

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



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

## Bibliography

- Adaklı, G. (2006). *Türkiye 'de Medya Endüstrisi: Neoliberalizm Çağında Mülkiyet ve Kontrol İlişkileri*. Ankara: Ütopya Yayınevi.
- Adaklı, G. (2001). "Yayıncılık Alanında Mülkiyet ve Kontrol," in *Medya Politikaları*, Beybin Kayanlıoğlu, Sevilay Celenk, Gülseren Adaklı (eds.), 145-203. Ankara: İmge.
- Akarlı, E.D. (1975). "The State as A Socio-Cultural Phenomenon and Political Participation in Turkey," in *Political Participation in Turkey*, Engin Akarlı and Gabriel Ben-Dor (eds.), 122-135. İstanbul: Boğaziçi University Press.
- Akdoğan, Y. (2006). "The Meaning of Conservative Democratic Political Identity," in *The Emergence of A New Turkey: Democracy and the AK Parti*, M. Hakan Yavuz (eds.), 49-65. Salt Lake City: The University of Utah Press.
- Akşin, S. (1972). *31 Mart Olayı*. İstanbul: Sinan Yayınları.
- Aktay, Y. (2003). "Diaspora and Stability: Constitutive Elements in a Body of Knowledge," in *Turkish Islam and the Secular State: The Gülen Movement*, H. Yavuz and J. Esposito (eds.), 131-155. New York: Syracuse University Press.
- Aydın, S. & Çakır, R. (2007). "Political Islam in Turkey," *Centre for European Policy Studies Working Document*, 265/April, 1-3.
- Azak, U. (2008). "Kubilay Icon of Secularism," *ISIM Review*, 21, 38-39.
- Barkey, H. J. & Congar, Y. (2008). "Deciphering Turkey's Elections: The Making of A Revolution," *World Policy Journal*, 24(3), 63-73.
- Bekaroğlu, M. (2007). *"Adil Düzen"den "Dünya Gerçekleri"ne Siyasetin Sonu*, Ankara: Elips.
- Bobbio, N. (1979). "Gramsci and Conception of Civil Society," in *Gramsci and Marxist Theory*, Chantal Mouffe (eds.), 21-47. London: Routledge& Kegan Paul.
- Buğra, A. (1998). "Class, Culture, and State: An Analysis of Interest Representation by Two Turkish Business Associations," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 30(4), 521-539.
- Cizre, Ü. & Çınar, M. (2003). "Turkey 2002: Kemalism, Islamism, and Politics in the Light of the February 28 Process," *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 102(2/3), 309-332.
- Çağlar, İ. (2011). *From Symbolic to Physical Diaspora: İmam Hatip Graduates in Europe*. Unpublished Research Report. Utrecht University.
- Çarkoğlu, A. (2007). "A New Electoral Victory for 'Pro-Islamists' or the 'New Centre-Right'? The Justice and Development Party Phenomenon in the July 2007 Parliamentary Elections in Turkey," *South European Society and Politics*, 12(4), 501-519.
- Çarkoğlu, A. (2006). "The New Generation Pro-Islamists in Turkey: Bases of the Justice and Development Party in Changing Electoral Space," in *The Emergence of a New Turkey: Islam*,

*Democracy and the AK Party*, Hakan Yavuz (eds.), 160-81-57. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Çölaşan, E. (2008). *Kovulduk Ey Halkım Unutma Bizi*. Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi.

Çınar, A. (2005). *Modernity, Islam, and Secularisms in Turkey: Bodies, Places, and Time*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Çınar, M. (2006). "Turkey's Transformation Under the AKP Rule," *The Muslim World*, 9(3), 469-486.

Demir, A. İ. (2004). *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Aydınlarının İslam'a Bakışı*. İstanbul: Ensar Neşriyat.

Demirel, T. (2004). "Soldiers and Civilians: The Dilemma of Turkish Democracy," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 40(1), 127-150.

Dozy, R. (1908). *Tarih-i İslamiyet*. Kahire: İctihad.

