republic, Kemalist laicism aimed at creating a new identity and a new order in the country. Islam, however, emerged as an obstacle to the creation of such an identity and order (Celik, 2009: 86-87). Akyol (2011: 185) stated that “while trying to sweep away the influence of traditional religion in the society, to replace it with ‘science and reason’, the Kemalists in fact filled the void with a newly created ersatz religion: the cult of Turkishness”. So when we consider the strong emphasis on Turkishness, it can be seen that Ataturk’s principles of nationalism and laicism, in both the Preamble and Article 2 of the Constitution, are mutually complementary.

3.3. The Presidency of Religious Affairs

The Presidency of Religious Affairs (*Diyanet Isleri Baskanligi*; abbr. PRA) is one of the most significant tools of the state for constructing and disseminating discourse on the terrain of Islam. The institution was established on 3 March 1924 to succeed the Shaikh al-Islam (*Seyhulislam*) institution of the Ottoman Empire with the mission of administrating religious affairs in the areas of Islamic worship and faith, and controlling mosques (*cami*) and small mosques (*mescit*) (PRA, 2013).

The PRA was one of the two institutions (the other was the Ministry of National Education) used by the Kemalists for the cultural and political instrumentalisation of Islam to unify the nation in parallel with the ideals of Turkish laicism (Kaya, 2013a: 134). The PRA has been a cultural hegemonic institution operating on behalf of the state and the ruling class in so far as it carries out the “educative and formative role of the state” on the terrain of Islam, which Gramsci (1971: 242) described as “creating new and higher types of civilisation”. In this sense, the PRA was expected to contribute to the creation of such a civilisation by shaping the understanding of religion in parallel with the ideals of Kemalism.

Turkish laicism aimed at separating state and religion and administrating religion by means of the state. Thus, the repression of Islamic activism was justified and the supremacy of the state apparatus over Islamic institutions was guaranteed. This supremacy was realised through the PRA (Dressler, 2011: 190). In this regard, performing the daily prayers (*namaz*) and *adhan* (*ezan*) in Arabic was banned and performing them in the Turkish language became compulsory in 1932 during the single-party period, which was achieved by means of the PRA (Okumus, 2008: 354). This was an example of how the PRA was instrumentalised for controlling the terrain of Islam in line with the attitude of the regime towards Islam. The ban on performing *adhan* and daily prayers in Arabic was lifted by the Democratic Party (DP) in 1950 (Okumus, 2008: 354).

Since the majority of the population of Turkey is composed of Sunni-Muslims, the PRA has always represented mainstream Sunni Islam. It was also more functional for the state elites to control Sunni Islam compared with Alevism, since Alevism was highly fragmented by its variety of interpretations (Ulutas, 2010: 391) (*See Chapter 5*).

As can be seen from the legislation analysed under this topic, this cultural hegemonic role has also been maintained in the period of the JDP between 2002 and 2015. In 2010, significant amendments were made by the JDP government regarding the law on the duties of the PRA (Official Gazette, 2010). However, those amendments were far from transforming the PRA to a more pluralistic institution. On the contrary, they strengthened the monopolistic control by the institution over the terrain of religion (Massicard, 2016: 84).

The identity and the bureaucratic structure of the PRA began to change after 2002. Academics from Theology Faculties were employed in senior management positions within the structure of the institution. The rank of the PRA's president in the state protocol was raised to the tenth level in 2011 (Korkut, 2016: 461-462). In addition to its domestic functions, the PRA was also transformed into an instrument of soft power in the international arena with its wide range of activities in Europe and Asia and in recent years in Latin American and African countries too (Korkut, 2016: 464-465).

3.3.1. The Turkish Constitution⁷⁹

Article 136

The Presidency of Religious Affairs, which is within the general administration, shall exercise its duties prescribed in its particular law, in accordance with the principles of laicism, removed from all political views and ideas, and aiming at national solidarity and integrity. (Official Gazette, 1982a)

Analysis

Prominent discourses;

- The PRA acts in compliance with laicism.
- Acting in compliance with laicism refers to being removed from all political views.

⁷⁹ Article 136 of the Turkish Constitution, entitled 'Presidency of Religious Affairs', regulates the main principles which the PRA has to obey. The statement "shall exercise its duties prescribed in its particular law" in Article 136 refers to the 'Law on the Establishment and Duties of the Presidency of Religious Affairs', which is analysed under this sub-heading.

Article 136 signifies the fundamental principles on which the PRA is based. The principle of laicism is presented as the fundamental principle of the PRA. Basing an institution which administers religion on laicism constructs a discourse which creates a hierarchy between laicism and religion. It locates laicism to the superior position and religion to a secondary position which has to be adapted to laicism in any case of incompatibility with laicism. Considering that the principle of laicism given in the Article is one of the pillars of Kemalism, the statement “removed from all political views and ideas” corresponds to locating Kemalism to a supra-ideological and supra-political position which is independent from all political views and ideologies and has to be shared by the entire population of Turkey.

The goal of the PRA is determined as “national solidarity and integrity”. Such a discourse refers to gathering all different and even conflicting understandings of religion under one umbrella, the umbrella of the interpretation of the PRA and accordingly of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc. ‘National solidarity’ is the alternative to conflict and disagreement. Therefore, the umbrella of the PRA is presented as the means of preventing such conflicts and disagreements.

3.3.2. The Law on the Establishment and Duties of the Presidency of Religious Affairs⁸⁰

Article 1

The Presidency of Religious Affairs, being affiliated with the Prime Ministry, has been established to execute affairs regarding faith, worship and the principles of morality in Islam; to enlighten society in the area of religion; to administrate prayer facilities. (Official Gazette, 1965)

Analysis

Prominent discourse;

- The PRA possesses the intellectual and moral qualifications to enlighten society on the terrain of Islam.

⁸⁰ Articles 1 and 5 of the ‘Law on the Establishment and Duties of the Presidency of Religious Affairs’, which have a direct role on the establishment of cultural hegemony in Turkey, are analysed under this sub-heading.

Article 1 determines the areas of responsibility of the PRA as the worship, faith belief and principles of morality in Islam. These areas devolve the formative and educative functions of the state apparatus to the PRA. The institution therefore becomes a key instrument for cultural hegemony on the terrain of Islam, as it is used to construct and disseminate the discourse about Islam.

The word ‘enlighten’ is used to specify the role of the PRA in society. The lexical choice here, as a discursive tactic, refers to the ‘Age of Enlightenment’ of Western Europe. The Enlightenment was an era which was characterised by tension with established religion and distinguished by a belief in human progress symbolised in and associated with the development of the natural sciences (Bristow, 2017). Therefore, the use of the verb ‘to enlighten’ can be understood within the frame of the Kemalist modernisation project which was aimed at decreasing the effect of religion in society. The Enlightenment is also generally identified with political ideals and revolutions, and especially with the revolution in France in 1789 which sought to establish a new order based on reason instead of the *ancien regime* (Bristow, 2017). Considering that Turkish laicism had been adapted from the French model (Ulutas, 2010: 391; Dressler, 2011: 188), the emphasis in the Article can be interpreted as an effort to associate the Kemalist Revolution with the French Revolution.

Article 5⁸¹

...

The duties of Religious Affairs High Council are as follows:

a) To conduct examinations and research on religious topics, and to present the findings to the PRA;

...

c) To make compilations and translations of religious works, to prepare preaching and sermon examples;

d) To decide about the production of the printed, audio and video works which the Presidency wants to produce;

⁸¹ Article 5 of the ‘Law on the Establishment and Duties of the Presidency of Religious Affairs’ regulates the duties and responsibilities of the Religious Affairs High Council, which is the supreme decision-making organ of the PRA. During the 1990s and 2000s until the amendment in 2010, the 1990 amended version was valid.

e) To express opinion about printed, audio and video works which the Presidency wants to be reviewed.

f) To answer religious questions;

g) To follow and evaluate developments in religion, religious affairs, scientific activities, publications and studies which can be accepted as religious propaganda at home and abroad, and to report about them to the Presidency.

...

(Official Gazette, 1965)

Analysis

Prominent discourse;

- The PRA possesses the moral and intellectual capacity to carry out an educational role on the terrain of Islam.

Article 5 provided the PRA with the legal basis of the authority to regulate the areas of faith, religious intellectual life, religious events and organisations. By this means, the PRA gained the opportunity to construct the entire discourse about Islam.

Paragraphs (a) and (g) granted the PRA the authority to determine the problematic areas on the terrain of Islam, to carry out research and to reach findings about religious topics. Since deciding on the topic to be researched would bring that topic onto the agenda, the PRA had control over agenda setting on the terrain of Islam.

Under paragraph (c), the PRA had authority for making translations and compilations about Islam. By this means, the PRA became responsible for controlling the intellectual capital on the terrain of Islam. Just as financial capital accumulates, the accumulation of intellectual capital contributed to the cultural hegemony of the dominant class by intellectually monopolising cultural capital in parallel with the values, belief, discourse and world-view of the dominant class, namely the Kemalist hegemonic bloc. Moreover, preaching (*hutbe*) and sermons (*vaaz*) are two significant sources of Islamic discourse in mosques. They cover a range of topics from faith and morality to social relations with non-Muslims and religiously acceptable Muslim behaviour patterns towards the state and its rulers. Therefore, by preparing examples of preaching and sermons, the PRA was responsible for ensuring the loyalty of pious

Muslims to the state authority and decreasing the threat perception stemming from the principle of laicism.

Paragraphs (d) and (e) provided the legal basis for leading, investigating and controlling all kind of religious intellectual works. The PRA became an authority which determined the boundaries of acceptable or unacceptable religious discourse. In the long term, such an authority directly guarantees the development of particular interpretations of Islam, while restraining the dissemination of other interpretations.

Paragraph (f) authorised the PRA to answer all kinds of questions, in other words to issue *fatwa*⁸² about Islam. Since a *fatwa* is expected to manifest “Allah’s will in this world” and *fatwa* issuers (*muftis*) are accepted as “the interpreters of God’s will” (Ocal, 2008: 325), such an authority granted the PRA a privileged position in terms of representing God’s will and being the point of reference for Muslims. The discourse of ‘representing God’s will’ created a hierarchy between the institution and the pious Muslim people and required the unquestioning loyalty of those people to the PRA and thus to the state on all religious issues.

Article 5 (2010)

....

The duties of the Religious Affairs High Council are as follows:

a) To decide on religious issues, to express opinions and respond to questions about religion taking into account the fundamental source methodology of Islam, Islam’s historical experience and contemporary demands and needs.

b) To make compilations, translations, studies and researches on religious topics; to create study and research groups on the topics which are required to be studied; to benefit from specialists and organisations at home and abroad; to buy services if required and report the results to the Presidency.

c) To research and evaluate groups of different Islamic understandings, religious-social organisations and traditional religious-cultural entities at home and abroad; to organise scientific and advisory meetings and conferences and to study those issues;

⁸² For a more detailed discussion about whether the PRA’s answers to the questions can be called *fatwa* or not, see Ocal (2008).

ch) To follow and evaluate developments about Islam, religious and scientific activities, publications and studies which can be accepted as religious propaganda at home and abroad; and to report about them to the Presidency.

d) To decide about the production of printed, audio and video works which are submitted to the Presidency to be explored. (Official Gazette, 2010)

Analysis

Prominent discourse;

- The PRA possesses the moral and intellectual capacity to carry out an educational role on the terrain of Islam.

In paragraph (a), the PRA is established as the main decision-making body for responding to questions on religious issues ranging from faith and worship to topics regarding social and economic life. By this means, the PRA can determine the definitions of good and bad, right and wrong, and acceptable and unacceptable according to Islam. Being such a decision-making mechanism makes the Presidency a tool of the state for constructing a discourse compatible with the ruling class. Moreover, based on the PRA's role as a *fatwa* authority, a discourse which locates the institution to an educative position is constructed. Considering that the authority which issues *fatwa* has enough qualifications to interpret issues on behalf of God (Ocal, 2008: 325), this educative position constructed a hierarchical relationship in terms of intellectual and moral competence between the institution and the Muslims and positioned the institution to a privileged position capable of determining acceptability and unacceptability in Islam.

Paragraphs (c), (d) and (e) in the 1990 version have been completely maintained in paragraphs (b) and (d) of the 2010 version of the Law. Therefore, the PRA is still the significant instrument for leading and controlling all kinds of religious activities and intellectual works in the area of religion. By this means, the PRA possesses the power to determine the boundaries of acceptability and unacceptability in terms of religious discourse and to carry out a normative role on the terrain of religion by means of the law.

Paragraph (c) authorised the PRA to approach and assess traditional religious-cultural entities, religious-social organisations and groups of various understandings of Islam. By this means, the PRA became able to favour particular groups while distancing itself from others. As was discussed under the sub-heading of *tarikats* and *cemaats* in Chapter 5, religious groups have a significant influence through their social, economic and political capacity on the Muslims. Any cooperation with religious groups through the instrumentality of the PRA contributed to the hegemonic project of the JDP. Therefore, the PRA determined the boundaries of acceptability for religious groups which enabled it to control the sphere of civil society.

Paragraph (ch) granted the PRA the authority to directly set the current agenda on the terrain of Islam. By this means, the PRA became able to construct the Islamic discourse and to determine the standpoint on behalf of the pious Muslims based on developments in Islam and Islam-related issues. Thereby, a discourse which depicted the PRA as a competent authority determining attitudes on behalf of Muslims was constructed.

Following the amendments in 2010, Article 5 maintained the roles of the PRA in cultural hegemony and it was used as an instrument in the hegemonic project of the JDP. The PRA is still used as the instrument of the state to carry out an educational role on the terrain of religion, to construct and disseminate religious discourse, to control and lead intellectual works and to sponsor activities which emphasise religion. The institution has therefore always been the main instrument for the state to determine the mainstream and official interpretation of religion.

3.4. Political Parties

The topic ‘political parties’ is very significant for being the legal means of political struggle and organisation. The significance of the political party in Gramscian thought stems from its function in the development of a counter-hegemonic process as the institution which provides political education and constitutes the organisational force which coordinates national movement (Adamson, 1980: 207). Political parties function in the same way within the sphere of civil society as the state functions within the sphere of political society (Gramsci: 1971: 15). Gramsci (1971: 335) stated that

One should stress the importance and significance which, in the modern world, political parties have in the elaboration and diffusion of conceptions of the world, because essentially what they do is to work out the ethics and the politics corresponding to these conceptions and act as it were as their historical 'laboratory'.

So for Gramsci, political parties carry out a quasi-religious function in the moral and intellectual spheres of the modern world. Just as religious communities and churches undertook the mission of producing and propagating particular conceptions of the world and of representing social norms, political parties have functioned in the same way in the modern world (Grelle, 2017: 38).

In the case of Turkey, it can be seen that Islamist political parties played a significant role in winning the war of position on behalf of the Islamist movement. From the end of the 1970s, the Islamic movement endeavoured to win people's minds and hearts by means of cultural leadership, ideological persuasion and moral supremacy (Hosgor, 2015: 211). Gramsci's concept of hegemony was blended with the Islamic concept of *teblig* (Islamic propaganda) and was determined to be an effective strategy for increasing its influence on society. The grassroots of Islamic political parties provided the human resources for the war of position, since a war of position requires the active support and participation of the people. A prominent aim of the 1990s Islamist Welfare Party was to overcome the social and economic shortcomings in society, especially in the areas of health and education, which stemmed from the inadequacy and ineffectiveness of the state's social spending by providing social aid, education facilities, medical clinics and cooperatives by means of Islamic networks (Hosgor, 2015b: 212). Similarly, the JDP integrated previously excluded Islamic cultural, political and economic elites into the public sphere (Akca, 2014: 32). Therefore, political parties have always been the motor of Islamist movements in their move from the periphery towards the centre of Turkish politics.

3.4.1. The Turkish Constitution⁸³

Article 68

...

The statutes and programmes, as well as the activities of political parties, shall not be contrary to the independence of the State, its indivisible integrity with its territory and nation, human rights, the principles of equality and the rule of law, the sovereignty of the nation, the principles of the democratic and secular [laic] republic; ... (Official Gazette, 1982a; Official Gazette, 1995)

Article 69

...

The permanent dissolution of a political party shall be decided when it is established that the statutes and programme of the political party violate the provisions of the fourth paragraph of Article 68.

...

The members, including the founders of a political party whose acts or statements have caused the party to be dissolved permanently shall not be founders, members, directors or supervisors in any other party for a period of five years from the date of publication of the Constitutional Court's final decision with its justification for permanently dissolving the party in the Official Gazette. (Official Gazette, 1982a; Official Gazette, 1995)

Analysis

Prominent discourse;

- Positioning against laicism is sufficient reason for the closure of political parties.

