

CONSTRUCTING AN ISLAMIC SOCIETY THROUGH NOVELS
- CREATION OF COLLECTIVE IDENTITY AND ISSUE OF PARTICIPATION IN
ISLAMIC LITERATURE -



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JANUARY 2020

CONSTRUCTING AN ISLAMIC SOCIETY THROUGH NOVELS
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ISLAMIC LITERATURE -

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY
BOĞAÇ SANDALLI

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

JANUARY 2020

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

CONSTRUCTING AN ISLAMIC SOCIETY THROUGH NOVELS - CREATION OF COLLECTIVE IDENTITY AND ISSUE OF PARTICIPATION IN ISLAMIC LITERATURE -

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Master of Science,

Department of Political Science and Public Administration

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Barış ÇAKMUR

January 2020, 166 pages

The efforts of political Islam to adopt itself in the public sphere can be read with a variety of perspectives, each of which clarifies the different dimensions of the subject. The common point of those viewpoints is the phenomenon of *conflict*. This study aims to examine the efforts of political Islam to build Muslim identity and the issue of participation through Islamic novels. Understanding the position of the Kemalist ideology in the Islamic novels has vital importance in order to comprehend the political struggle of Islam in Turkey. Moving from the premise that novelists are the people who watch the

life and then retell it to the others, Islamic novels may come forward as valuable sources which reflect political Islam's cultural codes.

Considering the ultimate goals of political Islam, the real benefit expected from the novels is the formation of a Muslim community that is enchained to a common ideological idea. In the novels, a wall of thought is required to separate the Kemalist regime from the masses in pursuit of an Islamic order.

The institutions of the Republic to have be marginalized to restore the society in accordance with the order of Islamic life. Beginning from 1990s, the emergence of a new and different kind of conservative mass is observed. The process, which can be read as an answer of Muslim subjectivity to the phenomenon of modernity, highlights a new structure. The liberated and differentiated Muslims no longer satisfy with the traditional collective solutions but seek individual guidance for their exclusive experiences.

Keywords: Islamic Novel, Salvation Novel, Political Islam, Kemalism

Öz

ROMANLAR ÜZERİNDEN İSLAMİ TOPLUMU KURGULAMAK - İSLAMİ EDEBİYATTA KOLEKTİF KİMLİĞİN OLUŞTURULMASI VE KATILIM PROBLEMİ -

Sandallı, Boğaç

Yüksek Lisans, Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Barış ÇAKMUR

Ocak 2020, 166 sayfa

Siyasal İslam'ın kamusal alanda kendini kabul ettirme gayretleri, her biri konunun farklı boyutlarına açıklık getiren çeşitli kurgularla okunabilir. Kurguların değişmeyen ortak noktasını ise çatışma olgusu oluşturmaktadır. Bu çalışmada siyasal İslam olgusunun, Müslüman kimliği oluşturma ve toplumsal katılım yönündeki gayretleri, İslami romanlar üzerinden incelenmiştir. İslami romanlarda kurgulandığı şekliyle Kemalist ideolojinin pozisyonunun anlaşılması, Türkiye'de siyasal İslam'ın mücadelesinin kodlarının çözümlenebilmesi bağlamında yaşamsal önemi haizdir. Roman yazarlarının hayatı izleyip başkalarına aktaran anlatıcılar olduğu kabulünden hareketle,

İslami romanların siyasal İslam'ın kültürel izdüşümlerini yansıtan değerli kaynaklar olduğu söylenebilir.

Siyasal İslamın maksatları bakımından İslami romandan beklenen asıl faydanın, ideolojik ortak bir hedefe bağlı Müslüman kitlenin oluşturulması olduğu belirtilmelidir. Eserlerde, Kemalist ideolojinin Osmanlı'yla arasında inşa ettiği fikirsel duvarın bir benzerinin, mevcut rejimle İslami düzen arayışı içinde olan kitleler arasında çekilmeye çalışıldığı anlaşılmaktadır. Toplumu İslami hayat nizamı uyarınca sağaltma hedefi doğrultusunda Cumhuriyetin kurumları, ötekileştirilme nesnelere olarak hedefe konulmuştur. 1990'lardan itibaren öncekilerden farklı ve yeni bir tür muhafazakâr kitlenin ortaya çıktığı görülmektedir. Modernite olgusuna Müslüman öznelliğin cevabı şeklinde okunabilecek süreç, yeni bir yapıyı ön plana çıkarmaktadır. Özgürleşen ve farklılaşan Müslüman birey, artık kendisine özel sorunlarının çözümünü toplu hidayet söylemlerinde değil, özgün kişisel deneyimlerde aramaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İslami Roman, Hidayet Romanı, Siyasal İslam, Kemalizm



In Loving Memory of my Grandparents

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Assoc. Prof. Barış Çakmur for his guidance, advice and insight throughout the research.

I owe a debt of gratitude to Prof. Dr. Necmi Erdoğan who supported my ambition and encouraged me to study on Islamic novels. I also appreciate Prof. Dr. L. Doğan Tılıç who kindly agreed to participate in my jury and shared his valuable comments and criticisms.

I sincerely thank M. İrem Şimşek who did the proofreading of the thesis. Her presence is very precious to me.

I am deeply indebted to my daughter Zeynep for *being there* whenever I needed her. She has put up with my stressful times, read my thesis and shared her invaluable comments. This thesis would be next to nothing without her assistance.

No words can describe my gratitude for my parents' efforts, dedication and care for me through my entire life.

Last, but not least, I would like to give a special thanks to my wife Nilüfer, for her support, patience and being always with me. Without her, I would not be able to make it.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ed.	Edition
Rev. ed.	revised edition
2 nd ed.	Second Edition
Ed. or Eds.	Editor(s)
Trans.	Translator(s)
n.d.	No date
p. or pp.	Page(s)
Vol. or Vols.	Volume(s)
No.	Number
Pt.	Part

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Subject Matter

Turkey's conversancy with political Islam has a long historical background. The framing of the religious references into an independent ideological ground corresponds to the dismemberment of Ottoman Empire. The transformation of this ideological groundwork into a political movement is, however, to a great extent the product of the last fifty years. Determining the ideological boundaries of the movement entails a couple of difficulties. First of all, the problem of subjectivity in the relationship between the observant and the observed, which has challenged social scientists, makes itself even more evident in this issue. Practices with references to political Islam encountered in every aspect of daily life, force people to react based on their ideological tendencies. Researchers dealing with the matter often have to withdraw from their observing scientific identity and take a position according to their political values. Not to mention the fact that this applies to all parties thinking differently about political Islam. On the other hand, there are significant variations between the terms of the discourse and the meanings

ascribed to them among different people with different opinions. As is known, the egg man in Alice in Wonderlands, Humpty-Dumpty, uses the names of objects for other things. (egg instead of bread, knife instead of fork etc.) (Dahl, 1986, p.3) Thus, the audience knows all the words he speaks but due to the difference in context, the communication becomes impossible. This situation as seen in many fields of social sciences is especially more apparent in political Islam. When the parties deduce different meanings from the same concepts, what comes out of this usually cannot go beyond being a dialogue of the deaf. Even regarding the most basic matters like *jihad, shariah, the definition of the Muslim individual*, it is hard to talk about a consensus about the sets of concepts. As to the differences between the international views on this subject, they draw on dynamics such as orientalism or imperialism that would normally rather be kept off.