Duran, B. (2005). "Cumhuriyet Dönemi İslamcılığı," in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: İslamcılık*, Yasin Aktay (eds.), 129-156, İstanbul: İletişim.

Erdoğan, N. (2000). "Kemalist Non- Governmental Organizations: Troubled Elites in Defence of a Sacred Heritage," in *Civil Society in the Grip of Nationalism: Studies on Political Culture in Contemporary Turkey*, Gunter Seufert and Karin Vorhoff (eds.), 251-282. İstanbul: Orient-Institut.

Fairclough, N. (2000). "Discourse, Social Theory, and Social Research: The Discourse of Welfare Reform," *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 4(2), 163-195.

Femia, J. (1981). *Gramsci's Political Thought: Hegemony, Consciousness, and the Revolutionary Process*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Finkel, A. (2000). "Who Guards the Turkish Press? A Perspective on Press Corruption in Turkey," *Journal of International Affairs*, 54(1), 147-166.

Frank, A.G. & Gills, B.K. (1993). "The 5,000-year World System," in *The World System: Five hundred years or five thousand?*, Andre Gunder Frank and Barry K. Gills (eds.), 3-55. London: Routledge.

Frey, F. (1956). *The Turkish Political Elite*. Cambridge: M.I.T. Press.

Gill, S. (1990). *American Hegemony and the Trilateral Commission*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Gitlin, T. (1980). *The Whole World is Watching*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Göle, N. (2000). "Snapshots of Islamic Modernities," *Daedalus, Journal of American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 129(1), 91-117.

Gramsci, A. (2005). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Gülalp, H. (1999). "Political Islam in Turkey: The Rise and Fall of the Refah Party," *The Muslim World*, 89(1), 22-41.

- Hanioğlu, S. (1997). "Garbçılar: Their Attitudes Towards Religion and Their Impact on the Official Ideology of the Turkish Republic," *Studia Islamica*, 86, 133-158.
- Heper, M. (1980). "Osmanlı Siyasal Hayatında Merkez-Kenar İlişkisi," *Toplum ve Bilim*, Bahar-Yaz Sayısı (9-10), 3-55.
- Heper, M. & Güney, A. (2000). "The Military and the Consolidation of Democracy: The Recent Turkish Experience," *Armed Forces & Society*, 26(4), 635-657.
- Heper, M. & Demirel T. (1996). "The Press and the Consolidation of Democracy in Turkey," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 32(2), 109-123.
- Howe, M. (2000). *Turkey Today: A Nation Divided over Islam's Revival*. Oxford: Westview Press.
- Ives, P. (2004). *Language and Hegemony in Gramsci*. London: Pluto.
- İnalçık, H. (1977). "Centralization and Decentralization in Ottoman Administration," in *Studies in Eighteenth Century Islamic History*, Thomas Naff and Roger Owen (eds.), 27-52. Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Jones, S. (2006). Antonio Gramsci. London & New York: Routledge.
- Kara, İ. (2009). *Cumhuriyet Türkiye'sinde Bir Mesele Olarak İslam*. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları.
- Karpat, K. (1975). "The Politics of Transition: Political Attitudes and Party Affiliation in the Turkish Shantytowns," in *Political Participation in Turkey*, Engin Akarlı and Gabriel Ben-Dor (eds.), 33-61. İstanbul: Boğaziçi University Press.
- Kasaba, R. (1988). *The Ottoman Empire and the World Economy*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Keyman, E. F. & Koyuncu, B. (2005). "Globalization, Alternative Modernities and the Political Economy of Turkey," *Review of International Political Economy*, 12(1), 105-28.
- Kocabaşoğlu, U. (2010). *"Hürriyet"i Beklerken: İkinci Meşrutiyet Basını*. İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Laçiner, Ö. (1997). "Postmodern Darbeden Sonbahar Şenliğine," *Birikim*, 99, 3-7.
- Lombardi, B. (1997) "Turkey-Return of the Reluctant Generals?" *Political Science Quarterly*, 112(2), 191-215.
- Lamprou, A. (2009). *Between Central State and Local Society: The People's Houses Institution and the Domestication of Reforms in Turkey (1932-1951)*, Phd Dissertation, Leiden University,.
- Mardin, Ş. (2007). *Din ve İdeoloji*. İstanbul: İletişim.
- Mardin, Ş. (1973). "Center-Periphery Relations: A Key to Turkish Politics?" *Daedalus, Journal of American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 102(1), 169-90.
- Mardin, Ş. (1974). "Center Periphery Relations: A Key To Turkish Politics?" in *Post Traditional Societies*, S.N. Eisenstadt (eds.), 169-190. New York: Norton & Company.