Article 68 imposes restrictions on the programmes and statutes, as well as the activities, of political parties. Of these restrictions, the current study focuses on the

⁸³ Political parties are regulated in Articles 68 and 69 of the Turkish Constitution. In this current study, the analysis will cover the fourth paragraph of Article 68 which imposes specific legal restrictions on the activities and determines the boundaries of the constitutions and programmes of the political parties, the fifth paragraph of Article 69 which states the condition for the closure of political parties, and the ninth paragraph of Article 69 which specifies the details of the restrictions regarding the members of the political parties which were closed.

restriction which prevents parties from carrying out activities contrary to the principle of laicism. This restriction produces a discourse in which challenging and even criticising any elements regarding the practical or ideological elements of laicism is perceived as illegitimate and thus unusual and abnormal.

Article 69 also bans the members and founders, supervisors and directors of closed political parties for five years. As Gramsci (1971: 15) stressed, political parties are a significant means of raising organic intellectuals in philosophical and political areas for particular social groups in a society. Such a ban was therefore aimed at hindering the functioning of organic intellectuals under the umbrella of political parties and diminishing the intellectual leadership opportunity for Islamist movements. Since the Islamist parties are significant instruments for constructing an Islamic conception of world, the founders and members of those parties became prevented from using a significant instrument to construct an Islamic conception of the world which would challenge the laicist world conception of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc. Second, those politicians lose the opportunity to be organised as a counter-hegemonic bloc by means of the organisational power of political parties and to directly participate in and influence the decision-making processes within the parliament.

In the history of Turkey, Islamist political parties have faced closure decisions many times on the pretext of being a threat against the principle of laicism.⁸⁴ In 2008, a closure case was prosecuted against the JDP and “a serious warning” was issued by the Constitutional Court on the grounds of it “being a focal point of anti-secular [anti-laicist] activities” (Hurriyet, 2008). In the hegemonic struggle, Kemalism gained a comparative privilege for representing the legal side of the political struggle whilst its antagonist counter-hegemonic rivals suffered from being accepted as being on the illegal side. Moreover, the possibility of being closed because of the risk of violating laicism compelled the Islamist political parties to soften their Islamic discourse and to let their values be absorbed⁸⁵ by the Kemalists, as can be seen in the case of the JDP.

⁸⁴ The Welfare Party (WP), the Islamist Party of 1990s, was closed by the Constitutional Court in 1998 due to its religious activities which had violated the principle of laicism (Morris, 1998). Similarly, the Virtue Party (VP), founded by the same Islamist cadre, was also closed due to its 'Islamic and anti-laicist activities' in 2001 (Frantz, 2001).

⁸⁵ For a detailed discussion about how Islamic values were absorbed by Kemalism, see Tugal (2009).

3.4.2. Political Parties Law⁸⁶

Article 4

... Political parties shall carry out their activities in loyalty to the principles and reforms of Ataturk. (Official Gazette, 1983c)

Analysis

Prominent Discourse;

- Political parties have to be loyal to Ataturk.

Article 4 states that loyalty by political parties to the revolutions and principles of Ataturk is a legal obligation. By this discourse, the Ataturk figure becomes a shared value and loyalty to him becomes a social norm for the entire society. Such loyalty also necessitates loyalty to the secular lifestyle, laicist worldview and the Kemalist understanding of Islam. Consequently, the views and values of Kemalism become common sense views and values for the whole society.

When it is taken into account that the political parties are expected to be the main instruments for expressing the objections of pious Muslims regarding the Kemalist policies which target the Islamic lifestyle and Islamic discourse, Article 4 diminished the capacity of political parties to express such objections. This situation created the discourse that any organised objections under the umbrella of political parties are regarded as illegal, unusual and unacceptable.

Article 85

Political parties shall not aim at denigrating or humiliating the personality, activities or memory of Ataturk, the liberator of the Turkish nation and founder of the Turkish Republic; and cannot carry on activities or develop behaviour which might cause this situation. (Official Gazette, 1983c)

⁸⁶ Political Parties Law (*Siyasi Partiler Kanunu*) is the fundamental legislative text which specifically regulated issues regarding political parties in Turkey. As in other legislative texts, Political Parties Law has also comprised special protection for the principles and reforms of Ataturk and by this means for the views and values of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc. Articles 4, 85, 86, 87 and 88 are analysed under this subtitle, since they have a direct relationship with Islamist parties and with issues regarding religion and laicism. It should be noted that all articles analysed under this subtitle remained the same without any amendments in 2015.

Analysis

Prominent discourse;

- It is illegal for political parties to denigrate or humiliate Ataturk's personality, activities or memory.

In Article 85, denigrating and humiliating Ataturk's personality, memory and activities are rendered illegal. The words 'denigrating' and 'humiliating' possess ambiguous meanings about the boundaries of acceptable opposition to Ataturk and might refer to any negative statements against Ataturk which might weaken his privileged position. This ambiguity compels political parties to abstain from expressing any negative statements or voicing any criticisms against Ataturk. This produces a discourse about the unacceptability of positioning against Ataturk

Functional honorifics are again used as a discursive tactic in the text in order to grant a privileged position to Ataturk and his followers. Ataturk is presented as "the liberator of the Turkish nation" and "founder of the Turkish Republic". This characterisation grants a privileged position to Ataturk and thus to all values associated with him. Being the 'founder of the state' entails being 'the determiner of the fundamental principles, values and paradigm of the state'.

The Article contributes the perception that negative criticisms of Ataturk are unordinary, unacceptable and abnormal. This perception creates a shield of untouchability which would promote a deeper structural hegemony of the Ataturk image in society. The political parties which favour Kemalism gain a comparative advantage over Islamic political parties by such a privileged position. Moreover, such a structural hegemony was a significant determiner of the limits of the JDP's hegemonic project which was obliged to take into account the image of Ataturk and seek a reconciliation ground with the Kemalists.

Article 86

Political parties shall not seek to change the Turkish Republic's feature of laicism or to re-establish the Caliphate; and shall not carry out activities for these aims. (Official Gazette, 1983c)

Analysis

Prominent discourses;

- It is illegal and unacceptable for political movements to be against laicism.
- It is illegal and unacceptable to aim at re-establishing the Caliphate.

Article 86 illegalised any attempts by political parties to change the laic structure of the state or to re-establish the Caliphate which had been abolished in 1924. Beyond directly changing the Republic's fundamental feature of laicism, this Article plays a more comprehensive restrictive role on the Islamist political parties. Even steps to widen the realm of religious freedom and to lift the bans on Islamic practices such as the headscarf ban were regarded as a violation of laicism. In the long term, these restrictions compelled political parties to avoid culturally and ideologically challenging the Kemalist values. This can be interpreted as compulsory silent consent for those Kemalist values by the Islamist parties in order to remain within the legal boundaries.

The abolition of the Caliphate represented a disengagement from the Ottoman past, so any discourse which yearns to restore that social and political order and the institutions of the past is illegalised and accepted as abnormal by means of this Article. The Caliph represents leadership in the Muslim world so demanding the re-establishment of the Caliphate might correspond to expressing the lack of and the need for a Muslim leadership in Turkey. So banning any political goals regarding the re-establishment of the Caliphate can be understood as an effort to construct a discourse underlining that 'the leadership in the laic order is sufficient, and does not require the leadership of a Caliph'. A Caliph would have the power to challenge the laicist hegemony in both discursive organisational terms and by directly organising the Muslim population and directing their organised power at the Kemalist domination. A possible threat to the Kemalist cultural hegemony was therefore prevented by legal measures.

Article 87

Political parties shall not make propaganda, exploit or abuse religion, religious feelings or things which are accepted as sacred by religion in any circumstance by instrumentalising them in order to base the state's social, economic, political or judicial order, even if partially, on religious elements or beliefs; or for political targets; or for obtaining or establishing political gain. (Official Gazette, 1983c)

Analysis

Prominent discourses;

- Islamic discourse cannot be used in any propaganda activities.
- Islam cannot be the basis of the state's economic, social, political or judicial order.

Article 87 prevents political parties from using propaganda, exploiting or abusing religion or religious feelings. The term “make propaganda of religion” is very ambiguous since any religious discourse aimed at representing and expressing the demands of religious people can be understood as a propaganda effort.

Moreover, Article 87 prevents Islamic political parties from shaping or at least influencing the social, economic, political or judicial order of the state with Islam. This Article completely restrains Islam's role as a source of counter-hegemony against the laic regime. The main discourse in this legislative text is that Islam's role is composed solely of a personal spiritual area. Any attempt to widen its scope to include issues of the worldly area is perceived as unacceptable, unordinary and abnormal. The imposition of illegality strengthens such a discourse by labelling it as unacceptable in the eyes of political society.

Article 88

Political parties shall not perform religious ceremonies or religious rituals and cannot participate in such ceremonies and rituals as a political party. Political parties shall not use religious festivals, religious rituals and funeral rites for the exhibitions and propaganda of the party. (Official Gazette, 1983c)

Analysis

Prominent discourse;

- Islam cannot be the source of political action and discourse.

Article 88 bans participation in and the performance of religious rituals or ceremonies by political parties. The ban is a significant obstacle to political parties sharing the same space as pious segments of society. Moreover, religious festivals, funeral rites and religious rituals cannot be used for propaganda or exhibitions of any parties. The word ‘exhibition’ originates from the verb ‘exhibit’ referring to ‘showing something to people’. The word ‘propaganda’ refers to any discursive activities which target the electors. The intentions of this ban are to sever the link between political parties and Islam, to keep political parties out of any religious discourse and to compel them to carry out their activities within the laic terrain.

3.5. Association (*Dernek*) and Foundation (*Vakif*)

Analysing the legislation regulating associations and foundations is significant for understanding how the Kemalist hegemonic bloc dominated the sphere of civil society for many years, since controlling civil society organisations also meant controlling the whole collective action within civil society. Gramsci (1985: 389) regarded associations as part of the ideological structure which shapes or is able to shape public opinion. According to him, voluntary associations are a significant element of civil society where a dominant group manufactures consent and establishes hegemony and where the dominated groups are organised and endeavour to construct counter-hegemony (Forgacs, 2000: 420). More importantly, Gramsci (1971: 243) regarded associations in civil society as the trenches of a war of position. In other words, they have a significant function in the preparation of the battlefield for a war of movement.

The newly-established Republic illegalised *tarikats* in 1925. The only option for them then was to go underground and to gather as secret brotherhood organisations. From the 1980s, they began establishing various foundations as a new strategy to

overcome the illegality problem and to gain a legal personality and to raise funds for their activities (Narli, 1999: 45 [fn. 5]). In the 28 February process, however, this strategy failed and 21 Islamic foundations were closed down for carrying out reactionary Islamist activities (*Vatan Gazetesi*, 2013). Among those 21 foundations, a prominent example was the National Youth Foundation (*Milli Genclik Vakfi*), the youth branch of National Vision Movement (*Milli Gorus Hareketi*) which was the leading Islamist movement at that time. The Foundation was shut down in the post-28 February process with its 900 bureaux, 125 student dormitories, 15,000 students living in those dormitories, two nurseries and approximately 350,000 members (*Vatan Gazetesi*, 2004). Similarly, MUSIAD, an association of Islamic-oriented businessmen, was compelled to dissociate itself from the figures of political Islam, to withdraw from political issues and to focus solely on the economic area (*Yankaya*, 2015: 60). Thus, MUSIAD was deprived of the capacity to construct political discourse and to influence the political decision-making processes which became a privilege for its laicist counterpart TUSIAD.

As can be seen from these examples, associations and foundations, which were the only means for collective action under a legally-recognised organisation for pious Muslims, faced severe legal restrictions and even closure in the 1990s. From the late 1980s, on the other hand, the Kemalist hegemonic bloc incorporated Kemalist civil society associations such as the Atatürkist Thought Association and the Association for Supporting Contemporary Life to its hegemonic project, a process which was carried out by means of the state apparatus (Erdogan, 2009: 585). The atmosphere of the 1990s therefore provided the Kemalist hegemonic bloc with a comparative advantage in the sphere of civil society in its struggle for hegemony.

3.5.1. Associations Law No. 2908⁸⁷

Article 5

Associations which are against the fundamental principles stated in the Preamble of the Turkish Constitution cannot be established.

⁸⁷ Associations Law No. 2908 (*2908 Sayılı Dernekler Kanunu*) was the main legislative text which regulated issues regarding associations in Turkey until 2004. It was published in the Official Gazette in 1983 and abolished in 2004, when it was replaced by a new Association Law No. 5253 (*5253 Sayılı Dernekler Kanunu*). The Law brought very strict restrictions on the areas of activity of associations. Article 5 of the Associations Law No. 2908 regulated the areas of activity of associations until 2004.

It is illegal to establish an association in order to;

...

2. Endanger or end the existence of the Republic of Turkey, whose fundamental features are defined in the Constitution, by means of differentiations based on language, race, religion and sect.

...

5. Carry out any activities in the name of or hinging on region, race, social class, religion and sect.

6. Express the claim that there are minority groups based on differences in race, religion, sect and culture: or to create minority groups by protecting, developing or disseminating any language or culture apart from the Turkish language and culture; or seeking to ensure the dominance of or provide privileges for those who are from a specific region or race or class or religion or sect over others.

...

8. Denigrate or humiliate the characteristic features, principles, works and memory of Ataturk

...

(Official Gazette, 1983b)

Analysis

Prominent discourse;

- It is unacceptable for Islam to be the source of collective organised action against Kemalism, Kemalist laicism or nationalism.

Article 5 started with a reference to the Preamble of the Turkish Constitution which defined the fundamental features of the Republic. Among those features, those about the revolutions and principles of Ataturk with a special emphasis on laicism and nationalism are within the interest of the current study. The establishment of an association which was against the principles of Ataturk, and more specifically against the principles of laicism and nationalism, was declared illegal by this Article. This could be interpreted as a restriction on any criticisms regarding Kemalist policies based on Kemalist nationalism and laicism. With such a legal restriction, starting a public debate and constructing an organisational collective challenge against the past or current

practices of the principles of laicism and nationalism became impossible. In the long term, religious groups became deprived of the organisational capacity of associations and compelled to retreat from civil society on any organisational level. Consequently, Kemalist laicism and nationalism became exempt from any organisational challenge from the pious Muslim segments of society.

In paragraph 2, “differentiation based on language, race, religion and sect” was signified as a dangerous act against the existence of the Republic of Turkey and was declared illegal for associations. Similarly, in paragraph 6, any associations which expressed a claim of existence of minority groups based on religion, sect, race or culture were illegalised. ‘Religion’ and ‘sect’ in paragraphs 2 and 6 refer to those religious and denominational stances which are different from the Kemalist understanding of laicised Sunni-Islam. Such a legal provision, which aimed at unifying different identities under a single common identity and determining the boundaries of the identity with reference to Kemalist principles and values, could be interpreted as the outcome of the homogeneous society project of Kemalism. Since paragraph 6 illegalised the expression of any differences on the terrain of religion, any organisational challenge to the Kemalist perspective regarding religion was also hindered in discursive terms. Consequently, challenging the Kemalist understanding of Islam at an organisational level became illegal, and was thus perceived as unacceptable and abnormal by the discourse of the Article.

In paragraph 5, carrying out activities in the name of or hinging on religion and sect were declared illegal. This statement directly prevented Islam from being the source of collective action under the umbrella of associations. This legal restriction had two major effects on the cultural hegemonic struggle between the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and Islamic movements. First, associations were providing a legal personality and an organisational capacity for Islamic movements and this organisational capacity provided Islamic segments of society with an opportunity to use counter-hegemonic instruments such as education facilities, mosques and culture centres. By these legal restrictions, the Kemalist hegemonic bloc became a monopoly with its unrivalled organisational capacity at the civil society level. Second, civil society was providing the physical spaces for everyday activities where the discourse could be produced and

disseminated among people. By these legal restrictions, those physical spaces were completely dominated by the Kemalist hegemonic bloc.

Paragraph 8 made it illegal to humiliate or denigrate the characteristic features, works, principles or memory of Ataturk. Considering the emphasis of Gramsci (1971: 57-58) on “intellectual and moral leadership” as a requisite for cultural hegemony, paragraph 8 provided an unrivalled moral and intellectual leadership opportunity for the Kemalist hegemonic bloc. With strict restrictions on any criticisms targeting Ataturk, it became impossible for pious Muslim groups to establish associations which might challenge the values, discourses and ideology of the bloc. The most significant of those unrivalled ideological elements and values were the ones on the terrain of Islam. Therefore, any association could carry out activities to claim the superiority of values, beliefs and discourses alternative to Kemalism.

When we assess the provisions of Article 5 as a whole, we detect that the main discourse emerged as the unacceptability, caused by illegality, of Islam’s organisational power as the source of Islamic counter-hegemonic movements. With such a discourse, Islam’s functions at civil society level were regarded as unusual and abnormal and Islam was restricted to a solely personal faith and worship level. Consequently, Kemalist dominance at civil society level was normalised and internalised by means of the law’s normative power.