Kenan Çayır points out to the arguably most striking aspect of the matter. The essentialist view totally eliminates the possibility of the development of independent individual interpretations. According to the essentialist view, every ideology has a substantive essence unbound of the positions individuals find themselves in. With this approach, Islam is ascribed an essence first and then the individual is built in accordance with this essence. There is no significant difference between the parties or dissidents in terms of the process and methodology of ascribing an essence. For instance, one of the parties asserts that *Islam is essentially dogmatic and non-progressive* whereas the

other one claims that *Islam is the only system which can eliminate the conflicts in the world since Islam is the religion of peace and reconciliation.* (Çayır, 2015, p.3)

Because the essentialist reading tends to ignore individual differences and draw conclusions from generalizations by definition, personal solutions in case of diversified cases are often disregarded. While *what Islam is or ought to be* is being debated, the fact that culture is actually a collective creation is missed out. (Çayır, 2015, pp.3-4) Therefore, it may indeed be more meaningful to talk about an eclectic structure that is continually being built upon individual practices and consists of the aggregation of the independent applications rather than a structure limited by a theoretical framework. The possible answers to *what people make of Islam* rather than *what Islam is* provide a more reasonable basis for social analysis.

Accordingly, it makes sense to read political Islam through Islamic literature, especially Islamic novels. Fictional characters have to react individually to the problems they face. Although the aforementioned essentialist approaches do have an impact on the overall attitudes, it is obvious that the characters ultimately have to come up with their own solutions to the particular cases. There is a difference between internalizing a general idea and relating that general idea to the situation being encountered, the latter of which naturally involves interpretation. (Çayır, 2004, pp. 9-14)

This study aims to examine the efforts of political Islam to build Muslim identity and the issue of participation through Islamic novels. The affinity between political Islam and Islamic literature is no secret. Nevertheless, it becomes necessary to review the matter separately to demonstrate the dimensions of the interaction between the Islamic novels and the efforts for building the collective identity among the individuals who define themselves as Muslims. The summarized relation above varies in the choice of theme, setting and character as well as style over time. Consequently, the researchers end up having to identify the tendencies by sorting out the dynamics upon which the changes are dependent.

Poetry is a cherished literary form among Islamic circles. The poetic style of its holy book as well as the well-developed tradition of poetry recitation in the pre-Islamic Arabian Peninsula led to the favoring of this genre from the very beginning. In contrast, other literary genres that entered into Turkish literature history late in 19th century do not seem to find favor from the Muslim groups. Especially storytelling, which has less potential for scope and content, appears to have gone relatively unheeded. As to theatrical production, though one could name Necip Fazıl as an example of embarking on a digression, this remains as the scare example. It is difficult to say that there are many successors that follow his lead. The analysis of the works produced in other genres such as film, television, visual arts and other branches of art in terms of quality and quantity is another research topic.

Today, novel may reflect different concerns but it is generally *-and was especially in the beginning-* viewed as a tool to support the claim.

Political Islam in Turkey has mainly defined itself through Kemalist ideology and its institutions that are perceived as counter front. Precisely because of that, it is mandatory to understand the current form of political Islam by exposing the *anti-Kemalist* aspect of the movement.

It is known that political Islam has carried out its own corresponding practices in the fields that are believed to belong to the secular class on the grounds that they are incompatible with the general idea of Islam. Islamic wedding organizations, veiling parades, Islamic holiday resorts and entertainment places are some exemplary implementations. In fact, it is reasonable to claim that the promotion of every cultural structure and practice disapproved by these groups is rendered possible by just adding the expression *Islamic* to the wording so that they are introduced to the groups that considers itself faithful. Similar steps are followed in Islamic novels too. Nevertheless, the characters normally depicted negatively are glorified this time while the ones positively conveyed are brought into question. When viewed from this aspect, it is possible to find Islamic novels corresponding to the ones that are thought to

belong to the secular ideology. There are even novels written as parallels to them¹.

The relation between the movement of political Islam and novels is remarkably complicated. It is important to emphasize that literature has never been irresponsive to the concept of Islam since the first years of the Republic. Due to the fact that the perception of the changes in a society by the literati and politicians do not always occur simultaneously, there exists a time gap between the transference of the political or socio-cultural incidents to literature, which have an impact upon the public memory, and the use of those changes as a political device.

Koçal points to the three different periods of the political Islamist movement in the context of central-environmental relations in the process that evolved from political Islamism to conservative democratization in Turkey.

The civil society-centered process, which was developed as a product of the reaction to Westerners and bureaucratic practices whose origins were dated back to the last century of the Ottomans in the social culture is the first period where, *political reform* or policy of *conservatism* can be named as the

¹ It is clear that Şerife Katırcı's novels Muslim Woman Has a Name (Müslüman Kadının Adı Var) and In fact There Exists Love (Aslında Aşk da Var) refer to the novels of Duygu Asena. Hüseyin Karatay's The Stolen War (Çalınan Savaş) can be read as a counter answer to Yakup Kadri. Sadık Tekin's novel The Muslim Warrior (Müslüman Savaşçı) exhibits a certain extend of similarites with Yaşar Kemal's novels. The samples are reproduciable.

second. Finally, the process of restructuring of the political reform view that defines itself as *liberal conservatism*, which is in line with global and national socio-economic developments, constitutes the third period. (Koçal, 2012, p.94)

In the above classification, it can be thought that the first period refers to the era from Tanzimat to 1960s, the second addresses to the epoch under the National Outlookⁱ formulation until the 2000s and the third period points out the time beginning from the 2000s to which the political Islam took over the power in government.

In this study, the aforementioned classification is loosely adopted. In the first chapter, the methodology used is explained and the previous studies in the field of Islamic novels are reviewed.

In the second chapter, the place of Islamic novels in the literature is elaborated and the general characteristics of the genre are summarized.

In the third chapter, the theoretical background of Political Islam is stressed and the dimensions of the affinity between political Islam, historiography and Islamic novels are examined.

The following three chapters of the thesis examine roughly three different stages from the point of Islamic novels. The first of these is the period of the

ⁱ Milli Görüş

construction of the collective Muslim identity. The indicators of anti-Kemalist discourse in this process are discussed through the concepts of war, jihad and martyrdom. Also, a special parenthesis is opened for the War of Independence.

In the fifth chapter, the reflections of the demands for public participation in the novels are given. The relevance of the alienation brought on by the Kemalist discourse to the mechanisms of political-social integration is questioned. In terms of subject integrity, economic evaluation of the system from the point of Islamic view, is also included in the study.

Finally, in the sixth chapter, the phenomenon of the weakening of the collective Muslim identity ties and the approach to new Muslim individual quests are discussed.

1.2. Methodology

There are plenty of ways to analyze literary works. Designating the method to be applied is more about what the researcher is looking for. Determining the procedure generally requires identification of the components which will be included in the analysis, as well as the ones which will be left out. Since the process is carried out through subjective perspectives, as might expected, the researcher also has to persuade the audience that what will be excluded from the analysis is really of no use to the aim of the research. For instance, while

style analysis primarily belongs to the scope of literature, it can also cyclically provide material for analysis specific to social sciences. Studying whether there are differences in authors' styles between the time periods when the party is in power or in opposing position, may accord with the aim of such research. Before proceeding with the explanation of the method, it is reasonable to address these questions: *Can one carry out a political analysis through literary works that are ultimately fictional and to what extent should we trust fiction's link with the reality?*

Selçuk Çıkla speaks of the difficulty of drawing conclusions based on the generalizations about such a flexible and unstable genre, on the grounds that novels are still surprisingly rife with turning points. He asserts that a researcher with such approach ought to be prepared to be put to the blush. Despite this, he is of the opinion that most of the time the presentation of ideas in the form of generalizations is inevitable while talking about novels. (Çıkla, 2002, pp.111-112)

Even though it is not without its risks, *-before continuing to make generalizations-* it should be noted that the relation of fiction and reality varies in the context of the novel genre.