Mecham, R. Q. (2004). "From the Ashes of Virtue, A Promise of Light: The Transformation of Political Islam in Turkey," *Third World Quarterly*, 25(2), 339-358.

Medya Dökümantasyon Birimi (1998). *Mediascape Türkiye 98*. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi & Konrad Adenauer Vakfı.

Meyer, M. (2001). "Between Theory, Method, and Politics: Positioning of the Approaches to CDA," in *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, Ruth Wodak & Michael Meyer (eds.), 14-31. London: Sage Publications.

Mouffe, C. (1979). "Hegemony and Ideology in Gramsci," in *Gramsci and Marxist Theory*, Chantal Mouffe (eds.), 168-204. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Öniş, Z. (2006). "The Political Economy of Turkey's Justice and Development Party," in *The Emergence of a New Turkey: Islam, Democracy and the AK Party*, Hakan Yavuz (eds.), 207-34. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Özdalga, E. (1999). "Education in the Name of "Order and Progress" Reflections on the Recent Eight Year Obligatory School Reform in Turkey," *The Muslim World*, 89(3-4), 414-438.

Reiter, Y. (2008). *Jerusalem and Its Role in Islamic Solidarity*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Richardson, J. E. (2007). *Analysing Newspapers: An Approach From Critical Discourse Analysis*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rubin, M. (2007). "Will Turkey Have an Islamist President?" *American Enterprise Institute for Public Research*, February (1).

Salt, J. (1995). "Nationalism and the Rise of Muslim Sentiment in Turkey," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 31(1), 13-27.

Sezgin, O. & Saylan, O. (1984). "Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası," in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, vol.8, Murat Belge (eds). İstanbul: İletişim.

Somer, M. (2007) "Moderate Islam and Secularist Opposition in Turkey," *Third World Quarterly*, 28(7), 1271-1289.

Strinati, D. (1996). *An Introduction to Theories of Popular Culture*. London and New York: Routledge.

Şeker, F. M. (2007). Cumhuriyet İdeolojisinin Nakşibendilik Tasavvuru: Şerif Mardin Örneği. İstanbul: Dergah Yayınları.

Taşpınar, Ö. (2007). "The Old Turks' Revolt," *Foreign Affairs*, 86(6), 114-130; Dağı, I. (2004). "Rethinking Human Rights, Democracy, and the West: Post-Islamist Intellectuals in Turkey," *Critique: Critical Middle Eastern Studies*, 13(2), 135-151.

Tılıç, D. L. (2009). *Utanyorum Ama Gazeteciyim: Türkiye'de ve Yunanistan'da Gazetecilik*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Topuz, H. (2003). *II. Mahmut'tan Holdinglere Türk Basını*. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi.