3.5.2. Associations Law No. 5253

The new Associations Law No. 5253, which replaced the former Associations Law No. 2908, was accepted in 2004 as the main legislative text for regulating matters regarding associations in Turkey (Official Gazette, 2004). The most prominent difference in the new law was the annulment of the provisions which were analysed above under the former Associations Law No. 2908.

The most significant outcome of the new law was the increase in the organisational power of Islamic movements within the sphere of civil society. By this means, Kemalism’s apparent monopoly in organisational terms in civil society was diminished and the plurality in civil society was increased. From 2004, there was no legal obstacle to Islam being a source of counter-hegemonic civil society associations.

The most important discursive effects of the new law were the nullification of the discourse which restricted Islam to the personal worship and faith level and the recognition of its functions as a counter-hegemonic force within civil society.

3.5.3. Turkish Civil Law⁸⁸

Article 74

Applications for the registration of foundations which are against legislation, ethics, morals or national interests, or which are founded for the purpose of supporting a particular political view or a specific race or religious community [cemaat]⁸⁹ members, are not acceptable. (Official Gazette, 1926)

Article 101

It is not allowed to establish foundations which are against the features of the Republic determined by the Constitution and against the fundamental principles of the Constitution, the law, morality, national unity and national interests; or foundations which are founded for the purpose of supporting a specific race or religious community [cemaat] members. (Official Gazette, 2001b)

3.5.4. Bylaw Regarding the Foundations Established According to Turkish Civil Law⁹⁰

Article 6

Applications for the registration of foundations which are against the law, ethics or morals, or which are founded for the purpose of supporting a particular political view or a specific race or members of a religious community are not acceptable. (Official Gazette, 1970)

⁸⁸ Similar to associations, foundations (*vakiflar*) were also strictly regulated by legal system. Article 74 of previous Turkish Civil Law drew the limits of activity of foundations until 2001. Article 101 of the new Turkish Civil Law has been regulating the issues regarding foundations since 2001.

⁸⁹ It should be noted that the term '*cemaat*' in Article 74 of the former Turkish Civil Law, Article 101 of the new Turkish Civil Law and Article 6 of the Bylaw Regarding the Foundations Established According to the Turkish Civil Law refers to the religious communities of non-Muslim minority groups. The reason for not including the Islamic *cemaats* in these Articles was that they were not recognised by the state.

⁹⁰ The 1970-dated Bylaw Regarding the Foundations Established According to the Provisions of the Turkish Civil Law (*Türk Medeni Kanunu Hukumlerine Gore Kurulan Vakiflar Hakkinda Tuzuk*) was one of the legislative texts which regulated the registration issues of foundations. This Bylaw was annulled by the 'Bylaw Regarding Registration and Proclamation of Foundations Founded According to the Provisions of Turkish Civil Law (*Türk Medeni Kanunu Hukumlerine Gore Kurulan Vakiflarin Tescil ve Ilani Hakkinda Tuzuk*)' in 2013 (Official Gazette, 2013a).

Analysis

Prominent discourses;

- Foundations cannot seek to support a specific political view.
- Foundations cannot be against fundamental features of the Republic, including laicism and nationalism.

Foundations in Turkey were regulated by Article 74 of a 1926-dated Turkish Civil Law until 2001. In 2001, Article 101 of the new Turkish Civil Law, which is still in effect, annulled the previous article. Article 6 of the above-referenced Bylaw regulated foundations from 1970 to 2013.

The most prominent provision of the former Article 74 and Bylaw was the restriction on foundations' support for any particular political view. Since foundations were compelled to operate in accordance with the fundamental principles of the Republic including laicism and Ataturk's nationalism, the discourse of 'supporting a particular political view' targeted all political views except Kemalism. This provision therefore constructed a discourse which elevated the Kemalist ideology to a supra-political and supra-ideological position. In 2013, the restriction regarding supporting a specific political view was lifted (Official Gazette, 2013a).

Article 101 also illegalised establishing foundations against the fundamental features of the Republic. Thus *tarikats* and Islamist movements lost the opportunity to use the instruments of hegemony under the umbrella of legal foundations. In addition, dormitories, student lodgings and courses which belonged to *tarikat* foundations were closed to prevent them from indoctrinating students with views hostile to Ataturk, laicism and the Republic in the post-28 February process (*Hurriyet*, 1998). Considering that dormitories, student lodgings and courses are instruments for cultural hegemony, this decision of the judiciary directly diminished the power of *tarikats* in terms of their organisational capacity for counter hegemony. Those Islamic foundations were enabled to reopen under the Additional Article 12 in the Foundations Law in 2013 (Official Gazette, 2008; Official Gazette, 2013c). Article 101 was still valid without any amendment by 2015.

3.6. The Headscarf

The headscarf ban in middle and high schools, universities and public institutions has always been a controversial issue in the history of Turkey. Debates on the issue reached a peak in the 1990s when the Muslim middle class had started to become the rising class in Turkey. The 28 February process in 1997 made the restrictions on headscarves stricter. As the discussion of this issue will show, the headscarf ban was eventually lifted in the 2010s.

The headscarf ban directly influenced the class structure and vertical social mobility opportunities between different segments of society in Turkey. Until the headscarf ban was lifted in the 2010s, it had prevented female students at educational institutions from continuing their education in middle and high schools and more importantly at university. Because they were deprived of formal education in this way, they were not able to get high-status jobs in either the public or the private sector. This situation created a gap between the laicist and religious segments of the society in terms of access to opportunities for vertical mobility within the class structure. On the one hand, women with a secular appearance could gain a university degree and become equipped with the necessary qualifications for high-status and prestigious jobs in the public and private sectors. This led to dominance in the decision-making processes in the state bureaucracy by women who had an overt secular and Western lifestyle. For pious Muslim women, on the other hand, the only option was to be a housewife or to work in a lower-status job which did not require at least a bachelor's degree. Gramsci (1971: 9) emphasised that every person performs intellectual activity to some extent by contributing to the construction, maintenance and transformation of a particular world conception. Therefore, the headscarf ban deprived pious Muslim women of the opportunity to perform intellectual activity in a variety of institutions, organisations and social spaces.

Table 2 The dates when the headscarf ban was lifted

Extent of Headscarf Ban	When Has the Headscarf Ban Been Lifted
Elementary School	Still Banned
Middle and High Schools	2014
Imam Hatip Schools	Only in Quran Lessons Until 2014
Universities	2010
Public Sector	2013

Another long-term effect of the headscarf ban on the cultural hegemony was the dominance of the secular lifestyle and discourse in education facilities such as middle schools, high schools and especially universities and in workplaces. As the way in which social space is shaped is a significant determinant of the manufacture of consent and the success of cultural hegemonic projects (Tugal, 2009: 30), the impact of dominating those spaces both physically and discursively can be understood better. Since women wearing a headscarf could not appear in those spaces with their own values, discourses and lifestyle, they became deprived of taking part in the construction and dissemination of discourse in those spaces.

3.6.1. The Regulation on the Appearance and Apparel of Students and Personnel at Schools Affiliated to National Ministry of Education and Other Ministries⁹¹

Article 1

The aims of this Regulation, in every type of school, are;

a. To ensure that administrators, teachers, other personnel and students have an appearance and style of clothing which are in accordance with

⁹¹ The Regulation on the Appearance and Apparel of Students and Personnel at Schools Affiliated to the National Ministry of Education and Other Ministries (*Milli Egitim Bakanligi ile Diger Bakanliklara Bagli Okullardaki Gorevlilerle Ogrencilerin Kilik Kiyafetlerine Iliskin Yonetmelik*) was the main legislative text which regulated the appearance and apparel of students studying in formal schools and public personnel working in educational institutions until 2012.

the reforms and principles of Ataturk, and which are civilised, modest and far from extremism.

b. To ensure unity, integrity, harmony and order in appearance and apparel.

c. To get students to adopt an attitude, manner and habit of being in harmony with the features of our society in terms of appearance and apparel. (Official Gazette, 1981a)

Analysis

Prominent discourses;

- Appearance and style of clothing in schools have to be in accordance with Kemalism.
- Unity, integrity, harmony and order are the fundamental principles in schools in terms of appearance and style of clothing.

The first goal of the Regulation is expressed as ensuring that the style of clothing worn and people's physical appearance are "in accordance with the reforms and principles of Ataturk". This discourse locates the secular lifestyle which the Kemalist segments of the society represent at the top of the hierarchy of social values, and scales down all other values to a secondary position. Being in harmony with Kemalist values becomes a social norm. Moreover, the terms 'civilised', 'modest' and 'far from extremism' are used in order to define the legally approved forms of appearance and apparel. 'Civilised' is based on the 'civilised/uncivilised' dichotomy and in this context means Western civilisation. Therefore, 'being civilised' refers to having a Western lifestyle. This duality positioned Kemalist secular values on the side of civilisation and other values, namely religious values, on the uncivilised side. The statement "far from extremism" is based on the 'extremist/central' dichotomy which positions secular values at the centre and expels all opposing values from the centre. The adjective 'modest' signifies the absence of any need to have an appearance and a style of clothing which go beyond the style described above.

In paragraph (b), harmony, unity, integrity and order in terms of appearance and apparel are presented as an aim of the Regulation. The first three words prioritise homogeneity in terms of apparel and appearance. The words 'unity' and 'integrity' ensure a single type of clothing and appearance style for all students and employees. Homogeneity and standardisation are presented as positive and desirable whereas

variety and heterogeneity are presented as negative and undesirable. The use of the word ‘order’ is based on the ‘order/disorder’ dichotomy and aims at creating a threat perception stemming from violation of the rules regarding apparel and appearance. Homogeneity in education institutions is associated with order whereas heterogeneity and diversity are associated with disorder.

In paragraph (c), “being in harmony with the features of our society” is presented as a goal for students. The words ‘attitude’, ‘manner’ and ‘habit’ signify continuity in terms of maintaining one’s position in different situations. As well as establishing a long-term attitude for students in terms of what they wear and what they look like, those words also determine a long-term attitude in terms of the values which they are compelled to embrace.

Article 11⁹²

In middle schools, female students shall be bareheaded and their hair must be clean and combed plain while they are at school. (Official Gazette, 1981a)

Article 12⁹³

In high schools and their equivalent, female students shall be bareheaded and their hair must be clean and combed plain, and can be long-plaited or tied at the back. (Official Gazette, 1981a)

Analysis

Prominent discourse;

- Women who have a pious and overt Muslim lifestyle are not eligible to attend middle and high schools.

In both Articles, being ‘bareheaded’ is presented as the expected manner in terms of appearance and apparel at middle and high schools. ‘Being bareheaded’ is the opposite of ‘being headscarved’. The implicit binary definitions of ‘bareheaded’ and

⁹² Article 11 of ‘the Regulation on the Appearance and Apparel of Students and Personnel at Schools Affiliated to the National Ministry of Education and Other Ministries’ constituted the legal basis of the headscarf ban in middle schools.

⁹³ Article 12 of ‘the Regulation on the Appearance and Apparel of Students and Personnel at Schools Affiliated to the National Ministry of Education and Other Ministries’ constituted the legal basis of the headscarf ban in high schools.

'headscarved' represent the axis of the secular/pious divide. Being bareheaded represents having a secular lifestyle whereas being headscarved represents having a pious Muslim lifestyle. The main discourse in this legislative text is the ineligibility of pious Muslim people for any further education after primary education. By this discourse, education is perceived as a right accessible only by women who have a secular lifestyle and world-view. Consequently, vertical social mobility is associated with a secular lifestyle and the secondary position of pious Muslim women is normalised and internalised in society. The two Articles offered pious female students two options: accepting the secular style of clothing and being secularised, or rejecting the secular style and dropping out of high school. Therefore, the ban on the wearing of headscarves in high schools prevented some female students from continuing their education at high-school level since high-school education was not compulsory. A significant outcome of the ban was the dominance of the space of middle and high schools by secular symbols and lifestyle. On the other hand, the visibility of a pious Muslim lifestyle became completely impossible in the same space. The dominance of secular symbols and lifestyle in middle and high schools led students to perceive the secular values as ordinary, mainstream and universal, while directing them to perceive pious Muslim female style as extraordinary, marginal and unusual.

In 2014, finally, Article 4 of the Regulation on the Appearance and Apparel of Students at Schools run by the National Ministry of Education⁹⁴ lifted the ban on wearing the headscarf in middle and high schools.

Female students shall attend schools with their faces uncovered; they must not wear a kerchief, knitted-cap, cap, bag or any similar items; ...
(Official Gazette, 2012a; Official Gazette, 2014)

After the ban was lifted at middle and high schools, the absolute dominance of the secular style of clothing started to diminish in schools and the visibility of the religious Muslim style in the social space of schools started to increase. The discourse which associated the right to education and to vertical social mobility with secular values has been nullified. Moreover, with this new freedom, pious students now had the opportunity to act as intellectuals in their education and their future lives.

⁹⁴ The Regulation on the Appearance and Apparel of Students at Schools run by the National Ministry of Education (*Milli Egitim Bakanligina Bagli Okul Ogrencilerinin Kilik ve Kiyafetlerine Dair Yonetmelik*) lifted the ban on wearing a headscarf in both middle and high schools (Official Gazette, 2012a; Official Gazette, 2014).

Article 13⁹⁵

At Higher Education establishments:

Female students shall obey the rules specified in Article 7/a of this Regulation which are determined for the officials, administrators, teachers and officials who assist education and for civil servants in terms of appearance and apparel. (Official Gazette, 1981a)

Analysis

Prominent discourse;

- Women who have a pious Muslim lifestyle are not eligible for higher education at university.

Beyond its coercive effect in the short-term, this Article constructed a discourse of the superiority of secular values by depicting university education as a privileged right accessible only by secular women. A ‘university’, as a higher education establishment, has a symbolic meaning stemming from the word ‘universe’ which gives the sense of representing the ‘universal’. Associating university education with secular values and a secular lifestyle helped the universalisation and internalisation of secular values as opposed to pious Muslim values. Since the visibility of women wearing headscarves on university campuses had become impossible, the social spaces of universities were completely shaped by secular values.

Moreover, a significant discursive outcome of the ban in the long-term was the internalisation of sacrifices for short-term interests, as in the instance of sacrificing a pious Muslim lifestyle in order to have the right to attend a university. That is to say, the rule compelled pious women to choose between two options: to conform to the secular lifestyle and accept being articulated to the Kemalist cultural project, or to reject attending a university and lose the opportunity for vertical mobility in society. For those who preferred the former option, it was the beginning of accepting the superiority of secular values and being secularised. For the others, the headscarf ban at universities

⁹⁵ A reference is given to Article 7/a of the same Regulation which applied the same restrictions on the clothing of university students as of public personnel. Article 5 of ‘The Regulation on the Appearance and Apparel of the Personnel Working in Public Institutions and Organisations’ stated that being ‘bareheaded’ was a legal obligation for public personnel in the workplace (Official Gazette, 1982b). Thus, Article 7/a constituted the legal basis of the headscarf ban in universities.

became a direct determinant of their class position by dispossessing them from having a formal university education and from being equipped for high-status jobs in both the public and the private sectors.

In 2010, the Council of Higher Education issued a public statement emphasising that people should not be deprived of the right to higher education under the pretext of wearing a headscarf. Following this announcement, although many universities began to accept the wearing of headscarves within the university campus, some still insisted on enforcing the ban (Kaya, 2013a: 165). Finally, in 2013, freedom to wear a headscarf was given a legal guarantee with the amendment of the Regulation on the Appearance and Apparel of the Personnel Working in Public Institutions and Organisations (Official Gazette, 2013b). After the ban had been lifted, the discourse which associated higher education and higher social status with a secular lifestyle was challenged. The visibility of religious Muslim lifestyle in the social spaces of universities began to increase and the absolute cultural dominance of secular segments of society within universities began to diminish. Once women wearing the headscarf gained their right to higher education, they had the opportunity to become qualified for vertical social mobility and to find high-status positions in both the public and the private sectors.

3.6.2. The Regulation on the Appearance and Apparel of the Personnel Working in Public Institutions and Organisations⁹⁶

Article 1

The ban on headscarves in all public institutions and the associated regulations took their source from Article 1 of the Regulation as follows:

This regulation aims at guaranteeing the apparel and appearance of public personnel to be civilised, far from extremism, simple and in accordance with the revolutions and principles of Atatürk, and ensuring unity and integrity among employees in terms of appearance and apparel. (Official Gazette, 1982b).

⁹⁶ 'The Regulation on the Appearance and Apparel of the Personnel Working in Public Institutions and Organisations' (*Kamu Kurum ve Kuruluşlarında Çalışan Personelin Kilik ve Kiyafetine Dair Yönetmelik*), which was accepted by the Council of Ministers in 1982, was the main legislative text which banned headscarves in public institutions and organisations (Official Gazette, 1982b).