It is appropriate to characterize novel as a genre containing many sub-genres and one whose evolvment still continues. Additionally, it is obviously difficult to put the classic examples of novel penned in the 19th century and today's

post-modern surrealist novels in the same equation. At this point, without delving into the philosophical aspects of the subject, it should be briefly expressed that it is possible to define reality through ideological, political, periodical or universal humane highlights. It is possible to ascertain universal facts through intra-textual literality, even in a fantastic fiction wandering through the boundaries of reality in terms of place, time or dimension.

Sabri Eyigün thinks that traditional political novels are built to inform, change directly and offer solutions. These novels have idiosyncratic truths with certain limitations and formulations. Consequently, novels are constructed in a way in which everyone changes themselves by internalizing that truth and the very same templates. (Eyigün, 2017, pp. 261-268) Having said that, Islamic novels -*which can be viewed as a sub-genre of political novels*- are designed to be in accord with the flow of daily life. This condition helps individuals identify themselves with the characters more easily, which serves to the purpose of inviting the audience to salvation. It is anticipated that the answers provided to similar issues will be more likely to serve as an example.

Kenan Çayır views the authors of the Islamic novels as people who experienced the social background of Turkey in the 1980s and 1990s and are now reporting what they have seen. He likens novelists to theater audiences, referring to Embree. Pursuant thereto, novelists are the people who watch the play (life) and then retell it to the others. (Çayır, 2015, p.14) This

recognition renders Islamic novels a valuable source as they reflect political Islam's cultural codes.

The identification of the novels relevant to the topic of the thesis, is important in this respect. While compiling the list, it was surely necessary to include the cult works that have left a mark on the social memory such as *The Peace Street*ⁱ, *Abdullah from Minye*ⁱⁱ, *The Cypriot*ⁱⁱⁱ as well as authors who have made themselves known in almost every household in Anatolia like Ahmet Günbay Yıldız. In addition to this, the works of some outstanding authors (such as Üstün İnanç, Emine Şenlikoğlu, Şerife Katırcı etc.) -in terms of the nature of the themes they deal with- have been examined. Analysis of the novels of who differ from their predecessors with their auto criticism-based perspective and as a result find their way into other similar studies, was regarded as necessary in terms of coherence. Hüseyin Karatay's novel *The Stolen War*^{iv} and *Pharaoh's Faith*^v by Tark Buğra which tell of the Turkish Independence War, were directly related to the subject.

Other novels, though they did not reach big sales numbers, have been included in the reading list with the anticipation that they would provide

ⁱ Huzur Sokağı

ⁱⁱ Minyeli Abdullah

ⁱⁱⁱ Kıbrıslı

^{iv} Çalınan Savaş

^v Firavun İmanı

robust research material. The novels recommended by the various Islamic communities and particularly the suggested reading lists given to students by the Ministry of the National Education, have been gone through. Moreover, a selection was made according to the above-stated criteria among the works that researchers in this field have chosen to include in their scope. Novels ranked in chronological order by the date of publication were categorized according to their relations with the important turning points of Turkish political life. The full list of the reading material is presented in Table 1 while the chronological grouping of the novels is exhibited in Figure 1.

In the process of examining the Islamic literature, the technique of content analysis might also be applied. As is known, content analysis entails a systematic reading of a body of texts, images and symbolic matter, not necessary from an authors' or users' perspective. (Nuendorf, 2016, p.10) The characteristics of the technique, which involve comparing similar phenomena inferred from different bodies of text, testing relationships among phenomena inferred from one body of texts and testing hypothesis concerning how content analysis results relate to other variables, are what makes it a good match for the nature of the subjectⁱ. Although it may be expected that remarkable consequences would come out through the use of

ⁱ For further readings: Nuendorf, 2016, pp. 98-100.

this method, the necessity of working with a narrower set of works may rarify the analyst to look at all the aspects of the matter.

At this point, it became necessary to make a choice between a theme-based analysis through a large number of works and a through profound analysis of a limited number of novels. While the second method seems to fit a more detailed and well-rounded examination, it was believed that a supply of many examples that might point out to general tendencies, would be of more use in the light of the purpose of this study. It should be immediately stated that studies on Islamic novels generally rely upon an analysis of a couple of works. However, despite causing a disadvantage due to its possibility of missing details, compiling a wide range of works from different sources is expected to yield more accurate results in determining socio-political orientations. To that end, special attention was given to the placement of the scrutinized novels in a wider context of scope, theme and period.

The works chosen from the reading list to be examined in the research is given in Table 2.

1.3. Literature Overview

It appears that Islamic novels are of interest to women. The ratio of female authors studying this subject in the total literature is relatively high compared to the works produced within other genres. Unequal treatment in the society

caused by women's social status, the fact that consequences of the difficulties are faced to a greater extent in women's social participation than that of men's, discrimination in the economic life and other similar factors all seem to have drawn a rebuff especially among the Muslim women. While being worthy of study, the socio-cultural, economic and psychological aspects of the subject extend beyond the scope of this thesis. However, at this point it should be remarked that women domination is also present in the few researches done in the field of Islamic literature.

Although Islamic novels entered our lives in the late 1960s, the beginning of the scientific examination of this subject corresponds to a quite recent time. Çayır leads the way in this subject with his PhD thesis done in 2004. (Çayır, 2004) Based on the point that there is a shift in the building of the Islamic identity and discourse in the 1980s and 1990s, the researcher explores through Islamic literature how Islamic actors view themselves and *the others* by way of literature. In line with this purpose, he takes Şerife Katırcı Turhal's novel *The Muslim Woman has a Name*ⁱ, and Ahmet Günbay Yıldız's novel *Hollowness*ⁱⁱ as a reference, both representing the 1980s. The main finding here is that novels play a significant role in building the Islamic identity. According to Çayır, collective salvation yielded to individualized Islamic

ⁱ Müslüman Kadının Adı Var

ⁱⁱ Boşluk

identities in the 1990s. The author reaches this conclusion through the novels *The Tune of Hoops*ⁱ by Halime Toros and *After the Rain*ⁱⁱ by Ahmet Kekeç. The aforementioned researcher revised his PhD thesis which he penned in English and then published it in Turkish. (Çayır, 2015)

Ahmet Sait Akçay is yet another person who has written in this field. (Akçay, 2012) The Author treats the popular Islamic culture with a critical approach in his work *Houris in the Memory*ⁱⁱⁱ. Based on the assumption that the primary element in novel is its ideology, he analyzes the message-bearing narratives of salvation novels rather than the techniques they employ. Dealing with the anti-modern, revanchist tone of the Islamic literary works, the author asserts that Islamic literature which censures commodification of women is itself involved in the endorsement of this process through different mechanisms.