- Tuğal, C. (2009). *Passive Revolution: Absorbing the Islamic Challenge to Capitalism*. Stanford University Press, California.
- Tuğal, C. (2007). "NATO's Islamists: Hegemony and Americanization," *New Left Review*, 44, 5-34.
- Uslu, E. (2008). "Ulusalçılık: The Neo-nationalist Resurgence in Turkey," *Turkish Studies*, 9(1), 73-97.
- Wallerstein, I. (1993). "World system versus World-systems: A Critique," in *The World System: Five hundred years or five thousand?*, Andre Gunder Frank and Barry K. Gills (eds.), 292-6. London: Routledge.
- Yavuz, M. H. (2006). "The role of the New Bourgeoisie in the Transformation of the Turkish Islamic Movement," in *The Emergence of a New Turkey: Islam, Democracy and the AK Party*, Hakan Yavuz (eds.), 1-19. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.
- Yavuz, H. (2003). *Islamic Political Identity In Turkey*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Yavuz, H. M. (2000). "Cleansing Islam From the Public Sphere," *Journal of International Affairs*, 54(1), 21-42.
- Yavuz, H. M. (1999). "Towards an Islamic Liberalism?: The Nurcu Movement and Fethullah Gülen," *The Middle East Journal*, 53(4), p. 584-605.
- Yavuz, H.M. (1997). "Political Islam and the Welfare (Refah) Party in Turkey," *Comparative Politics*, 30(1), 63-82.
- Yavuz, M. H. & Özcan, N.A. (2007). "Crisis in Turkey: The Conflict of Political Languages," *Middle East Policy*, 14 (3), 118-135.
- Yıldırım, E. (2006). "Labor Pains or Achilles' Heel: The Justice and Development Party and Labor in Turkey," in *The Emergence of a New Turkey: Islam, Democracy and the AK Party*, Hakan Yavuz (eds.), 235-57. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.
- Yıldız, A. (2003). "The Politico-Religious Discourse of Political Islam in Turkey: The Parties of National Outlook," *The Muslim World*, 93(2), p. 187-209.
- Yıldız, A. (2000). *28 Şubat: Belgeler*. İstanbul: Pınar Yayınları.
- Zürcher, E.J. (2005). *Turkey: A Modern History*. London, New York: I.B. Tauris.
- Zürcher, E. J. (2002). "From Empire to Republic: Problems of Transition, Continuity and Change," *Turkology Update Leiden Project Working Papers Archive*, accessed February 18, 2007, [http://tulp.leidenuniv.nl/content\\_docs/wap/fromtorep.pdf](http://tulp.leidenuniv.nl/content_docs/wap/fromtorep.pdf).
- Zürcher, E.J. (1992). "The Ottoman Legacy of the Turkish Republic," *Die Welt Des Islams*, 32(2), 237-253.
- Zürcher, E. J. (1991). *Political Opposition in the Early Turkish Republic: The Progressive Republican Party 1924-1925*. Leiden: E.J.Brill.

#### Internet Resources

- Akdoğan, Y. “AK Parti’nin Siyasi Çizgisi Olgunlaşıyor”, *Yeni Şafak*, January 11, 2004, accessed June 01, 2011, <http://yenisafak.com.tr/arsiv/2004/ocak/11/yakdogan.html>
- Çelik, Ö. “Muhafazakarlık ve Demokratlık,” *Sabah*, January 11, 2004, accessed June 01, 2011, <http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2004/01/11/celik.html>
- “‘‘CHP dine karşı’ algısı değişecek’’ *Radikal*, March 4, 2012, accessed March 15, 2011, <http://www.radikal.com.tr/Radikal.aspx?aType=RadikalEklerDetayV3&ArticleID=1080639&CategoryID=78>
- “Derviş’e Cevap” *Sabah*, April 30, 2001, accessed June 01, 2011, <http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2001/04/30/p01.html>
- Elver, H. “Lawfare and Wearfare in Turkey,” *Middle East Report Online*, April, 2008, accessed September 09, 2008, <http://www.merip.org/mero/interventions/elverINT.html>
- “Eski Başsavcıdan Tehdit Dolu Konferans,” *Zaman*, March 11, 2007, accessed June 01, 2011, <http://www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=511602&title=eski-bassavcidan-tehdit-dolu-konferans>
- “Gata Açılışında Laiklik Uyarısı,” *Radikal*, February 10, 2001, accessed June 01, 2010, <http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=16233>
- “Historical Background,” accessed June 01, 2011, [http://www.mgk.gov.tr/Ingilizce/Tarihce/tarihce\\_en.htm](http://www.mgk.gov.tr/Ingilizce/Tarihce/tarihce_en.htm)
- “Hundreds of thousands rally against Turkish Government,” Reuters, April 14, 2007, accessed May 10, 2011, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2007/04/14/us-turkey-presidency-protest-idUSL1445102820070414>
- “İzmir Mitingine Damgasını Vuranlar,” *Yeni Şafak*, May 13, 2007, accessed May 10, 2011, <http://yenisafak.com.tr/Gundem/?t=13.05.2007&i=45179>
- Kekeç, A. “Daha Çılgını Var,” *Star*, April 28, 2011 accessed June 01, 2011, <http://www.stargazete.com/politika/yazar/ahmet-kekec/daha-cilgini-var-haber-347466.htm>
- “Kılıçdaroğlu’ndan TSK’ya: Kışlanızda Oturun, Bir Tepki Vermeyin,” *Radikal*, May 31, 2011, accessed June 14, 2011, <http://www.radikal.com.tr/Radikal.aspx?aType=RadikalDetayV3&VersionID=78841&Date=01.06.2011&ArticleID=1051214>
- Koru, F. “Mantık ve Dilbilimin İzinde,” *Yeni Şafak*, January 18, 2001, accessed June 1, 2011, <http://yenisafak.com.tr/Arsiv/2001/Ocak/18/fkoru.html>
- Küçükşahin, S. “Bir AKP’liyi Cumhurbaşkanı Seçtirmeyenler,” *Hürriyet*, May 14, 2007, accessed June 01, 2011, <http://hurarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/goster/haber.aspx?id=6509159&p=2>
- Mahcupyan, E. “Hrant’s Parasites,” *Today’s Zaman*, February 2, 2012, accessed March 26, 2012, <http://www.todayszaman.com/columnist-270333-hrants-parasites.html>
- “Maliye’den Doğan Holding’e Tek Kalemde 826 Milyon Ceza,” *Star*, February 19, 2009, accessed June 14, 2011, <http://www.stargazete.com/ekonomi/maliye-den-dogan-holding-e-tek-kalemde-826-milyon-ceza-170044.htm>