Article 5

Women ... shall be present in the workplace bareheaded, (Official Gazette, 1982b)

Analysis

Prominent discourse;

- Women who have a pious Muslim lifestyle are not eligible to work in public institutions and organisations.

Article 1 explained the main objectives of a set of regulations about the appearance and style of clothing of public sector employees. The expected appearance of employees was described as ‘civilised’, ‘far from extremism’ and ‘simple’. This legislative text is based on the implicit binaries of civilised/uncivilised, extremist/central. The word ‘civilised’ refers here to ‘westernised’ since civilisation in Kemalist ideology refers to Western civilisation. Therefore, a civilised style refers to a modern, secular, Western style. Because the traditional religious Muslim style did not comply with this requirement, it was excluded from public institutions and organisations. The statement ‘far from extremism’ refers to being central, usual, normal and mainstream. The secular Western style represents the centre whereas alternative styles represent the extreme. The word ‘extremism’ refers to Islamic styles of dressing such as the headscarf (*basortusu*), imamah (*sarik*) and cassock (*cubbe*). Consequently, the Islamic style of dress was regarded as being outside the normal and mainstream. The word ‘simple’ refers to being ordinary and unobtrusive. In other words, the appearance of employees should not attract attention since attracting attention is interpreted as an abnormality. The Islamic style in dressing is regarded as an anomalous and extraordinary style which is likely to attract attention. The statement “in accordance with the revolutions and principles of Ataturk” directly signifies the principle of laicism and Ataturk’s revolutions in the area of religion. Apparel and appearance in accordance with secular Kemalist style is presented as the expected mainstream style for the Muslims. By means of the law, pious Muslim people were compelled to accept the supremacy of the secular Kemalist style in what they wore and in their appearance and to interiorise their secondary position in the public sphere. This also applied to interiorising their secondary class position in the class structure.

In the statement “ensuring unity and integrity among the personnel in terms of appearance and apparel”, an effort to unite people under a single homogeneous style can be recognised. The need for ‘unity’ and ‘integrity’ is taken for granted in the Article. Therefore, the texts leave no room for plurality in terms of apparel and appearance. As the secular Western style became an umbrella under which such unity and integrity would be ensured, such a style was accepted as the necessary and thus superior style for pious Muslims.

The headscarf ban had had a direct effect on pious Muslim women’s opportunity for vertical social mobility. As a result of the headscarf ban in public institutions and organisations, those spaces were completely dominated by the secular segments of the society, which provided those with a secular lifestyle and appearance with the advantage of vertical social mobility within the class hierarchy. A secular woman who possessed at least a bachelor’s degree became able to find a prestigious job in various public institutions and organisations. On the other hand, a woman wearing a headscarf was unable to gain a bachelor’s degree because of the headscarf ban in universities: she was not able to find a high-status job in either the public or the private sector because she did not have a university degree. As the way in which social space is shaped has a direct impact on hegemonic projects (Tugal, 2009: 30), this situation resulted in the domination of the workplace by secular Western values and lifestyle which contributed to the success of the Kemalist cultural hegemonic project.

In 2013, the statement “shall be present in the workplace bareheaded” in Article 5 of the same Regulation was annulled (Official Gazette, 2013b) as a part of the JDP government’s democratisation package. By this change, pious Muslim women gained the opportunity to work in the workplace with their headscarves in both public and private institutions and to climb the socio-economic hierarchy. As religious values and lifestyle within the social space of workplaces increased, the dominance of secular values and lifestyle within those spaces decreased and the superior/subordinate relationship between secular and religious Muslim lifestyles in the workplace diminished. This situation nullified the discourse which associated high-status jobs with secular values.

3.7. Primary and Secondary Education

In the previous chapter, the textbooks of RCMK lessons were analysed in order to emphasise how a specific discourse was constructed and disseminated in those lessons. Under this current sub-heading, attention will now be directed to the legislation which regulates the education system in Turkey. The fundamental principles of education determined by the legislation are significant indicators of the cultural hegemonic elements within the content of lessons as well as the social spaces of education facilities.

Gramsci (1973: 204) categorised the school within the organisations of civil society by which cultural hegemony is achieved. For him, the school was the vital instrument for shaping new generations in line with a specific world conception (Gramsci, 1985: 42). The legislative texts which will be analysed under this topic will reveal that the school has also been used as a significant instrument for shaping the new generations of Turkey in line with the fundamental paradigm of the state. Since the school, as Gramsci (1971: 10) pointed out, is the site where intellectuals are raised, how they are intellectually and morally equipped plays a vital role in the success of hegemonic projects. A need therefore emerges to analyse and understand the fundamental principles of education policy within the main codes, from the Turkish Constitution to National Education Basic Law.

We shall therefore seek to understand the main goals and paradigm of the state and the ruling class, and to detect the acceptable and unacceptable discourses within the education system. It should be noted that the legislation analysed under this topic had remained the same without any amendments by 2015. Article 25, which introduced lessons on the Qur'an and on the Life of His Holiness Muhammed into the curriculum, is the only Article which was included in the National Education Basic Law in 2012. This shows that the main paradigm on which the education system is based did not face a fundamental shift until the end of the JDP's third term in 2015.

3.7.1. Turkish Constitution⁹⁷

Article 42⁹⁸

...Education shall be conducted along the lines of the principles and reforms of Ataturk, based on contemporary scientific and educational principles, under the supervision and control of the State. Educational institutions contravening these principles shall not be established.

...

(Official Gazette, 1982a)

Analysis

Prominent discourse;

- Kemalism constitutes the fundamental value set of the education system.

Article 42 determined the fundamental principles of Turkey's education system in general. Under the Article, Ataturk's reforms and principles are taken as the fundamental source of values in the education system. The Article therefore required that the discourse on education had to be in harmony with the Kemalist discourse. This also applied to the discourse about religion in general, and more specifically about Islam. This means that education, which is one of the main instruments of cultural hegemony, must serve the construction and dissemination of Kemalist discourses about religion and Islam in schools. This general principle, which formed the fundamental ideological face of education, helped the Kemalist lifestyle and Kemalist values to be internalised as natural, universal, mainstream and 'common sense' within the space of schools. Moreover, Article 42 of the Constitution guaranteed the control and supervision by the state over the whole education system. This ensured the monopoly of the state and the Kemalist hegemonic bloc over the production and dissemination of discourse. The discourse regarding religious life and Islam also came under the monopoly of the state and therefore of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc. All of the content

⁹⁷ The Turkish Constitution, as the highest legislation binding on all other laws and regulations, determines the fundamental principles of both the education system in general and religious education in particular. In two Articles of the Turkish Constitution, Article 42 and Article 24, there is a direct reference to the issue of education.

⁹⁸ Article 42 of the Turkish Constitution, entitled 'Right and Duty of Education', is the main article which determines the boundaries of the education system in Turkey.

of lessons, especially RCMK lessons, was determined by the state. By the sentence “Educational institutions contravening these principles shall not be established”, it was guaranteed that any independent educational institutions which might challenge the Kemalist cultural hegemony would be prevented from being established.

Article 24⁹⁹

...Religious and moral education and instruction shall be conducted under state supervision and control. Instruction in religious culture and morals shall be one of the compulsory lessons in the curriculums of primary and secondary schools. Other religious education and instruction shall be subject to the individual's own desire, and in the case of minors, to the request of their legal representatives.

...

(Official Gazette, 1982a)

Analysis

Prominent discourse;

- The state is the only educator on issues of religion and morality.

Paragraph 4 authorises the state to be responsible for religious and moral education. This authorisation creates a hierarchy between the state and society in terms of the construction of the discourse about religion and morality. Such a discourse also means the normalisation and internalisation of the educative function of the ‘ethical state’ to which Gramsci (1971: 258) referred. Religious education is a significant instrument for cultural hegemony since it is the main tool of the state for constructing and disseminating a specific discourse on Islam, other religions and on religious and secular lifestyles to the Muslims. This instrument therefore enables the state to influence and even to shape the values, beliefs and standpoints of religious Muslims in parallel with the official discourse of the state determined by the Kemalists. It also provides an opportunity for the state to demonise and marginalise alternative discourses on the terrain of religion.

⁹⁹ More specifically, the main principles of religious education are determined within Article 24 of the Turkish Constitution, under the title ‘Freedom of religion and conscience’.

In the Article, state supervision and control is presented as an obligation for religious and moral education. This means that education cannot construct an alternative discourse to that of the official state discourse on Islam and religious lifestyle. The state therefore has the authority to intervene in and shape the discourse on Islam and religious lifestyle in Turkey. Moreover, religious education was made compulsory under Article 24 of the Constitution. By this means, it became impossible for any family to keep its children out of the religious education of the state apparatus. This increased the extent of the Kemalist discourse on Islam and a religious lifestyle. The compulsory religious curriculums in primary and secondary schools were also a significant step in constructing the discourse about religion in the children's very early years. No matter how different the discourse of their families, those children encountered the official discourse of the state, and therefore of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc, at an early age. Because of the hierarchical authority relationship between students and teachers, students internalised the discourse about Islam and religious life as the discourse of the authority to which they felt they had an obligation.

In the statement "other religious education and instruction", Islam was officially regarded as the primary religion and religions other than Islam were regarded as 'other'. This statement can be interpreted as an effort to design a homogeneous religious identity. By this means, a laicist interpretation of Sunni-Islam, which reflected the fundamental position of the Kemalists, would be the shared national religious identity in Turkey. This effort not only constructs the discourse of 'state as favouring Sunni-Islam', but also articulates pious Muslims to its laicised Islam.

3.7.2. National Education Basic Law¹⁰⁰

Article 2¹⁰¹

The main goal of Turkish National Education is to raise all individuals of the Turkish nation as people who are loyal to the reforms and principles of Ataturk and to Ataturk's understanding of nationalism which are defined in the Constitution; who protect and develop the national, ethical,

¹⁰⁰ The National Education Basic Law (*Milli Egitim Temel Kanunu*) is the second fundamental legal text regulating the principles of education in Turkey. It is the most inclusive law of the Ministry of Education and determines all other regulations, bylaws and directives about the issue of education.

¹⁰¹ Article 2 of the National Education Basic Law indicates the fundamental goals of the Turkish education system.

humanistic, spiritual and cultural values of the Turkish nation; ...
(Official Gazette, 1973; Official Gazette, 1983a)

Analysis

Prominent discourse;

- Being loyal to Ataturk's principles, reforms and nationalism is the expected attitude from students.

The fundamental goal of this law is defined as ensuring the loyalty of students to the principles and reforms of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk with a special emphasis on his understanding of nationalism. Using implicit binary notions of Turkishness and Muslimness is one of the discursive strategies in the legislative text. In order to nullify Islam's function as the fundamental determinant in society, the Kemalist founders of the Republic sought to construct Turkishness as the new artificial 'religion' of Turkey (Akyol, 2011: 185). In this sense, the emphasis on 'Turkishness' can be interpreted as an effort to construct an alternative identity to Muslimness. The word 'loyal' refers to being tied to something by respect and commitment and requires a one-way unconditional devotion to it. Devotion to Ataturk, and accordingly to the Kemalist hegemonic bloc as his followers, becomes an expected unconditional attitude and a social norm for students. Since being loyal to Ataturk is secured by the law, being contrary to Ataturk and his principles is perceived as unlawful. The discourse of 'unlawfulness' positions all opposing attitudes to Kemalism as unacceptable, unordinary and abnormal. The law therefore plays a normative role in the construction of a hierarchy between opposing world conceptions in Turkish society. The Kemalist world conception also includes the Kemalist understanding of Islam. Thus, loyalty to Kemalism also necessitates being loyal to the Kemalist understanding of Islam. Moreover, students are encouraged to protect the "national, ethical, humanistic, spiritual and cultural values of the Turkish nation". In this requirement, Turkishness is presented as the basis of the existence of those values. By this means, the 'Turkish nation' gains an existential character and becomes the definer of all other notions. The word 'protect' is the antonym of the word 'challenge'. Whereas protecting those values is regarded as acceptable, normal and common behaviour, challenging them is regarded as abnormal, extraordinary and marginal behaviour.

Article 10¹⁰²

The reforms and principles of Ataturk and Ataturk's interpretation of nationalism are the basis of all education activities and the preparation and application of the curriculum at each stage and every type of the education. ... (Official Gazette, 1973; Official Gazette, 1983a)

Analysis

Prominent discourse;

- Ataturk's principles, reforms and nationalism constitute the normative basis of education.

In this Article, Ataturk's principles and reforms and his understanding of nationalism are presented as the normative and ideological basis of education system. This means that all values and discourses in the education system are based on the Kemalist value set. Thus, Kemalism gained a supra-ideological character and was perceived as a 'common sense' value by this discourse. Among the principles of Ataturk, there is a special emphasis on nationalism. Defining nationalism with reference to Ataturk can be interpreted as an emphasis on the shift in the meaning of 'nation' from the Ottoman period to the Republican era. The word *millet* ('nation') was used to define religious communities, and during the Ottoman era in accordance with its meaning in Arabic and its use in the Qur'an (Togel, 2016: 204), all Muslims constituted a single *millet* (Togel, 2016: 209). When Kemalist nationalism gained a positivist and laicist character (Oztan, 2014: 76), however, the emphasis on Kemalist nationalism can be interpreted as an effort to construct a secular identity based on nationality of Turkishness as an alternative to the identity based on religion. Consequently, the main discourse in Article 10 created a comparatively significant advantage for the Kemalist hegemonic bloc to gain ideological and moral leadership over the pious Muslims, which was necessary for long-term cultural hegemony.

¹⁰² Article 10 of the National Education Basic Law, entitled 'Ataturk's reforms and principles and Ataturk's nationalism', determines the Kemalist ideology as the fundamental value system of the education system.

Article 11¹⁰³

It shall be sought to raise and develop students' understanding of democracy, which citizens need for the actualisation and maintenance of a powerful, stable, free and democratic social order; their knowledge, intellect, behaviours and sense of responsibility regarding the administration of the country and their respect for moral values; however, making political and ideological statements against Ataturk's understanding of nationalism and participating in events and discussions regarding this issue are not allowed. (Official Gazette, 1973; Official Gazette, 1983a)

Analysis

Prominent discourse;

- Making ideological and political criticisms against Ataturk's nationalism is illegal, abnormal, and unacceptable.

Article 11 seeks to draw the boundaries for democracy education in schools. The Article has a symbolic meaning for regulating education regarding the awareness and understanding of democracy. Considering that education about democracy requires the expression of different views, Article 11 determines the acceptability and unacceptability of those views and directly restricts any statements criticising Ataturk's nationalism. As was discussed under the previous sub-heading, the Turkish identity constitutes an alternative to a religious identity. So declaring the expression of criticisms of Ataturk's nationalism to be unlawful means positioning the expression of Islamic discourses as unlawful. Moreover, although the principle of nationalism is specified in the Article, the provisions of Article 11 also cover other aspects of the Kemalist ideology, including the principle of laicism. In order to create an image of 'uncriticisable Ataturk', such a restriction is designed to prevent students from encountering any criticisms targeting Ataturk, his reforms or his principles. Students accept the requirement to abstain from criticising Kemalism as a legal obligation and a social norm. A significant outcome of this Article is that students come to regard criticising any ideological elements of Kemalism as unusual, extraordinary and unacceptable. In the long term, this attitude of students towards criticisms of Kemalism makes them less likely to challenge the cultural hegemony of the Kemalist hegemonic

¹⁰³ Article 11 of the National Education Basic Law regulates education about democracy in schools.

bloc. Moreover, families with an Islamic origin and a critical attitude towards Kemalism might face the possibility of losing their influence on their children, since their children might perceive their families' cultural and political position as unacceptable, marginal and abnormal. A possible reason for this might be that students accept their teacher as the authority figure in the classroom and as the representative of the mainstream values and attitudes.

Article 12¹⁰⁴

Laicism forms the basis of Turkey's education system. Education in religious knowledge and moral knowledge is among the lessons which are taught in the various grades of primary and secondary education schools or equivalent schools. (Official Gazette, 1973; Official Gazette, 1983a)

Analysis

Prominent discourse;

- The education system is based on the principle of laicism.

In this Article, the principle of laicism is envisaged as the basis of the Turkish education system. The educational space is also designed to favour the principle of laicism from the symbols in the school buildings to the style of dress of teachers and students. Thus the laicist discourse dominates the social space of schools from the curriculum to the physical built areas. When it is taken into account that students are likely to accept the discourse at school as universal and mainstream, they are also likely to accept the laicist values as mainstream and universal. This prevents students from devout families from perceiving any threats from the principles of laicism. In the second sentence, there is an emphasis on the legal obligation of the RCMK education. This emphasis reveals the efforts of the state to monopolise the discourses, values, beliefs and lifestyle in the area of religion. Since the National Education Basic Law covers all grades in the education system and all types of school from public to private, this Article has a comprehensive normative effect in the field of religious discourse as a whole.