Other than the two mentioned above, it is noticed that most of the study within this context is a master's thesis. The Peace Street and The Tune of Hoops are the leading novels among the most analyzed works. The perception of gender in the mentioned novels and the overall status of women in salvation novels apparently engage the attention of researchers. Özge Yılmaz's master's thesis in sociology could be given as an example. Yılmaz

ⁱ Halkaların Ezgisi

ⁱⁱ Yağmurdan Sonra

ⁱⁱⁱ Bellekteki Huriler

adopts and exemplifies formulation of the transition from collective salvation to individualism. (Yılmaz, 2018)

A similar study is Arzu Erekli's master's thesis in literature which concerns the female character *Feyza* in the novel, *The Peace Street*. The fundamental concern here is the portrayal of the identity of the woman stucked between being civilized and living as a Muslim. In the thesis, feminist approaches to popular romance novels -with reference to *Kerime Nadir*- and the views on female writers according to feminist literary criticism, are discussed. It is revealed that authors like Emine Yüksel Şenler and Kerime Nadir have in fact created the same woman image in their works, drawing on from similar codes and structures, even though they seemingly wrote dissimilar novels in terms of ideology and the message they convey. (Erekli, 2006)

Another study regarding the subject belongs to Hazal Muslu who intends to analyze the changing representations of Muslim woman identity in the Islamic novels in the post-1980s. Islamic novels enable audience to follow the changing perceptions and discourses of Islamic movement which have gone through a significant change in its approaches from the 1980s to 2000s. The researcher examines the transformation of the woman identity through headscarf, in the background being February 28th. (Muslu, 2011)

Nesrin Aydın Satar explores the change of the female characters in Şule Yüksel's *The Peace Street*, Şerife Katırcı Turhal's *Muslim Woman Has a Name*

and Halime Toros' Tune of Hoops in her master's thesis which deals with the fictionalization of both the Muslim and *the other* women. (Satar, 2014)

Fatma Züheyra Akagündüz's study regarding the analysis of the protest attitudes of characters in eleven novels written after 2000 is unique in terms of sample selection. In the thesis, fictitious characters have been analyzed while events have been evaluated from the perspectives of their protagonists and the obtained assessments have been categorized. (Akagündüz, 2018)

In her thesis concerning the body and sexuality in women's writing, Elifhan Köse suggests that pious women re-enforce the conservative tendency to localize women by selectively bringing modern socio-biological discourse with Islamic creationist approach like *inbeing*ⁱ together. Köse highlights the constitutive role of discipline of body that aims to totality of soul and body in to creation of a body politic. In relation to this assume; her assertion is that discipline of body has a very central role of establishment of modernity, Republic of Turkey and also revealment of Islamism as an ideology. (Köse, 2014)

A study by another researcher, Gönül Yonar Şişman, is based on the novels whose subject is *siyar* and which have been published after 2000, with regard to the relationship between *siyar* and the novel genre. In the work, the

ⁱ fitrat

question of how the life of Prophet Muhammed has been treated and what kind of profiles have been created along with the issues discussed, has been examined. The study is different from the preceded ones as approaches the subject in a rather literary sense. (Şişman, 2015)

The last study worth mentioning in this context belongs to Yunus Yücel, which is not directly associated with Islamic novels but concerns similar themes encountered in Islamic TV series. (Yücel, 2016) Yücel has chosen TV series with the same *salvation* format for the analysis of the portrayal of poverty. In order to examine the relation between the capitalist ideology and the political Islam, the researcher has taken the encoding and representation of poverty by the dominant ideology as reference.

Articles on the subject, albeit few in number, are more diversified in terms of theme.

One of the first studies on Islamic literature belongs to Koray Çalışkan. The author bases his exploration on an anthology of a large number of best-selling Islamic novels with the purpose of discussing the general characteristics of this genre and observing the reflections of the normative judgements in the existing or the long-awaited social models. According to the researcher, the new and good life is constructed from the existing institutions of the socio-economical structure. In Islamic novels, a moral renaissance is the sole condition for the improvement of the present social order. (Çalışkan, 1996)

Emel okoęullar and Bakko Mehmet Bozaslan discuss the reasons that led to the creation of an identity of the Islamist woman, and the threats that forced these women to write about social problems. The analysis focuses the articles written by Islamist women, who thought that the society was in deep moral corruption and who reacted against this so-called degeneration. (okoęullar and Bozaslan, 2014)

In his article on the understanding of Islamic narration and narrators throughout the years 1950-1980, Mahfuz Zari discusses the adventure of Islamic narration in a time period of 30 years through the examples of Necip Fazıl Kısakrek, Sezai Karako, evket Bulut, Rasim zdenren, Cahit Zarifoęlu, Mustafa Kutlu, İsmail Killoęlu, Durali Yılmaz, Ali Haydar Haksal, Hseyin Su and Ramazan Dikmen. (Zari, 2017) The researcher’s approach is primarily based on character and setting analysis and narrative techniques.

Esra Kara studies on the representations of *religious men* during the years of the 1939-1945, when the society was experiencing a great value erosion. She has shown that the talismanists have been handled again in terms of same unfavorable patterns and appeared again in the stories and novels usually as a figure who follows his own benefits. (Kara, 2016) She reaches the conclusion that the narrations in this period, stress the deception of the public by means of religious beliefs and values, as well as the vilification of the reforms and revolutions of the Republic through exploitation of religion.

Sevgi Türkmenoğlu has remarked the common characteristics of salvation novels that have become a cliché with the examples of *The Peace Street*, *Maria* and *Muslim Woman has a Name*. (Türkmenoğlu, 2015)

Ramazan Bulut asserts that the reflection of political Islam on literature could be read with a perspective relying on urbanization. The author discusses the recreation, differentiation and change of the identity of Islamic circle in Turkey through novels published in 2000's. Based on the assumption that the aforementioned process of urbanization is one of the driving forces behind the great change taking place in Turkey, the researcher is of the opinion that the immigration of the Muslim groups from rural to urban and their need to re-define themselves along with their experience of having met *the other*, oblige the construction of new identities. (Bulut, 2017)

In conclusion, it is reasonable to mention Funda Güven Derin's observation that the model of Muslim woman is viewed as a part of the process of the construction of a religious identity in the novels by pious female writers after 2000. In her study, the author argues that local reconstruction of Islamic identity in the representation of women and the family in novels shows parallels to and differences from the discourse of conservatism and essentialism in religious identity among pious writers in Turkey. In this context the novels of Yıldız Ramazanoğlu, Cihan Aktaş, Fatma Karabıyık Barbarasoğlu and Sibel Eraslan are analyzed. (Derin, 2018)

As can be seen from the literature review above, there is no study directly regarding to constitutional ideology of early Republic period or Turkish War of Independence in Islamic Novels.