ManpowerGroup. (2011). The Manpower Employment Outlook Survey for Turkey, accessed January 6, 2012, [http://files.shareholder.com/downloads/MAN/1609502928x0x528392/6162B8F4-D0CE-4BF6-852E-93FFE8941AB9/Turkey\\_4Col\\_Q112.pdf](http://files.shareholder.com/downloads/MAN/1609502928x0x528392/6162B8F4-D0CE-4BF6-852E-93FFE8941AB9/Turkey_4Col_Q112.pdf).

“Mitingte ‘Özgürlük Çıkışı’”, *Birgün*, May 15, 2007, accessed May 10, 2011, [http://www.birgun.net/actuel\\_2007\\_index.php?news\\_code=1179069900&year=2007&month=05&day=13](http://www.birgun.net/actuel_2007_index.php?news_code=1179069900&year=2007&month=05&day=13)

Özkök, E. “Meğer O Ayakkabıyı Biz Ters Giymişiz,” *Hürriyet*, April 15, 2011, accessed June 01, 2011, <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/17551589.asp>

“SPK’dan Doğan’a Para Cezası,” *Samanyoluhaber*, March 04, 2010, accessed June 14, 2011, [http://finans.samanyoluhaber.com/h\\_398275\\_spkdan-dogana-para-cezasi.html](http://finans.samanyoluhaber.com/h_398275_spkdan-dogana-para-cezasi.html)

“Şahin: Önceliğimiz Türban Değil İşsizlik,” *Milliyet*, May 24, 2006, accessed June 01, 2011, <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2006/05/24/siyaset/siy02.html>.

“Turk Govt Condemns Army Threat to Intervene in Poll,” *Reuters*, April 28, 2007, accessed May 20, 2011, <http://www.reuters.com/article/2007/04/28/uk-turkey-president-idUSL2868113720070428>.

[http://www.tsk.tr/10\\_ARSIV/10\\_1\\_Basin\\_Yayin\\_Faaliyetleri/10\\_1\\_Basin\\_Aciklamalari/2007/BA\\_08.html](http://www.tsk.tr/10_ARSIV/10_1_Basin_Yayin_Faaliyetleri/10_1_Basin_Aciklamalari/2007/BA_08.html), accessed May 20, 2011