¹⁰⁴ A special article was dedicated to the topic of laicism in the National Education Basic Law.

Article 25

... *Lessons on the Qur'an and The Life of His Holiness Muhammed are taught as optional lessons in Middle and High Schools.* ... (Official Gazette, 1973; Official Gazette, 1983a; Official Gazette, 2012b)

Analysis

Prominent discourse;

- Sunni-Islam is the mainstream faith of the state.

This paragraph was added to Article 25 of the National Education Basic Law as an amendment on 30 March 2012. By this amendment, lessons on the Qur'an (*Kuran-i Kerim*) and on The Life of His Holiness Muhammed (*Hiz. Muhammed'in Hayati*) were added to the curriculums of middle and high schools. In addition to compulsory RCMK lessons, those two optional lessons can be regarded as an attempt to give students a deeper understanding of the Qur'an, the holy book of Islam, and of Muhammad, the prophet of Islam, in order to further their intellectual knowledge on the terrain of Islam. This educative attempt can also be seen as an effort to associate the state with Sunni-Islam and by this means to create 'a sense of belongingness towards the state' for the pious Muslims. Since the non-specific word 'religion' was preferred in the name of the 'Religious Culture Moral Knowledge' lessons, those lessons do not seem to represent a specific religion or sect at first glance. However, the lessons on the Qur'an and The Life of His Holiness Prophet Muhammed give a direct reference to Islam. The adjective *Hazreti* ('His Holiness') before the name of the Prophet Muhammed possesses a meaning of respect and sacredness. Since these lessons directly reflect the Sunni-Islamic standpoint, their inclusion in the curriculum might mean the acceptance of Sunni-Islamic values as the mainstream values. This also symbolises a shift in what is accepted as mainstream and what is accepted as marginal. It also represents the move of the values of the Islamic middle class from the periphery to the centre.

3.8. Imam-Hatip Schools

After analysing the legislation regarding primary and secondary education, we shall now address the issue of Imam-Hatip Schools under a separate sub-heading because of their impact on the determination of class position for their graduates, on the education of Islamic organic intellectuals and on the construction Islamic discourse. This school type has always been a debated issue between Islamic and laicist segments of society because of their students, graduates, course contents and organisational structure (Aslamaci & Kaymakcan, 2017: 280).

Imam-Hatip Schools were founded in 1951 as special schools to educate imams and preachers for mosques (Aslamaci & Kaymakcan, 2017: 282). The curriculum of these schools was determined and strictly controlled by the Ministry of National Education and the Presidency of Religious Affairs in order to create a ‘state Islam’ which would not jeopardise the principle of laicism (Pak, 2004: 326). When the numbers of graduates exceeded the employee numbers needed by the state in religious areas, they began to attend university departments and to take jobs which were not related to religious sectors (Pak, 2004: 327). So the main reason for preferring Imam-Hatip Schools was not the vocational education which they provided for becoming an imam or a preacher, but it was the successful coexistence of religious education and modern education in the curriculum of these schools (Gur, 2016).

The numbers of students in these schools fluctuated according to the varying attitudes of different ruling groups towards them.¹⁰⁵ One of the most significant turning points for the Imam-Hatip Schools was the closure of middle grades in those schools in 1997 (Official Gazette, 1997) as a consequence of 28 February *coup*. From 1999, Imam-Hatip students faced a coefficient problem when their scores were calculated in the Student Selection and Placement Examination (SSPE) (Dogan & Yuret, 2015: 201). The year 2012 saw the revival of Imam-Hatip Schools as the middle grades in these schools were reinstated (Official Gazette, 2012b) and coefficient of the Imam-Hatip graduates was equalised with students from other school types (Official Gazette, 2012c). Finally,

¹⁰⁵ Although 511,502 students attended these schools in the 1996-97 academic year, the number dropped dramatically to 64,534 in 2002 (Cakir, Bozan & Talu, 2004: 68). In the 2015-16 academic year, the number of students reached 524,295 in Imam-Hatip Middle Schools (MNESDP, 2016: 86) and 677,205 in Imam-Hatip High Schools (MNESDP, 2016: 48)

in 2014, the headscarf ban on female students at these schools was lifted (Official Gazette, 2014).

Imam-Hatip schools were at the centre of the cultural hegemonic struggle because of their special role in civil society. They promoted a sense of community and initiated social networks which support the achievements of Islamist NGOs and political parties (Ozgur, 2012: 11-12). Graduates of these schools began to advance in their careers in bureaucracy and formed a pious Muslim middle class which could compete with the laicist middle class in political, economic and cultural areas (Tugal, 2009: 48). Naturally, the initial objection to the increasing number of Imam-Hatip graduates in different disciplines outside the theology departments of universities was raised by TUSIAD, the main representative of the Kemalist bourgeoisie (Cakir, Bozan & Talu, 2004: 22). Therefore, in discussions about the cultural hegemonic struggle, special attention needs to be paid to the role of Imam-Hatip Schools in raising the intellectuals, in the Gramscian sense, required for Islamic political movements and civil society organisations.

Under this topic, the headscarf ban on female students at Imam-Hatip schools will be discussed and then the coefficient problem for the graduates of Imam-Hatip High Schools in the calculation of their scores in the SSPE will be considered.

3.8.1. The Regulation on the Appearance and Apparel of Students and Personnel at Schools Affiliated to the National Ministry of Education and Other Ministries¹⁰⁶

Article 12

Female students at Imam-Hatip High Schools shall wear the headscarf only during the Holy Qur'an lessons. (Official Gazette, 1981a)

¹⁰⁶ As in other school types, Article 12 of the Regulation on the Appearance and Apparel of Students and Personnel at Schools Affiliated to the National Ministry of Education and Other Ministries also determined the boundaries of acceptable apparel at Imam-Hatip High Schools. However, Imam-Hatip High Schools were allowed a special exception; headscarf liberty only for Holy Qur'an lessons, which was not applicable for other high school types.

Analysis

Prominent discourse;

- The wearing of religious apparel should be limited to solely the times when dealing with religious practices.

Article 12 constituted the legal basis of the headscarf ban at Imam-Hatip High Schools until 2014. The only exception for wearing headscarves in school was the Qur'an lessons. This exception constructed a discourse which constricted the scope of religion only to individual worship. This discourse compelled religion to be withdrawn from all other areas not directly related to worship and to lose its function of being a determinant in social, political and economic areas. Although the overwhelming majority of students at Imam-Hatip Schools were from pious Muslim families, the clothing style in the school space was dominated by secular values. In terms of the long-term cultural hegemony of Kemalism, this dominance strengthened the idea that secular values are common, mainstream and the only acceptable values at even Imam-Hatip Schools which are the only option for having an intensive Islamic education.

Since high-school education was not compulsory at the period when the ban was valid, the headscarf ban became a reason for some female students to drop out of high school. Therefore, even Imam-Hatip schools, as the only option for having an education in a religious environment, could not provide an opportunity for female students to attend classes without sacrificing their Islamic lifestyle. This was the end of the vertical mobility opportunity along with the social class hierarchy for those who did not agree to sacrificing their style of clothing for high-school education.

The ban was finally lifted by Article 4 of the Regulation on the Appearance and Apparel of Students at Schools run by the National Ministry of Education in 2014 (Official Gazette, 2014). The outcome of the headscarf liberty was similar to other high-school types. Unlike other high-school options, Imam-Hatip schools now became a significant alternative for those students who wanted an intensive religious education and a bachelor's degree in other disciplines such as Law, Political Science or Engineering.

3.8.2. Higher Education Law

Article 45¹⁰⁷ (1981)

The issue of coefficient problem at the Student Selection and Placement Examination¹⁰⁸ (SSPE) is one of the most important sub-topics under the category of education since it played a significant role in the determination of people's class position in Turkey. Until the amendment in 2012, Article 45 of the 1981 Higher Education Law was as follows:

When selecting students for higher education institutions, the success of students during their secondary education period is calculated as an additional score by means of the method determined by the Student Selection and Placement Centre and added to the scores gained from higher education selection examinations. (Official Gazette, 1981b)

Analysis

Prominent discourse;

- People who have had an Islam-intensive education are not eligible for higher education.

Different coefficients for different high-school types were accepted under the decision of the Higher Education Council dated 30 July 1998. The decision became valid in 1999 and was implemented until the amendment in 2012 (Dogan & Yuret, 2015: 201). Under this law, students' SSPE scores were multiplied by 0.8 if they preferred a department in their own area, and by 0.3 if they wanted to study a programme different from their own area. It therefore became impossible for graduates of vocational high schools, and accordingly graduates of Imam-Hatip High Schools, to prefer a non-area bachelor programme such as Law, Political Science, Engineering, Management or Journalism with their SSPE score. The Faculty of Theology became the only option for graduates of Imam-Hatip High Schools.

¹⁰⁷ The significance of the coefficient issue for the current study stems from its effect on the Imam-Hatip Schools, which are the main religious schools in the Turkish education system. Since Imam-Hatip Schools are a type of vocational high school, students from those schools faced a coefficient disadvantage in their scores in the SSPE. Under this sub-heading, both the 1981 and the 2012 versions of Article 45 of the Higher Education Law will be analysed.

¹⁰⁸ The SSPE (*Ogrenci Secme ve Yerlestirme Sinavi*) is the examination which selects and places students to associate degree programmes and bachelor's degree programmes in universities.

Since people who had had an intensive religious education were not able to continue on to higher education, the prominent discursive effect of the Law was the association of higher education and high-status jobs with a secular lifestyle, and the association of low-status jobs with the religious Muslim lifestyle. Intensive religious education became an obstacle to vertical mobility in society, and the discourse about the need to sacrifice the right of having an intensive religious education in order to rise in the social hierarchy was produced by this Law.

Gramsci (1971: 9) categorised all people as intellectuals, but he emphasised that not all people fulfil an intellectual function in society. He explained that each person performs intellectual activity to a degree, has a particular world conception and acts in a particular moral manner, and thus contributes to sustainment or modification of the world conception. The structural barrier that the Imam-Hatip graduates faced prevented them from performing any intellectual activity in specific social spaces. Considering that how social space is designed directly effects hegemonic projects (Tugal, 2009: 30), such a barrier for Imam-Hatip graduates directly affected the value composition within the social space at universities and the social working space in both the private and the public sectors. This legal barrier changed the student composition of universities from 1999. A significant proportion of students from religious families and with an intensive religious education background were prevented from becoming university students. As a result, they did not have any opportunity to represent their values, world-views, beliefs, lifestyle and discourses in the university space. This contributed to secular values, world-views, beliefs, lifestyle and discourses dominating university spaces.

This legal barrier also dispossessed Imam-Hatip students from climbing the socio-economic hierarchy since they were deprived of the opportunity for vertical social mobility. Such a structural barrier can be associated with Gramsci's discussion about vocational schools. He pointed out that each group in a society had its own category of school. Diversification of vocational schools paved the way to the perpetuation of traditional social differences (Gramsci, 1971: 40).¹⁰⁹ The social-class position of Imam-Hatip graduates remained the same compared with those students who faced no legal barriers to gaining a bachelor's degree. This situation eased the aggregation of secular people in the middle and upper classes. Without a bachelor's degree, low-status jobs

¹⁰⁹ Although 'social group' in Gramscian discussions referred to the socio-economic class of people, in the present case the notion is also used to refer to religious groups which have a class characteristic.

were the only options for Imam-Hatip graduates. Just like the effect on the social space of the universities, the legal barrier influenced the employee composition in both the public and the private sectors. Secular values, world-views, beliefs, lifestyle and discourses became more dominant in both sectors. Corporate culture in most private companies was primarily shaped by people who did not have an intensive religious education background. Graduates of Imam-Hatip Schools could not exercise an intellectual function in society since they had no opportunity to work in most sectors.

Article 45¹¹⁰ (2012)

Selection and placement to higher education is carried out as follows:

a) Selection and placement to higher education institutions is done according to the methods and principles determined by the Higher Education Council under the condition that all precautions are taken to guarantee equality of opportunity and possibility.

b) Placement to higher education institutions shall be qualified by a central examination the principles of which are determined by the Higher Education Council. Candidates' success at high school is taken into account when calculating the placement scores. High-school grades are transformed into high-school grade point average scores providing that the score is between two hundred and five hundred. When the placement score is being calculated, 12% of the high-school grade point average score is added to the score gained from the central examination. (Official Gazette, 2012b)

Analysis

Prominent discourse;

- Students with an Islam-intensive education have equal status with students from other school types.

From 2012, the coefficient multiplied by the weighted high-school grade point average became the same for all high-school types for the calculation of a university selection and placement score and all students, including those from Imam-Hatip

¹¹⁰ Finally, Article 45 was amended by the JDP government in 2012. In paragraph (a), the statement 'guarantee equality of opportunity and possibility' radically changed the chance of students from vocational high schools being able to continue their education at universities. This statement constituted the legal base for equalising the coefficients for all types of high school, including Imam-Hatip High Schools. As stated in paragraph (b), the Higher Education Council abolished the differences between the coefficients of students from different school types.

Schools, had the same opportunity to choose whichever department they wanted at universities.

Following this amendment, the laicists lost their discursive advantage stemming from the association of university education and high-status positions with secular values. A dramatic change in the composition of students in the social spaces of universities and work spaces in the public and private sectors occurred. Each year, more students from Imam-Hatip Schools possessed the opportunity to continue their education in higher education and gain high-status jobs. By this means, pious Muslims now had the opportunity to perform intellectual activities in a variety of social spaces, which constituted an Islamic challenge to the Kemalist cultural hegemony.

3.9. Higher Education

In addition to the primary and secondary education sub-section, a special sub-section dealing with higher education has been added to this chapter because of the significant role of universities on opportunities for vertical social mobility and on the construction and dissemination of a discourse which serves the consolidation of the hegemony of the ruling class. Gramsci (1985: 383) described universities and academies “as organisations of culture and means for its diffusion”. From this point of view, these institutions constitute a terrain of organised culture which can shape or at least influence the culture of a society. They are also the site of cultural diffusion with state-controlled lecture contents with a dominant discourse in the social spaces of universities and academies.

Similar to the National Education Basic Law, Higher Education Law also constructs a Kemalist paradigm within the higher education system. Turkish universities therefore possessed a significant discursive role in the production and dissemination of Kemalist discourses, views and values. Second, depriving some students of the opportunity for higher education has a direct impact on social mobility, class position and intellectuals. By means of Article 45 of the Higher Education Law, the SSPE became a legal barrier for students of Imam-Hatip schools to continue their education at the higher-education level.

3.9.1. Higher Education Law¹¹¹

Article 4

The goals of higher education are;

a) To educate students;

1- towards Ataturk's reforms and principles, and as loyal students to Ataturk's principle of nationalism;

2- so that they can carry the national, ethical, humanistic, moral and cultural values of the Turkish nation, feel honoured and feel happy for being Turkish;

...

(Official Gazette, 1981b)

Analysis

Prominent discourse;

- Ataturk's reforms, principles and understanding of nationalism constitute the basis of the values of the education system.

In the first paragraph, the principles and reforms of Ataturk, with special emphasis on his principle of nationalism, are presented as the normative basis of higher education in Turkey. Thus, Kemalist values are accepted as the leading, universal, common and mainstream values in the social space of universities. This situation also applies to the terrain of religion. How the Kemalists perceive Islam, Muslimness and religious lifestyle becomes 'common sense', in Gramscian terms, in universities. As has already been discussed, Ataturk's principle of nationalism was an alternative to the understanding of *ummah* ('the unity of Muslims') in Islam. From the early days of the Republic, what society understood by the term 'nation' was different from what the state understood by it. As the meaning of 'nation' transformed from Muslimness to

¹¹¹ Similar to the laws and regulations targeting primary and secondary education, Higher Education Law (*Yuksekk Ogretim Kanunu*) also has both a direct effect on the class position of people and a discursive effect in higher education institutions. Articles 4 and 5 are still valid and were not amended in the period of the JDP. It is therefore possible to argue that the discourse on higher-education facilities is still constructed and dominated by the values of Kemalism and a formal and systematic challenge to the Kemalist domination.

Turkishness, the state apparatus sought to designate ‘nation-alism’ as the new religion of the new Turkish nation (Karpal, 2009a: 241). Therefore, constructing a nationalist discourse symbolises a shift from the Islamic discourse to the laicist discourse.

According to the discourse in the second paragraph, the Turkish nation forms the source of all national, cultural, ethical and moral values. This discourse can be interpreted as an effort to position nationality as the source of human existence and of values related to that existence. Such a discourse prevents the religion, and more specifically Islam, from being the determinant of human existence and fundamental values. Moreover, according to the Article, being Turkish becomes a sufficient reason to feel happy and honoured. Such a discourse is contrary to accepting being Muslim as sufficient reason to feel honoured and happy. So what defines identity has shifted from Islam to Turkishness, as had been planned by Ataturk during the establishment of the new Republic. This shift had significant outcomes on the cultural hegemonic struggle. First, determining Turkishness as the main defining element of identity gathers all Turks together regardless of their religiosity. A pious Muslim Turk and an atheist Turk can perceive each other on the same common ground. Secondly, since Muslimness loses its position as the main determinant of the identity, the policies of a Kemalist hegemonic bloc on the terrain of Islam are not regarded as a threat against the basic identity. Hence, the conflict between Kemalist ruling class and religious segments of the society loses the character of being an ‘identity-based conflict’.