Table 1 LIST OF ISLAMIC NOVELS READ

Novel	Author	Novel	Author
Zamanın Zeynebi	Sabiha Ateş Alpat	Kaynana Münevver Hanım	Ahmet L. Kazancı
Semira	Sevim Asımgil	Yağmurdan Sonra	Ahmet Kekeç
Dilara	Sevim Asımgil	Firavun'un Çılgılığı	Yusuf Koç
Pertev Bey'in Üç Kızı	Münevver Ayaşlı	Dönemeç	Mustafa Miyasoğlu
İbrahim Efendi Konağı	Samiha Ayverdi	Kaybolmuş Günler	Mustafa Miyasoğlu
Son Menzil	Samiha Ayverdi	Böyle Bırakıp Gitme Beni	Emin Ali Okur
İnsan ve Şeytan	Samiha Ayverdi	Varolmak Kavgası	M. N. Özdemir
Yolcu Nereye Gidiyorsun?	Samiha Ayverdi	Gül Yetiştiren Adam	Raif Özdenören
Firavun İmanı	Tarık Buğra	Mushaflar ve Bombalar	Ahmet Pakalın
Aslında Aşk Var	Şerife Katırcı	Özgürlük Savaşçıları	Kıyamoğlu Sancaktar
Çalınan Savaş	Hüseyin Karatay	Cevahir ile Sadık Çavuş'un Buğday Kamyonu	M. N.Sepetçioğlu
Kapanmayan Yara	İ. Fatih Ceylan	Darağacı	M. N.Sepetçioğlu
Bir Annenin Feryadı	Raif Cilasun	Huzur Sokağı	Şule Y. Şenler
Kutsal Çile	Raif Cilasun	Burası da Cezaevi	Emine Şenlikoğlu
Haram Lokma	Raif Cilasun	İdamlık Genç	Emine Şenlikoğlu
Uzun Yürüyüş	Orhan Çam	Bize Nasıl Kıydınız?	Emine Şenlikoğlu
Cüneyt	Duran Çetin	Müslüman Savaşçı	Sadık Tekin
Ülker Fırtınası	Safiye Erol	Halkaların Ezgisi	Halime Toros
Emre	Halit Ertuğrul	Konuş Yoksa	İskender Tutar
Meçhul Adam	Necati Faydalı	39. Koğuş	Naşit Tutar
Ağlatan Notlar	Hüseyin Gedik	Senatörün Kızı	M.T. Uzunyaylalı
Güller Ağlar Ülkemde	N. A. Gökduman	Sabrın Suskun Sesi	M.T. Uzunyaylalı
Derviş	M.Ali Gönül	Sabah Yakın Değil mi?	Mecbure İ. Vela
Yalnız Değilsiniz	Üstün İnanç	Gönlüme Cemre Düştü	İ. Ulvi Yavuz
Minyeli Abdullah	Hekimoğlu İsmail	Çiçekler Susayınca	Ahmet. G. Yıldız
Gönül Doktoru	M.Y. Kandemir	Sokağa Açılan Kapı	Ahmet. G. Yıldız
Kıbrıslı	Hüseyin Karatay	Benim Çiçeklerim Ateşte Açar	Ahmet. G. Yıldız
Ayasofya Dile Geldi	Durali Yılmaz	Güneşin Doğduğu Yer	Yusuf Zengin
Sevdama Kurşun Sıktılar	Hüseyin Kartal		

Table 2 LIST OF ISLAMIC NOVELS EXAMINED

Novel	Author	Novel	Author
Zamanın Zeynebi	Sabiha Ateş Alpat	Kaybolmuş Günler	Mustafa Miyasoğlu
Pertev Bey'in Üç Kızı	Münevver Ayaşlı	Kaynana Münevver Hanım	Ahmet L. Kazancı
Son Menzil	Samiha Ayverdi	Yağmurdan Sonra	Ahmet Kekeç
Firavun İmanı	Tarık Buğra	Gül Yetiştiren Adam	Raif Özdenören
Bir Annenin Feryadı	Raif Cilasun	Mushaflar ve Bombalar	Ahmet Pakalın
Kutsal Çile	Raif Cilasun	Özgürlük Savaşçıları	Kıyamoğlu Sancaktar
Uzun Yürüyüş	Orhan Çam	Cevahir ile Sadık Çavuş'un Buğday Kamyonu	M. N.Sepetçioğlu
Ülker Fırtınası	Safiye Erol	Huzur Sokağı	Şule Y. Şenler
Ağlatan Notlar	Hüseyin Gedik	İdamlık Genç	Emine Şenlikoğlu
Ayasofya Dile Geldi	Durali Yılmaz	Bize Nasıl Kıydınız?	Emine Şenlikoğlu
Güller Ağlar Ülkemde	N. A.Gökdoğan	Müslüman Savaşçı	Sadık Tekin
Yalnız Değilsiniz	Üstün İnanç	Halkaların Ezgisi	Halime Toros
Minyeli Abdullah	Hekimoğlu İsmail	Konuş Yoksa	İskender Tutar
Kıbrıslı	Hüseyin Karatay	Senatörün Kızı	M.T. Uzunyaylalı
Çalınan Savaş	Hüseyin Karatay	Sabrın Suskun Sesi	M.T. Uzunyaylalı
Aslında Aşk Var	Şerife Katırcı		

CHAPTER 2

THE DEVELOPMENT OF TURKISH NOVEL AND THE CHARACTERISTICS OF ISLAMIC NOVELS

2.1. The Development of Novel in Turkey

Among the researchers interested in the subject, it is known that the Turkish novel is associated with the imitation of Western precedent and it is understood that there is no consensus about its historical origins. Argunşah referencing from Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, states that the sources of literature in 19th Century Turkish novels and other writings are Western Literature:

The first point that needs to be kept in mind when considering the Turkish novel is the fact that this genre was not born with a natural development of the existing story forms in the country but started as a new one replacing tradition. Novel as literary genre, comes to us from the outside. (Argunşah, 2006, p.24)

The genre, which originally emerged in the form of translation literature, then enhanced its own style and focused on issues specific to the society from which it originated.

The first copyrighted novels were located somewhere between the native narrative and the Western novels and were written with a realistic and humanistic approach as a return to the basic need of the new literature which

was an expression of the new lifestyle. The authors tried to construct a new way of life with a new literary genre in this period. In this regard, Namık Kemal in the foreword of his *Celal* novel gives the signs of seeking the literary taste that dismisses extraordinary lives while underestimating our traditional narrative form of *old wives' tales*. (Argunşah, 2006, p.29)

*Fancying*ⁱ is an important stop on the way from the traditional narrative genres to Western story and novel. Containing traces of Eastern literature such as, *One Thousand one Nights and One Thousand one Days*ⁱⁱ along with traits of *holly story telling*ⁱⁱⁱ and *Mesnevi*, it is the work of Aziz Efendi from Crete. (Oktay, 2011, p.1)

One of the most important stops on the threshold of the creation phase of the literature in the new life style of Turkish society is *Müsameretname* whose author is Emin Nihat Bey. The work began to be published in 1871 and was completed in 1875 as 12 fascicle.

The Turkish novelist of the Tanzimat period is well aware of the creation of a new genre. However, the pioneers did not confine themselves to the creation of a literary genre, but regarded the novel as a convenient means of shaping society. According to them, there was a crowd of people who had to be

ⁱ Muhayyelat

ⁱⁱ Binbir Gece ve Binbir Gündüz

ⁱⁱⁱ menakıpname

educated quickly so that they could keep up with the new civilization.

(Argunşah, 2006, p.29)

Among the prominent works of this period, Şemsettin Sami's *Love of Talât and Fitnat*ⁱ, which handles the life forms of the society with a critical approach in terms of personal freedom, the first historical novel Namik Kemal's *Cezmi* and Ahmet Mithat Efendi's *Eflatun Bey and Rakım Efendi* can be cited. In the latter, Ahmet Mithat exemplifies the first dandy type, which later will be used a lot, who belittles inheritance and his own civilization. (Alver, 2006, p.169-170)

As a reaction to the regime of intelligence, Sami Pasha Sezai's *Sergüzeşt* elaborates political repression prevailing in the Ottoman country after the Constitutional Monarchy and ends with suicide the of the protagonist -the poor *Dilber*- in the waters of the Nile. This is the death of a captive girl dedicated to freedom. (Argunşah, 2006, p.62)

The novel is regarded as the pioneer of the transition from romanticism to realism. During this period, Halit Ziya's *Blue and Black*ⁱⁱ and *Forbidden Love*ⁱⁱⁱ and Mehmet Rauf's *September*^{iv} novels, draw attention with their similar structures to contemporary fiction. The general character of the works, is the

ⁱ Taaşşuk-ı Tal'at ve Fitnat

ⁱⁱ Mai ve Siyah

ⁱⁱⁱ Aşk-ı Memnu

^{iv} Eylül

emphasis of the degeneration of relations in the Westernization process that started after the Tanzimat era. (Argunşah, 2006, p.84)

