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Title: Good and bad muslims, real and fake seculars : center-periphery relations and hegemony in Turkey through the February 28 and April 27 processes

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Propositions

- 1- The February 28 Process was an attempt to obscure the Turkish historic center's hegemonic crisis. However, it could not hide the crisis, only postpone and deepen it.
- 2- The media and capitalists supported the AKP both before and after the 2002 general elections. However, on the eve of the presidential elections in 2007, they stopped supporting the AKP because the election of an AKP member as president was the last exit on the highway for the historic hegemonic center, and the direction of this highway was the elimination of the existing historic hegemonic center and the establishment of a new one.
- 3- The media was one of the key actors in the February 28 and April 27 military intervention processes, both as a part of the capitalist elite and as practitioner of intellectual and moral leadership. The main activity of the media in the February 28 and April 27 processes was to mobilize the urban middle classes against the conservatives.
- 4- Changes in the ownership structure of newspapers that were covered in the scope of this dissertation were reflected in these newspapers' discourse.
- 5- Different groups, such as religious conservatives, Kurds, Alevis and non-Muslim minorities, were excluded from society by republican modernization because this project aimed at creating a homogenous Turkish nation. These excluded groups have a consent-based relationship with the state that includes cooperation as well as opposition.
- 6- The dominant form of opposition for the religiously conservative masses was not to directly attack the state, but to have good relations with the state and to try to transform it. Therefore, except for some extremist political Islamist groups in the 1980s and 1990s, like İBDA-C or Hizbullah, Turkish religiously conservative politics did not have a regime-opposing character.
- 7- Religiously conservative opposition to the Kemalist modernisation project was not only in the religious and cultural domains, but also in the economic domain.
- 8- The Kemalist secularisation project, *laiklik*, is not a project against religion, but a discourse and a hegemonic plan for instrumentalizing religion (Islam) in order to reinforce the Kemalist modernization project.
- 9- Remote control is the brightest technological innovation of humankind.
- 10- The ethos of Dutch bureaucracy is a combination of German strictness and Mediterranean efficiency.