Article 5

Higher education shall be planned, programmed and carried out in accordance with the main principles below:

a) It shall be ensured to raise the consciousness of the students about serving with an understanding of Ataturk’s principle of nationalism and in line with the principles and revolutions of Ataturk.

....

i) Lectures on ‘The Principles of Ataturk and the History of the Revolution’ ... shall be compulsory in higher education. (Official Gazette, 1981b; Official Gazette, 1991)

Analysis

Prominent discourse;

- Serving Ataturk's revolutions, principles and nationalism is a legal obligation and a social norm.

Article 5 regulates the normative basis on which the planning, programming and execution of higher education hinge. In paragraph (a), students are expected to serve the nation from the perspective of Ataturk with his nationalism, revolutions and principles. Serving necessitates one-sided loyalty to the served side. Students are therefore expected to serve the Turkish nation which had been defined by Kemalism as an alternative to the understanding of 'Muslim nation' in the Ottoman period. The legal obligation of being in line with Ataturk's revolutions, principles and nationalism positions any opposition to or criticism of them as an unlawful and therefore unacceptable act.

Paragraph (i) makes lectures on 'The Principles of Ataturk and the History of the Revolution' compulsory for all students enrolled in the higher-education system. Those lectures can be interpreted as an effort by the Kemalist hegemonic bloc to produce and disseminate Kemalist discourse in order to position laicist Kemalist values as the leading values in universities. This legal obligation grants Kemalism, and hence Kemalism's understanding of Islam, a supra-ideological and supra-political position which is accepted as common, mainstream and universal. By this discourse, any perceived threat to Kemalist principles and values becomes unusual and abnormal. Therefore, in the struggle between laicist and pious Muslim lifestyles, the laicist lifestyle represents the mainstream.

Both Article 4 and Article 5 are still valid without any amendments. This might suggest that the JDP governments since 2002 had not been able to construct and disseminate a distinctive discourse in universities or to shape the higher-education system to its own values by 2015. Kemalism therefore maintained its privileged position in terms of shaping higher education to its own values and to the Kemalist ideology.

4. Conclusion

4.1. Overview of Chapter 6

So far in Chapter 6, we have endeavoured to find the answer to the research question ‘How has Islam been used as a site of hegemonic struggle in Turkey in the post-28 February process until 2015?’ by emphasising the construction and dissemination of discourses on the terrain of Islam through the legislation.

The topic of ‘Religious Everyday Life’ drew the boundaries of acceptable religious everyday life. By means of legislation, a hierarchy was constructed between laicism and religion. In situations when there is a conflict between laicism and religion, the discourse directed people to be on the side of laicism. This discourse therefore sought to decrease the influence of religion in the everyday lives of Muslims. In 2015, laicism was still prioritised within the legislation over all alternative sources of value such as religion.

The legislation under the heading ‘the State’ within the Constitution provided the Kemalist hegemonic bloc with a comparative ideological and organisational advantage in their struggle for cultural hegemony since the reforms and principles of Atatürk were presented as the fundamental paradigm of the state. Special emphasis on nationalism among those principles was the result of the effort to create an alternative secular source of identity to Islam as the source of Islamic identity. The legislation regarding the state could not be challenged by the JDP by 2015. Therefore, Kemalism’s privileged position as the fundamental paradigm of the state continued over the three terms of the JDP.

The legislation regarding the PRA granted the institution an educative role. In particular, by means of the authority to respond to questions on Islam, the institution gained the opportunity to determine the standards and discourses regarding Islam and Muslimness. By this means, the PRA had the position of intellectual leadership on the area of Islam. As a result, an intellectual hierarchy was created between the institution and the pious Muslims, and this superior position in the hierarchy also applied to the state and to the dominant class controlling the state. The privileged position of the PRA was also maintained and instrumentalised by the JDP over its three terms of office. A

significant reason for the maintenance of the PRA's privileged position was the JDP's rising influence on the state apparatus and its institutions within its three terms.

The laws and regulations on political parties, associations and foundations, all of which were the instruments of Islamic collective organisational action, illegalised any influence of Islam on these entities. Having an Islamic agenda for these organisations was a sufficient reason for their closure. The discourse within the legislation aimed at destroying the organisational power of Islam and restraining it to only the personal area of faith and worship. Especially after the 28 February *coup d'état*, Islamic discourse at the organisational level was completely perceived as illegitimate, unacceptable and abnormal. Determining Islamic goals and challenging the principles of laicism and nationalism were still a reason for the closure of political parties by 2015. After the amendments to related laws and regulations, however, associations and foundations gained a wider area of rights as compared with political parties in terms of inclusion of Islam in their organisational goals and discourses.

The laws on primary, secondary and higher education determined the fundamental paradigm and entire value set in these educational institutions. The principles of Kemalism, with a special emphasis on laicism and nationalism, became the leading mainstream ideas in the social space of schools and loyalty to those principles became a social norm in schools. Thus, the attitude towards Islam, Muslim identity and religious life was also determined by those mainstream ideas. The fundamental paradigm on which the education system was based could not be challenged by the JDP within its three terms in office. Therefore, the Kemalists still possessed an intellectual and ideological advantage in their struggle for cultural hegemony *vis-à-vis* the opposing Islamic groups.

The legislation regarding the headscarf ban and Imam-Hatip schools directly determined the class position of pious Muslims in the social hierarchy by presenting structural legal obstacles to their vertical social mobility opportunities. The headscarf ban deprived pious Muslim women of secondary and higher education opportunities and of jobs in their later ages. The coefficient inequality for Imam-Hatip graduates in the SSPE prevented them from continuing their education at university. The main discourse which was the result of these legal restrictions was that possessing high status in society was associated with having a secular lifestyle and values, whilst the Islamic lifestyle

and values were associated with lower social status. Because the legal obstacles hindered many pious Muslims from having access to a variety of places such as middle and high schools, universities and work-places, they could not perform intellectual activities in any of those places. In the 2010s, the ban on headscarves was gradually lifted in different places from middle and high schools, and universities to work-places in the public sector, and the coefficients in the SSPE were equalised for all school types. By these means, the discourse which associated high social status with a secular lifestyle and values was nullified and the Islamic segments' opportunities for vertical social mobility began to increase.

4.2. The Cultural Hegemonic Struggle in the Light of the Key Findings in Chapter 6

Considering Joseph's (2000; 2001; 2002; 2008) distinction between structural hegemony and surface hegemony, the legislation also revealed the deeper structures which influenced and restricted the hegemonic projects of both the Kemalists and the JDP. Islam as a deeper structure in Turkish society compelled the Kemalist hegemonic bloc to take into account the counter-hegemonic power of Islam and to design a legal system which had the capacity to hinder the counter-hegemonic power of the Islamic opposition. More importantly, the official paradigm of the state, which has been coded within the legislation, constituted a deeper structure which provided a structural advantage for the Kemalist hegemonic project and drew the boundaries of the JDP's hegemonic project.

Legislation provided a significant comparative advantage for the Kemalist hegemonic bloc *vis-à-vis* Islamic opposition in terms of organisational power in their struggle for cultural hegemony. Laws and regulations regarding political parties, associations and foundations diminished the collective counter-hegemonic power of Islamist-conservative movements and of the JDP. Following the 28 February *coup d'état*, the Kemalist hegemonic bloc became unrivalled in organisational terms within both civil society and political society. These laws and regulations restricted Islam's capacity as the source of collective action for pious Muslims and limited Islam to the personal sphere. Consequently, the Kemalist hegemony was protected from a sudden

collective revolutionary challenge and from a direct war of *manoeuvre* initiated by an Islamist movement.

Considering Gramsci's (1971: 328) emphasis on the importance of a unifying and cementing ideology for the establishment of cultural hegemony, the legislation showed that Kemalism gained a privileged position *vis-à-vis* all other ideologies. The state as the main instrument of the dominant class was designed in parallel with the Kemalist principles, values and ideology. According to the Turkish Constitution, Kemalism represented the official impartial position and all other opposing ideologies, including Islamism, were depicted as representing a partial position which was expected to be compatible with the impartial official ideology of the Turkish state. Moreover, Kemalism also gained special protection since any challenges to Kemalist principles were declared as illegal by means of various laws and regulations. By this means, Kemalism gained a supra-ideological character and its privileged position could not be challenged by the JDP by 2015.

The legislation analysed in this chapter also showed that Kemalist hegemonic bloc had a significant advantage in terms of intellectual power *vis-à-vis* the JDP. The education system was designed in accordance with the goal of equipping students with Kemalist values, principles and ideology. The social spaces of schools and universities were dominated by secular values and lifestyle. Because these educational institutions were the sites for raising intellectuals, they provided both an intellectual and an ideological advantage for the Kemalists in their efforts to achieve and maintain cultural hegemony by shaping the minds of the country's future intellectuals in accordance with Kemalism. As a result of the legal obstacles blocking women wearing a headscarf and Imam-Hatip graduates from a full education, high-status jobs in both public and private sectors were dominated by people who had a secular lifestyle. As a result, both the ways through which intellectuals were nurtured and the social spaces where intellectuals were able to perform intellectual activities were dominated by people who had a secular lifestyle. The JDP was partly successful in nullifying the legal obstacles which deprived pious Muslims of opportunities for vertical social mobility, such as the headscarf ban for pious Muslim women and the coefficient problem for Imam-Hatip graduates. However, the JDP could not transform the fundamental paradigm of the official

processes such as schools and universities through which the ideas and values of intellectuals were shaped.

Consequently, the legislation revealed that the JDP was not entirely successful in developing its own cultural hegemony on the terrain of Islam by 2015. The legislation was very important for comprehending the boundaries of the JDP's counter-hegemony strategy *vis-à-vis* the Kemalist hegemonic bloc. The official paradigm of the state as the deep structure coded in the legislation had a significant restrictive effect on Islam's social, political, economic and organisational roles and on the opportunities for social mobility for pious Muslims. Since challenging this deep structure in the short term required a frontal attack (or a war of *manoeuvre* in Gramscian terms) on the Kemalist establishment, namely the state bureaucracy and the military, the JDP preferred a more gradual strategy to challenge the Kemalist cultural hegemony by initiating a process of nullifying the legal obstacles which deprived pious Muslims of access to vertical social mobility. Unlike the WP, the JDP did not directly target the legislation constructing the fundamental paradigm of the state. It is therefore possible to claim that the strategy of the JDP was more successful compared with the government experience of the WP which had faced the 28 February *coup* in 1997. On the other hand, the JDP failed to transform the official paradigm of the state, to design a new paradigm in parallel with its own discourses, values and worldview within the spheres of both political and civil society, and to wholly annihilate the privileged organisational, ideological and intellectual position of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc.

CONCLUSION

The operational phases of this study have now been completed and this Conclusion will provide a general discussion of the findings. First, the preceding chapters will be reviewed and then the strengths, difficulties and limitations of the study will be considered. We shall seek to find answers to the main research question and sub-questions by summarising and evaluating the key findings of the research. We shall discuss the cultural hegemonic struggle between the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and the JDP in the light of the key findings. This concluding chapter and the study as a whole will end with some recommendations for future research in this field.

1. Overview of the Research

The aim of this study was to explore how Islam was used as the terrain for a hegemonic struggle between the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and the JDP from 28 February 1997, the date of the post-modern *coup d'état* against the Islamist Welfare Party, to 2015, the end of JDP's third term as a single-party government. The Kemalist hegemonic bloc was composed of military and bureaucratic officials and Kemalist bourgeoisie, whereas the JDP represented the Islamic lower and middle classes.

Chapter 1 briefly presented the recent social and political history of Turkey beginning from the late Ottoman period until the end of the third term of the JDP's single-party rule. Mardin's (1973) detection of the maintenance of centre-periphery relations as the main determinant of Turkish social and political structure from the Ottoman period to Republican Turkey was important for understanding the distinction between the Kemalists at the centre who needed to create a hegemonic project to construct a consent-based relationship with the periphery and the people at the periphery who were exposed to the Kemalist hegemonic project. After discussing the Kemalist nation-building and modernisation projects as a culture-construction process, the *coups d'état* and the tutelage regime as means of sustaining the dominant position in the multi-party era were considered. Finally, the roots, position and main characteristics of the JDP as the most significant challenger to the Kemalist hegemonic project in the history of Turkey were examined.

Chapter 2 started with a definition of the critical realist standpoint as the ontological and epistemological basis of the study and a discussion of its distinctive features as opposed to other positions. Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony and its components provided a theoretical explanation of the Kemalists' efforts to manufacture consent on the terrain of Islam and the JDP's counter-hegemonic attempt after 2002. The chapter ended with a discussion of Gramsci's ideas about religion, especially Christianity, which provided a guide for investigating the terrain of Islam.

Chapter 3 started by presenting the class-based understanding of the Turkish case; the peculiarities of the Turkish case in terms of class stratification throughout the cultural identities were discussed. This was important for revealing the difference between the class structures of Western countries and that in Turkey. The literature review section started with a review of the literature on hegemony-based studies regarding Turkey and continued with hegemony-based studies on Islam moving from the global context to the case of Turkey. Ultimately a need was identified for special attention to be given to the terrain of Islam in order to comprehend Turkey's cultural hegemonic struggle.

Chapter 4 was dedicated to a discussion of the data and the research method used in this study. The sources of data comprised the textbooks of Religious Culture and Moral Knowledge lessons and legislation regulating the terrain of religion. In order to comprehend how the religious discourse was constructed in the education system, textbooks used in the post-28 February period and in the 2014-15 academic year were selected. In order to identify legislation's discursive dimension and their effect on the class structure, the legislation selected ranged from the Constitution to laws, regulations and bylaws which were in effect between 1997 and 2015. The Critical Discourse Analysis method was used to analyse those data in order to comprehend the functions of those religious discourses in the wider picture of class structure and hegemonic struggle.

Chapter 5 focused on the textbooks of the RCMK lessons in order to understand how the discourse on the terrain of Islam was constructed and disseminated by means of education. Those textbooks were also important for reflecting the discourse in the entire education system and the mainstream discourse outside the school. The topics of 'the State', 'the Military', 'Economic Differences', 'the Image of Ataturk', 'Laicism', '*Tarikats* and *Cemaats*', 'Family', and 'Alevism' were selected from the textbooks.

Constructing discourse on the terrain of Islam was important for the Kemalist hegemonic bloc for bridging the gap between Kemalists' and pious Muslims' interpretations of Islam and finding common ground in accordance with Kemalism's ideal of creating an homogeneous society. Second, Islamic references, such as Qur'an verses and the Prophet Muhammad's sayings, were instrumentalised to ensure obedience to hegemonic instruments such as the state and the military. Third, the discourse on the terrain of Islam was constructed in order to demonise the concepts and institutions such as *tarikats* and *cemaats* which belonged to devout Muslims. Reconstruction of the discourse was also vital for the JDP to reverse the goals of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc. Also, discourse on particular topics was changed so that the values and lifestyle of the rising Islamic middle class could be regarded as common and mainstream. On the other hand, some of the discourses on the terrain of Islam were only slightly changed or remained the same. The JDP's reluctance can be seen as a concession in order not to increase the threat perception which the secular segments of society might feel, so that any hostile moves by the secular opposition against the rule of the JDP could be prevented.

Chapter 6 emphasised legislation as a source of hegemony. The emphasis in the chapter was on the long-term hegemonic effects of legislation, rather than its short-term coercive effects. A significant long-term effect stemmed from its role in determining the class positions of both religious and non-religious people by providing them with different opportunities based on their religiosity and in people's internalisation of their existing class positions in society. As another long-term effect, legislation directed people to accept the instruments of hegemony such as the state apparatus, school and university as natural and universal. Moreover, legislation also constructed and disseminated particular discourses on the terrain of Islam while restricting alternative discourses on the terrain of religion. In order to investigate those long-term hegemonic effects of legislation, an analysis was carried out using CDA on legislation under the topics of 'Religious Everyday Life', 'the State', 'the Presidency of Religious Affairs', 'Political Parties', 'Associations and Foundations', 'the Headscarf', 'Primary and Secondary Education', and the 'Imam-Hatip Schools', and 'Higher Education'.