The novel of the second Constitutional Monarchy period is mainly mentioned together with *Wealth of Sciences*ⁱ magazine. The main issue of the period is the orientation of the masses through the position of positivist thinking in the face of traditional ways of life. Hüseyin Rahmi with his novels *A Marriage Under the Comet*ⁱⁱ and *Gulyabani*; Ahmed Rasim with his novel *Maybe I am Decieved*ⁱⁱⁱ and Ömer Seyfettin's novel *Harem* draws attention, where man symbolizes Turkish traditional style and woman symbolizes corruption but modernity. Osman Gündüz states that Ahmed Midhat's style, which devotes the novel to the benefit and education of the society, attracts attention among the epochal novelists. (Gündüz, 2006, p.121) According to the author, the Turkish novel after the II. Constitutional Monarchy should be evaluated in the context of the then-current ideology. The concern of establishing a nation through modernization exhibits itself in the novels that take place in the line and demonstrates all the features for a preparation to the Republican period. (Gündüz, 2006, p.126)

ⁱ Servet-i Fünun

ⁱⁱ Kuyruklu Yıldız Altında Bir İzdivaç

ⁱⁱⁱ Belki Ben Aldanıyorum

The First World War can be elaborated as a transition stage to the National Independence War ideology and Single Party Regime. According to Erol Köroğlu, the Turkish novelists who produced works between 1914-18 tried to understand and explain the events through the ideas of the people or the groups they belong to, since there was no hegemony to be able to withstand. The literary pieces of this period do not reflect the Western style of strong propaganda, but the efforts to create a painful *national unity*. (Köroğlu, 2016, p.7)

Doğan reports that between 1922 and 1976, approximately 30 novels were written dealing with the War of Independence. (Doğan, 1976, pp. 8-10) With the acceptance that the novels were fictionalized from the point of view of the Republican cadre intellectuals, the researcher nominates the works as *military officers'* novels and gives partial credit to Yakup Kadri, who is able to look at the subject with a relative mutuality. It should be remembered that Islamic novels had not yet emerged in this period. Kemalist novels about the War of Independence will be discussed in detail later in the thesis.

The question of the East-West conflict, covered in the Tanzimat novel, which exhibits utilitarian and pioneering functions to educate the society, seems to be shared between Kemalist cadres and nationalist/conservative groups after the proclamation of the Republic. The writers who supported the foundation of the Republic, defended Westernized remedies to the cultural

transformation of the society under the influence of positivism, while the effort to exalt the traditional values against the west was left to the part of conservatives. On the other hand, the idea of educating the ignorant society through literature found supporters between the two viewers. However, it should be stated here that the participation of the Islamic groups in the propaganda activities through literature coincided with a relatively late time period compared to the supporters of the Kemalist revolution.

According to Taner Timur, it is possible to divide the history of Turkish novel into two parts as Ottoman and Turkish ones. (Timur, 2002, p. 11.) Nevertheless, Demir -with inspiration from Murat Belge- points out to a periodic transition that can neither be read as a story of a complete break, nor as a continuity. The Republic had to make its break from the Empire, from which it wanted to separate in the cultural field; but paradoxically, it was impossible for it to completely distinguish from the structure it had come from. (Demir, 2011, p. 140)

The reckoning with this past that began in the early years of the Republic to eliminate the old order, so the creation of a national identity especially against the Ottoman congregation was emphasized by the novelists. Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu's *Mansion for Rent*ⁱ, Mithat Cemal Kuntay's *Three Istanbul*ⁱⁱ

ⁱ Kiralık Konak

ⁱⁱ Üç İstanbul

and Memduh Şevket Esendal's *The Heritage*ⁱ novels are among the literary works written for this purpose. (Timur, pp. 234-235.)

Yakup Kadri is one of the most remarkable writers of this period. The author's novel *Ankara*, covers a time of twenty years beginning from National Independence War and elaborates Atatürk's principles and revolutions in the scenery of the new Capital. In the novel, Ankara's three districts are identified in three different periods and with three different mindsets. The city, which was in a rural state during the war period and made almost no progress, gained a new meaning with the arrival of Mustafa Kemal. (Çelik, 2014, p. 106-107) According to author, *Ankara -experiencing negative and positive consequences of modernization efforts following the establishment of the Republic-* would begin to witness the ideal form of Atatürk's Turkey after the tenth year of the Republic.

If the exceptions are disregarded, *-as in the case of Yakup Kadri's Stranger*ⁱⁱ- it can be said that the image of *naive and pure* Anatolia is frequently used against the perception of *vicious* Istanbul in this period. However, the people of Anatolia should be redefined according to a positivist and ultimately Westernized mind and be freed from archaic traditions. *The Green Night*ⁱⁱⁱ

ⁱ Miras

ⁱⁱ Yaban

ⁱⁱⁱ Yeşil Gece

written by Reşat Nuri Güntekin has an important place in understanding the *towards the people*ⁱ approach adopted by the new government and the concern about the place of religion in the society. In this work, the author tells of an idealist Republican teacher's struggle against religious life in a village of Anatolia. (Haklı, 2008, p.186)

The special position of Falih Rifkı Atay in the process of the nation-building purpose of the Kemalist revolution must be pointed out. Funda Selçuk Şirin is of the opinion that Falih Rifkı demonstrates the characteristics of Gramsci's *organic intellectual* in terms of his relationship with the authority. (Şirin, 2010, p.147) As it is known, according to Gramsci, the substructure that constitutes the socio-economic field and the superstructure formed by political and ideological elements create a historical bloc in an organic integrity and the link between these two structures is provided by organic intellectuals who speak on behalf of the progressive classes. The role of organic intellectuals is to provide homogeneous self-awareness and create society in cultural, political and economic fields. The author's novels *Çankaya* and *Zeyindağı* may be evaluated in this context.

The observation-based reality conception in the early years of the Republic, gravitates towards socialist realism after 1930s. With the arrival of cost-effective goods from Europe, the dissolution of traditional production,

ⁱ halka doğru

problems of unemployment and migration from rural to big cities may be seen as themes in novels of this period. Sabahattin Ali's first novel *Yusuf from Kuyucak*ⁱ, bears the first example of the town novel. The author gives the social structure of a town by decorating it with a love story. After Yusuf from Kuyucak, in *Satan in Us*ⁱⁱ, the discussions between the intellectuals in Istanbul are conveyed in the decor of pre-World War II and in the *Madonna with Fur Coat*ⁱⁱⁱ, an intellectual's conflict with the social environment and his family are given. (Önertoy, 1998, p. 119)

With the 1940s, it is seen that social issues are studied more. During this period, as a result of the economic depression experienced during and after the Second World War and the issues regarding social mobility, the problems of the peasants are emphasized. It can be said that the *Village Institutes*^{iv} established during the Republican period served as an important source in the literature of the village which would reach its the peak in the 1970s.

Yaşar Kemal, -*who comes to minds first among the writers from rural*- started to write on Çukurova with his first novel, *Tin*^v and continued to tell about the local people's stories with his social bandit character *Thin Memed*^{vi}, adorned

ⁱ Kuyucaklı Yusuf

ⁱⁱ İçimizdeki Şeytan

ⁱⁱⁱ Kürk Mantolu Madonna

^{iv} Köy Enstitüleri

^v Teneke

^{vi} İnce Memed

with the characteristics of heroes in Turkish folk tales. Describing ukurova and its surroundings with its nature and living conditions, the author attributed importance to use of the local language of the region from which he came out.

