The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/20443 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

**Author:** Çağlar, Ismail  
**Title:** Good and bad muslims, real and fake seculars : center-periphery relations and hegemony in Turkey through the February 28 and April 27 processes  
**Issue Date:** 2013-01-22
GOOD AND BAD MUSLIMS, REAL AND FAKE SECULARS

Center-periphery Relations and Hegemony in Turkey through the February 28 and April 27 Processes

door

İsmail Çağlar
Geboren te Istanbul in 1983
Promotiecommissie

Promotor: Prof. dr. E.J. Zürcher

Referent: Prof. dr. T. Sunier (VU University Amsterdam)

Overige leden: Prof. dr. L. Buskens
Dr. H.P.A. Theunissen
# Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ............................................................................................................................ 4

1. INTRODUCTION ................................................................................................................................. 6

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: HEGEMONY AND CENTER-PERIPHERY .............................. 18
   2.1. GRAMSCI’S THEORY OF HEGEMONY ...................................................................................... 18
      2.1.1. Consent and Coercion ........................................................................................................... 19
      2.1.2. Civil Society and Political Society ......................................................................................... 22
      2.1.3. Organic and Traditional Intellectuals .................................................................................... 25
      2.1.4. Hegemony ............................................................................................................................ 28
   2.2. MARDIN’S CENTER-PERIPHERY ANALYSIS ........................................................................... 33
      2.2.1. Main Arguments of Mardin .................................................................................................. 35
      2.2.2 Populace: The Chief Culprit of non-modernization of Turkey from the Young Turks to the Kemalists ....................................................................................................................... 41
      2.2.3. The Contemporary Character of the Center-periphery Cleavage ....................................... 43
      2.3. THE HISTORIC HEGEMONIC CENTER ................................................................................. 45

3. THE FEBRUARY 28 PROCESS: A POSTMODERN COUP .............................................................. 50
   3.1. RISE OF THE WELFARE PARTY ............................................................................................... 50
   3.2. THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY IN POWER: THE WELFARE PARTY & TRUE PATH PARTY
      COALITION .......................................................................................................................................... 53
   3.3 RISING REACTIONARY DANGER ............................................................................................... 54
   3.4. ‘THE SYSTEM DEFENDS ITSELF’: THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL AND BRIEFINGS ....... 57
   3.5. CIVIL SOCIETY AT WORK: ACTIVITIES OF NGOs AND NON-STATE ACTORS ............... 60
   3.6. “THE PROCESS LASTS AD INFINITUM”: THE CLEANSING OF ISLAM FROM THE PUBLIC SPHERE. ................................................................................................................................. 65

4. THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AND E-MEMORANDUM ......................................................... 67
   4.1. RISE OF THE AKP ....................................................................................................................... 67
      4.1.2. The Urban Middle Class and the Conservative Electorate ............................................... 70
      4.1.3. The Ideology and Message of the AKP .............................................................................. 72
   4.2. THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS AND THE E-MEMORANDUM ...................................... 74
   4.3. READING THE AKP AND THE HISTORIC HEGEMONIC CENTER ..................................... 81
      4.1.1. Orientalism and Modernization Theory ............................................................................. 83
      4.1.2. Political Economy Theory ................................................................................................ 87
      4.1.3. Social Movement Theory ................................................................................................ 89
      4.1.4. Modernity and Civil Society Theory ................................................................................. 90
      4.1.5. An Alternative Account .................................................................................................... 93

5. THEORY, CASE AND ANALYSIS ................................................................................................. 96
   5.1. THEORY AND CASE .................................................................................................................. 96
   5.2. CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS .......................................................................................... 101
      5.2.1. The February 28 Process ................................................................................................... 105
      5.2.2. April 27 Process ............................................................................................................... 150

6. CONCLUSION ...................................................................................................................................... 200

BIBLIOGRAPHY ........................................................................................................................................ 211

SAMENVATTING ...................................................................................................................................... 218

CURRICULUM VITAE .............................................................................................................................. 223
Acknowledgements

I must thank those people without whose support this dissertation could not have been finished. First among them is, of course, my family. I felt the endless love and support of my family throughout my whole educational life, including my PhD studies. My parents, Selma and Murat Çağlar, devoted their lives to their children. After them, of course, come my sisters, Hatice Gecu and Hacer Sınav, and my brother, Ekrem Çağlar. They deserve my deepest and warmest gratitude. My family did not stop supporting and motivating me until they heard I had finally “done it.”

During my years of research, I have accumulated much debt to a number of academicians, hocalarım, friends and colleagues, whose support and advice made everything easier. In this regard, I am very thankful to Prof. Sadettin Ökten and Dr. Meriç Ökten, who were good models not only of the academician, but also the intellectual. Prof. Martin van Bruinessen was always interested in my academic life and generously offered his knowledge and experience whenever I needed. At this point, I should also thank colleagues and staff at the Turkish Studies Department of Leiden University, the International Institute of Social History, which generously accepted me as an affiliated junior researcher, and the Religious Studies Department of Utrecht University, where I worked as a researcher for a year during my research. Among friends and colleagues, I owe special thanks to Assist. Prof. İsmail Hakkı Kadı, Assist. Prof. Edip Bekaroğlu and Serhan Afacan, whose assistance and friendship made everything easier for me, especially Serhan, as a fellow-traveller and housemate, also arranged what was left behind when I left the Netherlands in the last years of my research. Assist. Prof. Önder Çetin, Arzu Ünal, Dr. Arzu Meral, Sedat Metinulu, Ömer Faruk Gürlesin, Ali Bengü, Pınar Özge, Aydan Gürsoy and Süleyman Turşucu were always there whenever I needed their support and friendship. Hüseyin Şen, Bilal Balcı, Ahmet Çoskun and Peter were very kind whenever I needed help in Dutch, including the Dutch summary of my dissertation.

I should also thank the Turkish community in the Netherlands for helping me find my way around the Netherlands. İsmail Kuzu, Hilmi Çankaya, Vehbi Kuzu, Yasin Olgun, Fatih Olgun, Bülent Düz, Hasan Hoca and Burak Nallı are just some of those who helped me in Leiden. In this regard, it was a privilege to have the company of the Tevazu family in Amsterdam.

Last, but not the least, I would like to express my thanks and gratitude to Hesna for tolerating all the troubles of having first a PhD-candidate fiancé and then a PhD-candidate husband.
Knowing she was with me was both a real source of support and good motivation for finishing this dissertation as soon as possible, especially when my energy was about to run out in the last period of my study.