2. Strengths, Difficulties and Limitations of the Research

A prominent strength of the current study is its comprehensiveness in terms of social spaces where people are located, such as schools, universities, work-places, mosques, associations, public institutions and facilities of foundations. Tugal (2009: 30) underlined that everyday life and social space are significant elements of the hegemonic struggle. So in order to comprehend the hegemonic struggle on the terrain of Islam, the maximum areas of social spaces where people spend their time and carry out their everyday activities with their Islamic identity, and where people engage in social, political and economic activities which are related to the terrain of Islam, were examined. We also endeavoured to consider the maximum areas of civil society where citizens meet, from schools and universities to political parties, associations, foundations, *tarikats* and *cemaats*, and consideration was also given to the political society which people encounter in their everyday lives such as the workplace in public sector.

The study is also comprehensive in terms of the time during which people are under the influence of hegemonic projects in their daily life. Legislation has an influence on every second of people's everyday life. There is no time during which people are free from the obligations of legislation. Compulsory RCMK lessons last from the fourth grade to the twelfth grade in schools for students. In other words, students are under the influence of mainstream official discourse on the terrain of religion for a long period of time in their early ages when their minds are being shaped. Furthermore, RCMK lessons not only reflect the dominant official discourse of the entire education system, but they also reflect the dominant discourse of the entire public life. Therefore, those lessons represent a significant amount of time during which people are exposed to the dominant discourse.

Another strength of the study is its comprehensiveness in terms of the population affected by the case studies of the research. RCMK lessons are compulsory for eight years in both public and private schools for all students with the only exception of children of non-Muslim minorities. A significant proportion of Turkish students therefore face discourses on Islam, Muslimness and Islamic lifestyle in these lessons. Moreover, legislation is also comprehensive for being binding on every Turkish citizen. In other words, it is impossible to be exempt from the obligations of legislation.

It might also be beneficial to consider the difficulties and limitations of the study. One difficulty stems from the Western understanding of class-based analysis which often associates the terms ‘class’ and ‘class struggle’ with purely economic aspects. Class is understood as an economy-based stratification stemming from differences in economic conditions and possession of productions means (Giddens & Sutton, 2013: 485). In Marx’s understanding, people’s social class is determined by their common relationship to the instruments of production (Giddens & Sutton, 2013: 487). As can be seen throughout the study, however, we went beyond an economy-based understanding and defined social classes in terms such as ‘Kemalist bourgeoisie’, ‘Islamic middle class’ and ‘Islamic bourgeoisie’. This is because the social classes in Turkey have been formed from people’s cultural/religious stance; and people’s cultural/religious stance has also determined their position in the class hierarchy.¹¹² On the other hand, the difficulty of applying class-based analysis to Turkey might also provide an advantage in testing Gramsci’s theory on cultural hegemony, since prominent features of his thinking are his objection to the reduction of political to economic (Hoare & Sperber, 2016: 55) and his insistence on the importance of culture in political struggles (Hoare & Sperber, 2016: 29). As classes are divided into class fractions based on their cultural determination, the case of Turkey provides a significant opportunity for studying the influence of culture on political struggles.

A significant limitation is the length of the period which had to be investigated in order to understand the progresses and retreats of the Kemalist hegemonic project from the early days of the Republic until the present. Moreover, the existing struggle for cultural hegemony is still an ongoing process since the JDP is still an incumbent party and is still waging a war of position. We endeavoured to address this limitation by taking a snapshot of a specific period from a continuing time spectrum, the period between the 28 February 1997 *coup d’état* and the 7 June 2015 general election when the JDP’s third term in office ended. This period was chosen as the most recent peak point of the Kemalist cultural hegemony just before the JDP came to power in 2002 and for enabling us to see the most serious challenge from the Islamist-conservative segments of society under the umbrella of the JDP against the Kemalist hegemony.

¹¹² For a detailed discussion of Turkey’s class structure, see the sub-section ‘Bridging the Gap Between the Theory and the Turkish Case’ in Chapter 3.

3. Research Question, Sub-questions and Key Findings

After reviewing the research from the very beginning and discussing the strengths, difficulties and limitations of the study, we shall now summarise the findings presented in Chapters 5 and 6 and re-evaluate the research question and sub-questions in the light of those findings. To determine where this study is positioned on the bigger picture of social research, we based the study on the assumptions of critical realism which acknowledged the existence of a social reality independent from people's awareness, and underlined socially constructed knowledge about the nature of that reality (Danermark *et al.*, 2002: 5-6). In the study, therefore, religion, and specifically Islam, is accepted as possessing a reality independent from the hegemonic projects targeting it. However, people's knowledge about religion is also influenced by the constructions of those hegemonic projects. This brings us to Gramsci's understanding of cultural hegemony, since it emphasises the aspect of ideological control and seeks to explain the production and distribution of social practices, values, discourses and beliefs (Giroux, 1981: 94). The principal motivation for this study was therefore to explore the establishment of hegemony, the maintenance of domination and the sustainment of intellectual leadership through discourse construction. With this motivation and goal, answers to the following research question were sought:

How has Islam been used as a site of hegemonic struggle in Turkey in the post-28 February process until 2015?

The 'how' question enabled us to investigate the construction and dissemination of discourse on the terrain of Islam. 'The terrain of Islam' not only involves the discourse which is directly related with Islam but also the discourse about the social, political, economic and everyday life aspects of Islam and Muslimness. This emphasis is important, since it gives information about the nature, strengths and weaknesses of hegemonic projects and the competence of the sides which are engaged in the hegemonic struggle.

What are the differences between the cultural hegemonic projects of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and the JDP on the terrain of Islam?

The aim of the first sub-question was to understand both the differences in the discourses constructed by two hegemonic projects and the differences in the strategies of these hegemonic projects. By this means, we might comprehend continuities and

discontinuities in discourses and the possible reasons for the maintenance of the same discourses.

To what extent has the JDP government established an alternative cultural hegemony on the terrain of Islam between 2002 and 2015?

The aim of the second sub-question was to explore the successes, strengths and shortcomings of the JDP's hegemonic project in its first three terms of office from 2002 until 2015. A critical point related to this sub-question is whether or not the JDP could shape the fundamental mainstream paradigm in the spheres of both civil society and political society with its own values, beliefs and discourses.

In the light of the main research question and the two sub-questions, the discourse on religious everyday life in the Turkish Constitution determined the acceptable boundaries of religion in people's daily lives. The discourse also directed attention to the dimension of personal conscience and faith by neglecting the functions of religion on social, political and economic terrains. It also created a hierarchy between laicism and religion and expected people to position on the side of laicism when there is a conflict between the principles of laicism and religion. This official discourse had not been challenged by the JDP by 2015.

Discourse regarding the state within the RCMK textbooks provided the state, as the coercive body on a territory, with an opportunity to gain the consent of its citizens. Giving consent for the actions of the state can be regarded as equivalent to accepting the state's authority as the main implementer of coercion over society. This can be summarised as 'consent for coercion'. Discourses about the state apparatus and the symbols which represent the authority of the state were significant for constructing a consent-based relationship between the state apparatus and citizens of the state. The discourse on the state was constructed by means of Islamic texts and references to ensure the obedience of people to the state. Serving the state was presented as a duty stemming from Islamic belief for all Muslims. Serving the state is the direct opposite to challenging the state. So challenging the state and any of its institutions and administrators becomes unacceptable under this discourse.

Legislation about the state, the Turkish Constitution being in the first place, has determined the official standpoint of the state with its whole range of institutions on the

terrains of Islam, laicism and religious/non-religious lifestyle. Moreover, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, as the founder of the state, gained constitutional protection and a privileged position which facilitated the moral and intellectual leadership of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc, a vital requisite for cultural hegemony. As a result of the discourse in the Turkish Constitution, his views and principles, and thus Kemalism as a whole, were presented as an impartial standpoint to which every Turkish citizen was expected to be loyal. Those articles of the Turkish Constitution which characterised the state remained the same by 2015 without any amendments.

Legislation regarding the PRA, as an institution of the state apparatus, aimed at authorising the institution as the supreme body to regulate all kinds of issues about religion. In this way, the institution was placed at the top of the decision-making process on religious matters, and thus the institution was authorised with an educative role, the role of finding answers to religious questions, in other words the role of issuing *fatwas*. This educative role created a moral and intellectual hierarchy between the institution as answerer and society as questioner. The ruling class also benefited from the same moral and intellectual superiority. The PRA's role in the cultural hegemony was maintained in the period of the JDP. The institution was still used as a significant means of cultural hegemony on the terrain of Islam.

Similar to the discourse regarding the state, the discourse on the military was also constructed in a completely positive manner. That positive discourse was strengthened with religious texts of Qur'an verses and *hadiths* by depicting military service as a command of *Allah* and associating it with the holy war of *jihad* in Islam. The discourse on the military was also significant since the military was one of the three pillars of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc. On the other hand, the positive discourse was maintained by the JDP and this reflected the JDP's reconciliatory attitude towards the military in general as a part of its strategy of war of position.

The discourse on economic differences in the RCMK textbooks related economic underdevelopment with the understanding of religion and religiosity. This discourse served the normalisation and internalisation of religious people's subordinate position within the class hierarchy. This topic was removed from the content of the RCMK lessons by the JDP in 2015 and was therefore one of the topics by which the

JDP successfully nullified the negative discourse about religiousness. No alternative discourse on this topic was found.

The image of Atatürk was a prominent issue in the RCMK textbooks as well as in a variety of laws and regulations which disclosed the hegemonic strategies of both the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and the JDP. Functional honorifics such as ‘founder of the Republic’ and metaphorical descriptions such as ‘unrivalled hero’ and ‘immortal leader’ were prominent discursive tactics in those texts. As was revealed from the texts and pictures in Chapter 5, Atatürk’s viewpoints were taken as the main and only reference in discussions on Islam, laicism and religiousness. Atatürk emerged as a figure whose ideas cannot be challenged. The Kemalist hegemonic bloc, which claimed to be Atatürk’s successor, also benefited from the completely positive discourse about and unquestionable prestige of Atatürk. Being on the side of Atatürk gave the Kemalists a source of legitimacy and by this means the approval of the pious Muslims. A discourse which depicted Atatürk as a ‘true Muslim’ was constructed in the textbooks. The JDP, on the other hand, responded to the Kemalist discursive project by using the discursive tactic of depoliticisation. In order to avoid a confrontation with his strong image in society, the discourse of ‘religious Atatürk’ was maintained in the 2015 textbooks. Atatürk was presented as a common value by concealing his function in the political struggle as an ideological source for the Kemalist hegemonic bloc, in other words by depoliticising him. The religious Atatürk image was also instrumentalised by the JDP for legitimating pro-Islamic policies, religious scholars and the PRA.

The discourse on laicism in the RCMK textbooks also carried traces of the cultural hegemonic struggle between the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and the JDP. A prominent discourse was that laicism provided a guarantee of freedom of conscience, religion and prayer. This discourse directly aimed at defusing the threat perception from pious Muslims stemming from the Kemalist lifestyle and values and at gaining their assent in favour of the laic regime and Kemalism. The separation of worldly affairs from spiritual and state affairs from religious was another prominent discourse which had a significant effect on the cultural hegemonic struggle. Differentiating worldly from spiritual was intended to prevent Islam from being a determinant in worldly issues. Thus, Islam’s roles in social, political and economic life were completely consciously concealed. The discourse of excluding Islam from public affairs was also intended to

restrict Islam to the solely personal level. The capability of Islam to organise Muslim people for a common objective diminished and the Kemalist hegemonic bloc got rid of a potential organised opposition which could challenge its superior class position. All these discourses were maintained in the 2015 textbooks. The cultural hegemonic struggle under the heading of laicism can be interpreted as the ‘depoliticisation of the other’ by both the Kemalists and the JDP. On the one hand, the Kemalist hegemonic bloc sought to depoliticise Islam and to cut its links with politics by limiting its scope to the area of personal faith and worship. On the other hand, the JDP also sought to depoliticise the principle of laicism by redefining the term in a way that would not intervene in the social, political and economic roles of Islam in society.

The discourses within the legislation on the area of primary, secondary and higher education were mostly characterised by special protection of Ataturk’s principles and reforms and a strong emphasis on his two principles of laicism and nationalism. Throughout the legislative texts on the area of education, loyalty to Ataturk, his ideas and principles was presented as a social norm, and a ‘common sense’ attitude in schools and universities. The strong emphasis on nationalism was a reflection of the Kemalist effort to establish Turkishness as the main identity of the nation instead of religion. Both laicism and nationalism were therefore regarded as means of de-Islamising schools and were presented as universal values which had to be internalised by every citizen. Schools and universities were also significant for being the sites of raising intellectuals. The social spaces of these education facilities were dominated by laicist discourses and secular values, and the Kemalist hegemonic bloc had a comparative advantage in influencing future intellectuals. It should be noted that the dominance of Kemalism stemming from the current legislation in primary, secondary and higher education had not been challenged by the JDP by 2015.

Imam-Hatip schools required special attention since they were at the heart of discussions regarding the vertical social mobility opportunities of pious Muslims. Because of the coefficient disadvantage when calculating the Student Selection and Placement Examination (SSPE) scores of Imam-Hatip graduates, a legal obstacle emerged from 1999 until 2012. In this period, students who had had an intensive religious education were regarded as ineligible for higher education and consequently for high-status jobs. This discourse was the outcome of the laicist discourse which

completely separated the areas of religious and worldly. By this discourse, higher education and high-status jobs were also associated with secular ideas and lifestyle. Since such a legal restriction directly influenced the vertical mobility opportunities of Imam-Hatip graduates; they could not perform any intellectual activity in a variety of places from universities to high-status jobs. After the coefficient was equalised for all school types in 2012, the graduates of these schools had the opportunity to continue in higher education and to climb through the social class hierarchy. By this means, the discourse which had associated university education and the higher ranks of the social hierarchy with the secular lifestyle and values were nullified.

The headscarf ban was one of the most influential legal restrictions which directly determined the class position of and the discourse about devout Muslim women. With the ban on headscarves in middle and high schools, universities and all public institutions and organisations, it became impossible for pious Muslim women to have a formal education, to gain at least an associate's or bachelor's degree, and to find a high-status job in the public or private sectors. Since the social spaces within these areas were dominated by the secular lifestyle, secular values became universal, mainstream and common. One of the most significant achievements of the JDP was gradually lifting the headscarf ban in the early 2010s. By this means, the discourse which had formerly associated high-status jobs with secular values was annulled. Kemalist domination of the social spaces of schools, universities and work-places began to diminish. This also provided an opportunity for pious Muslim women to be involved in intellectual activity in key positions in bureaucracy and working life and to participate in the decision-making processes within these high-status positions.

Political parties were a significant means of organisational power for the Islamist counter-hegemony and were the sites where Islamist intellectuals could perform intellectual activity. The discourse on political parties in legislation aimed at pruning Islam from all political functions and restricting it to solely the personal area of faith and worship. Loyalty to Atatürk's principles and reforms became the norm for political parties (Official Gazette, 1983c). Challenging any ideological elements of Kemalism by means of political parties was declared illegal and perceived as unacceptable and abnormal. Kemalism thus gained immunity from any organised challenge from political parties. It should be noted that the legislation regulating political parties remained the

same in 2015. Therefore, the JDP had not been able to provide a permanent legal basis to prevent political parties from closure by 2015.

Tarikats and *cemaats*, which were significant means of organised counter-hegemonic activity for pious Muslims, were presented as absolutely dangerous entities for Muslims in the post-28 February RCMK textbooks. The texts regarding *tarikats* and *cemaats* involved a discourse about the exploitation of religion and the religious feelings of ignorant Muslims. By the binary of ignorant Muslim/conscious Muslim, people were advised to avoid membership of these organisations in order to maintain their personal liberties. Another discourse constructed in the texts was the requirement of individualistic Muslimness. Such a discourse which saw group action under a *tarikat* or *cemaat* as abnormal could be interpreted as an effort to create a Muslimness in accordance with the boundaries drawn by the global capitalist system as a source of structural hegemony. The discourse was changed completely by the JDP in the 2015 textbooks. *Tarikats* and *cemaats* were now perceived as the products of different interpretations among people and depicted as completely positive in terms of their role in contributing to the moral education of people in society.

Associations and foundations, as a significant source of organisational power in civil society, faced extensive legal restrictions on the terrain of religion. Religion's involvement in the activities of associations and foundations was completely illegalised. By this discourse, Islam was completely limited to the personal area of faith and worship by illegalising its political, social and economic functions. By this means, legislation's declaration of illegitimacy constructed a discourse which accepted Islam's involvement in wider civil society as unacceptable and abnormal. Moreover, challenging Ataturk, his reforms, his principles and especially his understanding of nationalism and laicism by means of associations and foundations was also illegalised. Thus, Kemalism gained special legal and discursive protection which its opponent groups, especially the Islamist-conservative movements, did not have. With the new Associations Law in 2004 (Official Gazette, 2004), the legal restrictions on associations were lifted. This increased Islam's power as a source for counter-hegemonic organisation in civil society and nullified the discourse which had restrained Islam to the personal area.