Orhan Kemal mostly focused on the problems of bad straits and the effect of poverty on family life. The author's novels *Foreign Land Birds*ⁱ, *On Fertile Lands*ⁱⁱ, *Bloody Lands*ⁱⁱⁱ and *The Ragman and Sons*^{iv} should be mentioned here. Talip Apaydın and Fakir Baykurt are two important representatives of the village novels which deal with the system of exploitation in the village in the context of social issues such as poverty, land and water problems, religious beliefs and the phenomenon of migration from rural to cities. Fakir Baykurt has reached a wide audience with his novel *Revenge of the Snakes*^v.

Hasan İzzettin Dinamo is known for his eight volume book *Holy Rebellion*^{vi}. Starting from the First World War, this novel about the War of Independence, is completed by the seven-volume novel *Holy Peace*^{vii}. In his other novel, *Wars*

ⁱ Gurbet Kuşları

ⁱⁱ Bereketli Topraklar Üzerinde

ⁱⁱⁱ Kanlı Topraklar

^{iv} Eskici ve Oğulları

^v Yılanların Öcü

^{vi} Kutsal İsyân

^{vii} Kutsal Barış

*and Hungries*ⁱ he discusses the rich and the exploitation of the poor before and after the First World War. (Önertoy, 1998, p.125)

Kemal Tahir provides a rich seam of information for the subject of this thesis. The author's novel *The Law of the Wolves*ⁱⁱ, is worth to mention in terms of the diversity of subjects that are the source of the narrative. A number of arguments on the subject of İzmir Assassination, unionism, populism, revolutions, Independence Courtsⁱⁱⁱ, abolition of the Caliphate, İzmir Congress of Economics, Republican People's Party and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk constitute the main historical subjects of the work. (Sümbüllü, 2017, p.61)

In the novels published between the years 1970-1980, there is an increase in number and variety of subjects. It is understood that the political tension the country is in and the political coups experienced, provide a suitable basis for literary material. Abbas Sayar, Erol Toy, Oğuz Atay, Melih Cevdet Anday, Pınar Kür, Adalet Ağaoğlu and Sevgi Soysal are the leading novelists in this period.

Beginning from 1980s, it is witnessed that in many novels pre-September 12 episodes were given, the youth of the seventies was questioned, people's efforts to dominate their destinies, migration from rural to city and the impasse of the peasants in the city, are explained (Önertoy, 1998, p.133)

ⁱ Savaşlar ve Açlar

ⁱⁱ Kurt Kanunu

ⁱⁱⁱ İstiklal Mahkemeleri

Autobiographical novels are characteristic features of the era, while Orhan Pamuk, Ahmet Altan, Alev Alatlı and Buket Uzuner are among the prominent novelists of the period. Veli Uğur emphasizes that as a result of the repression and depoliticisation processes applied during and after the coup periods, Turkish novel declined to take social and political events as subject and turned its face to individualism and ultimately safe ports of popularity. (Uğur, 2012, pp. 421-427)

2.2. General Characteristics of Islamic Novels

Although it is thought that the total amount of works that may be collected under title of *Islamic Novel* is approximately 500, it is difficult to know the exact number since the processes of identification and categorization of Islamic novels is ultimately and inevitably a subjective one. Moreover, it is impossible to include each and every novel with religious references in the list since the works that are believed to fit in this category might comprise components incompatible with the typical understanding of Islam. For the latter group the some of the novels of Semiha Ayverdi, Münevver Ayaşlı and Safiye Erol, who may be accepted as the avantgardes of this type, can be cited. However, it is certain that different eras are marked by clustered works around similar topics over periods.

In the context of Islamic novels, there are different approaches regarding the naming. These publications are also known as *salvation novels*. The

nomination *salvation* arises from the typical pattern in which the fictional characters ultimately *find the true path*. While this is the determining format, there is no doubt that the fact of *individualized Muslimism*, which has made its presence felt since the second half of the 1990s, is open to different kinds of construction as well.

It is widely accepted that salvation novels rose in the late 1960s. Hekimoğlu İsmail's work, *Abdullah from Minye* and *The Peace Street* by Şule Yüksel Şenler are the earlier leading works of the genre. At this point it ought to be stated that the identification of the salvation novel in this study is regarded as a sub-genre of Islamic novel. There is no consensus on the set of definitions concerning either way of nomination, which makes it the researcher's duty to provide a certain definition. Salvation novels in which characters are transformed through their conflicts with *the other* are the quintessence of Islamic novels. Nevertheless, even though today same clichés are being repeated probably because commercial concerns, it should be emphasized that the genre still embodies historicity to a certain level.

Islamic novel, in contrast, is set in a wider framework. Islamic novels should be regarded as an umbrella genre in which characters consider the circumstances they are confronted with through a religious perspective, resulting in either acceptance or rejection. For instance, the salvation does not appear inevitably as in the works of the leading authors Samiha Ayverdi,

Münevver Ayaşlı, Safiye Erolⁱ or in the novels of successors such as Halime Toros and Ahmet Kekeç.

To some extent, it is possible to categorize Islamic novels under political fiction. The fact that they serve to the development of collective consciousness and are used as a tool of propaganda with their direct political messages interwoven into the plot indeed supports this claim. Apart from the coincidences that are unlikely to happen in real life, there is actually an effort to ensure verisimilitude in the construction of novels. On the other hand, especially the early salvation novels telling the stories of superficial characters that are incredibly consistent and tenacious, give the genre an air of a *Yeşilçam*ⁱⁱ melodrama. On this point, Erekli remarks the similar patterns among Şule Yüksel Şenler and Kerime Nadir:

Romantic love as the theme of popular literature appears in Kerime Nadir's and Şule Yüksel's novels. The theme of romantic love cannot go beyond the relationship between master and slave and prey and predator; the women that are objectivized / idealized in the context love affairs, re-create the sexual categorization and structure through the texts. (Erekli, pp. 102-103)

ⁱ The works of Safiye Erol, Münevver Ayaşlı and Samiha Ayverdi can be considered as the pioneers of Islamic novels, based on the search for serenity of the characters. However, these works do not convey the distinctive characteristics of the genre. In fact, they often offer their readers solutions that are considered problematic from a traditional Islamic perspective. In the Last Destination (Son Menzil), the married woman's love for her cousin; the mistress position of the main character in Three Daughters of Pertev Bey (Pertev Bey'in Üç Kızı) and the Nuran's solution brought to fore for the satisfaction of her sexual needs in The Pleiades Storm (Ülker Fırtınası) can be given as examples.

ⁱⁱ Turkish cinema

Inspired by Şerif Mardin, Ahmet Sait Akçay views salvation novels as the Islamic counterpart of the production of modernity. (Akçay, 2012, p.9) According to the author, this modernity is an alternative one that develops in the sense of belonging and does not rely on experience. In the classical salvation novel template, it is an inevitable cliché that the woman, who has previously been the object of sin, reaches the salvation as a result of her falling in love with the Muslim man. Bilal and Feyza in the Peace Street, Ata and Ebru in the *Senator's Daughter*ⁱ are the first examples that come to mind. In the early novels, the female body leads to *misdeed* through the desires -*perhaps the devil*- whereas the man symbolizes the master who -*through the divine aspirations*- leads to the *truth*. The young girl, grown up in a corrupted environment that is alienated from her essence but is disturbed from the inside out, meets the handsome and charismatic young Muslim man and becomes aware of the evil she is in. The male main character of the novel has to experience modernity in the milieu of the young girl. There may be two reasons for this: Firstly, the female character portrayed as bohemian, is confined to areas where he can encounter Muslim men. It is clear that the transformative function of a Muslim hero cannot be sufficiently emphasized if the author brings the characters together in a mosque or sect. The second dimension of the issue must be related to the expectations of the Islamic community regarding to social status. Indeed, the idealized Muslim men are