How the family image was depicted in the RCMK textbooks was also used an important discursive element in the cultural hegemonic struggle. The family pictures in the post-28 February textbooks were composed of families which had a completely secular and Western appearance and lifestyle. These images presented the Western secular lifestyle and appearance as universal, mainstream and common. By this means, young people internalised the dominance of Western secular values in society. This also caused a duality in the minds of children whose families were religious, since their own families contradicted the mainstream and universal family image. As one of the significant achievements of the JDP in the cultural hegemonic struggle, the family image had been radically changed in the 2015 textbooks. Illustrations of families were now dominated by a pious Muslim appearance and lifestyle. The mother characters depicted wore headscarves, reflecting the religiousness of the mother character and the whole family. Religious activities, such as praying and reading the Qur'an, were presented as a significant part of the everyday activities of the mainstream family type.

The topic of Alevism was added to the curriculum by the JDP in order to create a common political bloc with the Alevi population who had previously suffered from the Republic's homogenisation programme in the nation-building process. It was one of the attempts of the JDP to articulate the Alevis to its hegemonic project as a part of the national-popular aspect of cultural hegemony by responding to their democratic demands. However, the construction of the discourse in the texts analysed in Chapter 5 reflected the attitude of the JDP towards Alevis in general and revealed the reason for the failure of efforts to construct a common political bloc with the Alevis. Alevis have not embraced such a step, since the topic of Alevism has been approached from a completely Sunni perspective in the RCMK textbooks.

4. The Cultural Hegemonic Struggle in the Light of the Key Findings

Based on Joseph's (2000; 2001; 2002; 2008) distinction between hegemonic projects and deeper structural hegemonies which draw the boundaries of those hegemonic projects, it can be argued that the hegemonic projects of both the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and the JDP were restricted by deeper structures. The efforts of the

Kemalist hegemonic bloc to seek a particular interpretation of Islam which would enable the creation of common ground with pious Muslims to gain their consent for the Kemalist rule might be regarded as a sign of the influence of Islam as a deep structure within society. In this regard, the discourse on Islam in the RCMK textbooks was the result of these efforts to find common ground with pious Muslims on the terrain of Islam. Similarly, legislation also revealed that the Kemalist hegemonic bloc acknowledged the power of Islam in the social, political and economic spheres and sought to control and restrict that power to sustain their own hegemony. On the other hand, Islam as a deep structure also aided the JDP's electoral victories as the Party included Islamic-conservative discourse in its political discourse.

The fundamental paradigm of the Republic, which was codified in the legislation, constituted another deep structure which helped the success of the Kemalist hegemonic project and determined the boundaries of the JDP's hegemonic project. Kemalism possessed the character of structural hegemony since the fundamental paradigm of the Republic had been shaped in line with Kemalism's conception of the world by means of legislation. This deep structure also hindered an Islamist revolution against the Kemalist domination in the history of Turkey. Because of the restrictive role of the structural hegemony, the JDP preferred a more reconciliatory discourse *vis-à-vis* the fundamental paradigm and main institutions of the Republic.

Finally, another structural hegemony was global capitalism, which resulted in the efforts of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc to transform Muslims from pious people who act collectively under the influence of various Islamic civil society organisations such as associations, foundations, tarikats and cemaats into secular customers who act individually in accordance with the interests of the market economy. This transformation restricted Islam's role to the areas of worship and belief in the everyday lives of pious Muslims. This situation had significant impacts on pious Muslims' pattern of behaviour in the market economy from their consumption habits to their business activities. It is also possible to argue that such a deep structure also had an impact on the JDP's capitalism-friendly neo-liberal policies in contrast with the anti-globalist stance of previous Islamist political parties.

The Kemalist hegemonic project had a comparative advantage in terms of organisational power against the opposing groups, especially against Islamist and

conservative movements. In addition to their historical prestige stemming from being the successors of the founders of the state, the Kemalists also had a privileged organisational power as they controlled the state apparatus, which was incomparably the most effective organisation over any other type of organisation in terms of contributing to or restraining the hegemonic projects. The discourse which aimed at ensuring the loyalty of people to the state apparatus with its entire legal system and the military was constructed in the RCMK textbooks as was demonstrated in Chapter 5. Moreover, the Kemalist hegemonic project also had a privileged position in terms of political parties, which provided significant organisational power for the hegemonic projects. Although the RPP, the prominent Kemalist party founded by Atatürk, could not achieve continual election victories in the multi-party period, it did successfully construct the discourse of 'Islamist threat' (Tugal, 2009: 38). Moreover, as was shown in Chapter 6, the political party system in Turkey was shaped by Kemalist principles and values. This advantage in the area of political parties also applied to the area of associations and foundations, which resulted in the absolute Kemalist domination of civil society in the 1990s.

Islamist-conservative counter-hegemonic movements were at a disadvantaged position as compared with the Kemalist hegemonic bloc in terms of organisational power and collective action. The discourse which limited the terrain of Islam to solely the individual level constrained Islam's influence on collective action and its counter-hegemonic power. The provisions of specific legislation brought structural obstacles for Islamist political parties, foundations and associations in terms of both carrying out activities and expressing particular discourses. With the closure of those parties, foundations and associations, Islamist movements lost the most significant organisational power for the construction of a counter-hegemony. Even the JDP faced closure case in 2008, even though it had been seeking to distance itself from its Islamist legacy. *Tarikats* and *cemaats*, which were a significant site of collective action for a significant part of the pious Muslim population, were illegitimated by the legal system from the early days of Republic and compelled to carry out their activities secretly as underground organisations (Narli, 1999: 45 [fn. 5]) and also discursively marginalised in the content of school textbooks until the 2010s.

Considering the vital need for a unifying and cementing ideology in Gramscian thinking (Gramsci, 1971: 328), in terms of a clash of ideologies, the Turkish

Constitution granted Kemalism a privileged position compared with other ideologies in Turkey. The discourse within the Preamble and Article 2 of the Constitution located Kemalism to an impartial supra-ideological position while regarding all other ideologies as partial stances which had to be compatible with the impartial position of the state. This provided a hierarchical advantage for the Kemalist hegemonic bloc since its values represented the official position of the state. By this means, the discourse of impartiality eased the opponent groups' internalisation of Kemalist values and made the threat perception stemming from the values of the Kemalist hegemonic bloc more difficult, since perceiving a threat from those values became equal to perceiving a threat from the state.

On the other hand, Islamist or conservative ideologies which attached special importance to Islam's social, political and economic roles were restricted both discursively as in the example of RCMK lessons and legally by different laws, regulations and bylaws regulating a variety of areas such as the state, political parties, associations and foundations. A discourse which regarded Islam's roles on social, political and economic terrains as unacceptable, unusual and abnormal was constructed through legislation. Since Islam was constrained to the personal area of faith and worship, its power stemming from its being a source of political action and political discourse was curtailed.

A significant advantage of the Kemalist hegemonic project stemmed from its intellectual power. Since significant instruments for raising intellectuals such as primary and secondary education facilities and universities were controlled by the state apparatus, the discourse within these instruments was shaped in accordance with the world conception of Kemalism. The privileged position of Atatürk, as the founder of the State, also applied to Kemalist intellectuals as his followers. Moreover, Kemalist intellectuals also had a comparative advantage in terms of organisational power, since there was no legal restriction on political parties and civil society organisations by which Kemalist intellectuals could perform intellectual activity. Particularly in the post-28 February period, with the closure of Islamist political party associations and foundations, Kemalist intellectuals had an opportunity to dominate civil society completely.

Islamist-conservative intellectuals, on the other hand, faced significant structural constraints until the 2010s. The most significant of these were the blocking of Imam-Hatip graduates from higher education because of the coefficient problem and the headscarf ban on pious women in middle and high schools, universities and the public sector. The coefficient issue prevented Imam-Hatip graduates from performing intellectual activity in key positions in high-status jobs, and the headscarf ban deprived pious Muslim women of access to formal education and from being equipped in terms of the technical intellectual knowledge necessary for finding high-status jobs and carrying out an intellectual mission in those places.

It is possible to detect efforts to create historic/political blocs by both the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and the JDP. As can be seen from the Kemalist's efforts to construct a laicised version of Islamic discourse in the RCMK textbooks, the target group of the historic bloc was the devout Muslims who formed the majority in terms of religious identity. On the other hand, the focus of the JDP's efforts was the victims of the nation-building process; Kurds, *tarikats*, *cemaats* and Alevis. In this regard, the newly introduced curriculum section on Alevism and significant changes in the discourse regarding the *cemaats* and *tarikats* in the RCMK textbooks can be seen as instances of the JDP's efforts on the terrain of Islam.

From the discussion so far, it can be seen that the principles and values of Kemalism formed the fundamental paradigm of both political and civil society by 2015. In entire terrains ranging from schools, universities and the PRA to associations, foundations and political parties, it was illegitimate and therefore perceived as unacceptable and abnormal to undertake activities and construct discourse against Ataturk's principles and reforms. The Kemalists were therefore still able to benefit from Ataturk's privileged position.

It is also possible to claim that Kemalism's long-term hegemonic project, beginning from the establishment of the Republic, tended to turn into a deeper structure by characterising the fundamental paradigm of the state with all its institutions and organisations in line with a laicist and nationalist value set. As loyalty to such a value set became the social norm as a consequence of a long-running social engineering process by especially being fuelled through the formal education in schools and

universities, the normalisation and internalisation of the laicist discourse *vis-à-vis* the Islamic discourse became much easier.

It should be noted that the Kemalist hegemonic project never hinged on the electoral victories of the RPP, the prominent Kemalist party founded by Atatürk, or on the terms of office of RPP governments. It might therefore be problematic to evaluate the success of the Kemalist hegemony with reference to the election results of the RPP. When Kemalism's domination was under risk of Islamic threat, the regime preferred to close the Islamist parties down, as in the examples of the WP in 1998 (Morris, 1998) and the VP in 2001 (Frantz, 2001). Although the JDP itself also faced closure case for posing a threat to the principle of laicism in 2008 (*Hurriyet*, 2008), the party managed to survive until the present by means of its careful war of position. It is therefore possible to detect the vulnerability of the Kemalist hegemony to a careful war of position carried out by Islamist-conservative parties. This was what made the JDP more successful compared with the previous Islamist parties which had prioritised a war of manoeuvre. A possible reason for this might have been the difficulty of marginalising a more moderate political party which seemed more inclined to compromise with the current laic regime. The Kemalist discourse which illegitimated Islamist counter-hegemonic movements therefore became less effective for the JDP.

Another significant point is that the Kemalist segments within society had proved their capacity to create a secular cultural power bloc within civil society against the JDP without any assistance from the state apparatus. The power of such a secular power bloc was seen during the Gezi protests in Istanbul's Taksim Square on 31 May 2013 which very quickly spread to 80 provinces (Onbasi, 2016: 273) and had the character of a lifestyle conflict going beyond a straightforward environmentalist protest (Altun, 2016: 171). This showed how deeply the Kemalist values, which were the outcome of a long-term culture-building process as was shown in Chapters 5 and 6, are embedded within society.

On the other hand, it is not possible to argue a decisive victory or a decisive defeat for the JDP in terms of the struggle for cultural hegemony. Rather it might be better to argue that the JDP has been successful in challenging the Kemalist hegemony in particular areas, whereas in other areas it has continued to carry on a war of position. The most significant achievements of the JDP's hegemonic project were in the areas

where the party challenged the structural restrictions which had paved the way for the maintenance of the disadvantaged position of pious Muslims in the class hierarchy. The JDP was successful in nullifying the structural legal restrictions on the vertical mobility opportunities of pious Muslims. The most significant examples of this were the headscarf ban which deprived pious Muslim women of an entire education life as well as a working life, and the disadvantageous coefficient calculation which prevented Imam-Hatip graduates from accessing higher education.

The JDP has not been successful in completely shaping the fundamental paradigm of the state with all its institutions and organisations in line with its own values, cultural elements and world conception. The majority of the instruments of cultural hegemony, such as primary and secondary education institutions and universities, are still dominated by Kemalist discourse. However, this reluctance to challenge the fundamental paradigm might be interpreted as a very careful war of position with gradual steps on a variety of issues ranging from the discourse on laicism and Atatürk to education policies. This might be a completely different strategy from that of the former Islamist parties, especially the Welfare Party which had prioritised a war of manoeuvre over a war of position in its short term of office which ended with the 28 February post-modern *coup d'état*. As can be seen in both Chapter 5 and Chapter 6, the JDP endeavoured to minimise the confrontations with the laicist establishment, since it chose not to initiate a rapid Islamisation process in the country. This process was more gradual when it came to transforming the fundamental paradigm of the state, as the legislation which characterised the ideological basis of the state remained the same in 2015. Moreover, the very positive discourse about the military, which was strengthened by references to Islamic texts, remained the same in the textbooks of the RCMK lessons.

It might be beneficial here to consider the personal image of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in the JDP's uninterrupted terms of office until 2015. Taking into account Turkey's political history, it can be seen that a significant determinant of voter attitude has been leadership charisma (Erisen, 2018: 86). In this sense, Erdoğan has been accepted as the most charismatic leader who is believed to possess distinctive leadership qualities (Tugal, 2009: 175-179; Erisen, 2018: 86-89). Such a charismatic leadership provided the JDP with a significant advantage compared with the Kemalist hegemonic

bloc, which could not find an alternative charismatic leader in active political life to compete with Erdogan and endeavoured to close the leadership gap by instrumentalising the historical leadership charisma of Ataturk. Without a strong leader figure like Erdogan, however, it is difficult to claim the sustainability of the JDP's hegemonic project.

5. Recommendations for Future Research

The main goal of the current study was to comprehend how the instruments and processes of cultural hegemony on the terrain of Islam were designed by the Kemalist hegemonic bloc, how the discourse was produced and disseminated in society and how those instruments and processes, and the discourse produced in them, were challenged in the period of the JDP. The focus of the study was therefore formal instruments such as the official education system and processes such as imposing and lifting the headscarf ban at universities.

Informal and unsystematic processes and unofficial and independent instruments, however, also need to be researched in order to cover the entire discourse in circulation within society. Informal speeches by party administrators and leaders or military and bureaucratic officials about Islam and religious/secular lifestyles are some examples of informal and unsystematic sources of constructing and disseminating a particular discourse. The discourses which those actors are able to express, however, are determined by the legislation, so the findings of the current study can still form the basis for such future studies. Although Kucukali (2014; 2015) touched on religious discourse within the speeches of JDP members, more detailed studies are needed which focus solely on the religious discourse of both the Kemalist hegemonic bloc and JDP members in order to understand the strategies of both sides for persuading the Muslims to their religious/cultural position.

Television, cinema and theatre, on the other hand, can also be regarded as examples of unofficial and independent instruments of cultural hegemony which affect, contribute to or challenge the dominant culture, lifestyle and perception of religion. For instance, the discourses and lifestyles of characters in movies and long-running

television serials have a significant effect on the perception of Islam, religiosity and lifestyle. Furthermore, key figures who have the potential to be role models for society and especially for young people, such as artists, singers, football players and novelists, also have a significant influence on the culture of a society. Although they are not directed by the hegemonic blocs, they can nevertheless adopt a particular attitude on issues regarding Islam and Islamic lifestyle or they can unconsciously have an impact on society without making any effort to do so through their lifestyle. Therefore, how those figures affect the hegemonic struggle on the terrain of Islam also merits deeper study. The findings of the current study constitute the basis for such research since they have revealed the discursive and legal restrictions affecting those key figures in performing such a mission.

Considering that the success of a cultural hegemony is evaluated according to the capacity of the dominant class to position its specific values, ideas, beliefs and discourses as universal, natural and determining the boundaries of common sense (Giroux, 1981: 94), a successful cultural hegemony may not always necessitate a shift in the lifestyle of the hegemonised group. For instance, when a secular individual accepts the values and discourses of a Islamist government as normal, natural, legitimate and even superior and gives his/her consent for Islamist rule, it does not always mean that the individual must necessarily have a more religious lifestyle. As Ertit (2014) argued, on the other hand, the religious segments of society may also become more secularised even though they maintain their consent for and support in favour of the JDP. The success of a hegemony project may therefore not be the same as the success of the dominant group's capability to transform the lifestyle of the subordinate groups.

How each group's lifestyle evolves in the midst of the hegemonic struggle is a significant issue which needs to be emphasised. A significant study which emphasised the direction of such an evolution in the lifestyle of people in Turkey was that of Carkoglu and Toprak (2007) who detected a rise in the religiosity of society in Turkey. Ertit (2014; 2016), on the other hand, reached completely opposite results by arguing that society in Turkey has been in a process of secularisation. It should also be noted that new phenomena such as the spread of social media and the secularisation trend in the Western world might also influence people's lifestyle. Therefore, research into the evolution of people's lifestyle with a special emphasis on religiosity and secularisation

could enrich the literature in addition to hegemony-based analyses of Turkey on the terrain of Islam.

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