ⁱ Senatörün Kızı

not ignorant imams who confederate with the colonial order as in the Kemalist novels, but they appear as university students who aspire to climb the stairs of the social strata. The restoration of imams' dignity who were revealed to be bad characters against the bright village teachers in Kemalist novels, do not take precedence in the salvation novels. In the classical template, the boy enters the girl's domination area and transforms the girl right in that place. However, this transformation signifies an end rather than a process. In fairy tales, the expression *and they lived happily ever after*, is repeated by making the novel characters remain in salvation for the rest of their lives. This format is actually a cliché of the Yeşilçam melodrama. Akçay argues that even the left-wing literature is not able to free itself from this template. Sevgi Soysal's novel *A Noontime in Yenişehir*ⁱ, which tells the story of a young girl coming from a bourgeois family and chooses socialism, contains elements consistent with the above definition. (Akçay, 2012, p.13)

As a literary subtitle, it has been stated that the novel has difficulty finding a place for itself in Islamic circles. Unlike poetry which uses the path of the poetic rhetoric of the holy book of religion and the tradition of beautiful verbal pre-Islamic settlement on the Arabian Peninsula, the novel has received rather anti-literary views in Islamic segments. Esat Coşan, the successor of Zahit Kotku and the sheikh of the Nakshibendi İskenderpaşa Lodge, asserts

ⁱ Yenişehir'de Bir Öğle Vakti

that literature is *futile*. Based on the premise that giving life to the characters in the novels means attempting to create the power which belongs to Allah, Mehmet Metiner explains why it was previously deemed unsuitable by Muslims. (Çayır, 2015, p.30)

On the basis of Islamic novels, the aim of guiding the reader is to revive the *age of happiness* through individuals. The belief that individuals who have reached salvation *-when appropriate conditions are present-* can achieve eternal happiness together, shows itself in many works of the genre. In this sense, it can be said that Şenler's *The Peace Street* is actually a metaphor representing an Islamic state model that emulates the centuries-old period.

In the novels, the characters are bonded to single/low dimensional typologies by ignoring the existence of individual differences for collective guidance. Novel characters are the ones who cannot falter, make mistakes, or experience contradictions after salvation. When the characters are created within this framework, it is inevitable that the fictions are forced and often disconnected from the real life. At this point that the novelist has to resolve a dilemma. The common concern of Islamic novels is the effect of the reality experienced in literature by affecting the individual's world of thought. However, for the ultimate happiness message of the works, it is desirable that people should be freed from the problems of daily life and the individual solutions be developed against these problems as much as possible. Because

differentiation turns types into characters, the recently transformed characters do not evolve homogeneously to the masses living together. In other words, for the transformation of the person, the works must contain similar problems and sample answers similar to the life of the person, but after the salvation, the characters should turn into cartoon heroes. It is thought that these contradictory aims can only be reconciled with the existence of an ultimately virtual and to a certain extent permissible reality.

It is true that the literary aspects of Islamic novels are not strong. As the aim is not to leave a permanent work for the sake of art, this is not a problem for the reader. The genre, which essentially develops as an opposing movement, reminds of a melodrama from Turkish cinema with its concern for conveying a message.

Here it is useful to underline the importance of message concern. The authors feel themselves responsible for educating the reader and guiding them on the right path with their *ultimate cognizant* position. When the objective is determined in this way, no room is left for artistic concerns or entertainment. Indeed, Ahmet Lütfi Kazancı mentions that in the novel of *Mother-in-law Mrs. Münevver*ⁱ, there is not a single line in the novel for entertainment purposes.

(Kazancı, 2011, p.3)

ⁱ Kaynana Münevver Hanım

Many Islamic novels written beginning from the late 1960s, have been able to enter almost every house up to the remote corners of Anatolia, aiming to *protect* families from the damages of foreign publications by directing their children to relatively *safe territories*. However, considering the ultimate goals of political Islam, it can be seen that the real benefit expected from the novels is the formation of a Muslim community that is enchaind to a common ideological idea. In other words, it is possible to say that individualistic efforts to protect the youth and the wishes of establishing political unity may serve as interconnected goals. Akçay, with reference to Abdulkader Tayop's *reification concept*, believes that religion is instrumentalized for political purposes in the novels of this genre. (Akçay, 2012, p.12)

In the novels read, there exist no supernatural events that are experienced by real people. The reason why the surreal being or miraculous events frequently seen in television series that exhibit religious aspect do not exist in these pieces, can be explained by the desire to maintain the connection with real life. The 2000s were the years when the fairy-tale stories redesigned for the elders, were moved to the big screen more frequently and it is quite probable that the producers of religious serials wanted to appear in the same lane, even on different fronts. However, it is possible that surreal fictions in the series prepared by cinema techniques and consumed in a very short time, may threaten to destroy the perception of reality and consequently push the

target group out of guidance in the literary field which promises a longer-lasting relationship with the reader.

In terms of selected locations, it is possible to observe that the stories in the novels spread over a wide geographic areas. For the preferred venues in novels, Turkey takes the first place, while second row is allocated to the Western countries in which modernity can be experienced. Cyprus, Afghanistan, Egypt and Palestine are often included in the venues in accordance with the international political conjuncture, while the other Arab countries and the Far East are excluded. Diversified preferences in locations are said to constitute grounds for referring to Turkey's agenda. Hekimoğlu İsmail admits that his novel *Minyeli Abdullah* takes place in Turkey not Egypt, but he had to alter characters and the places due to the oppressive environment in the country at that time.

In order to construct the perception of reality mentioned above, synchronization of the story lines in with the orders of the present day is specifically preferred. However, temporal or locational inconsistencies are often encountered in the lives of the characters. For the sake of example, Abdullah from *Minye* reads Turkish passages from Said-i Nursi's *Risale-i Nur* in Egypt. (İsmail, 2016, pp. 33-36).

In Islamic novels, while economic problems are mentioned in the back story, capitalism itself is not generally targeted. Poverty is normalized as a test of

God and patience is advised to the reader as a remedy. As long as a person is grateful and patient, they will eventually climb the steps of social hierarchy. An anti-socialist stance prevails in all of the genre. However, this stance manifests itself through the criticism of atheism rather than an economic analysis. Atheism, as a product of Western-style bohemian life and associated with Marxist thought, is considered to be the main enemy to be fought against.

It is known that Islamic novels have turned from collective discourse to individual analysis since the late 1990s. Kenan Çayiroğlu's determination as mentioned above is adopted by many other researchers. The process, highlights a structure in which the Islamic community faces difficulties in maintaining its integrity as the participation in the society increases. The Muslim individual, who becomes liberated and differentiated to the extent that he participates in collective production, no longer seeks the solution of their specific problems in personal experiences, but in public discourses.

It is expected that individualization calls for differentiation and that differentiation entails criticism. The rigid and uncompromising characters of novels, left their places to new Muslim representations who could fearlessly confess their love or even their sexual desires. In this period, issues such as the religious marriage ritual, the position of the woman in the society and the illicit cohabitation, which were previously accepted or ignored without question, were also adopted into novel content.

CHAPTER 3

OFFICIAL AND ALTERNATIVE HISTORIOGRAPHY FROM THE POINT OF POLITICAL ISLAM AND ISLAMIC NOVELS

Colingwood, in his book *Idea of History*, states that his aim is to achieve a convergence between philosophy and history. According to the author, philosophy is self-reflection which is merely about thinking on itself but mostly concerning the vinculum of thought with the object. It is bounded to the object as well as thought. History is a special way of thinking such as theology or natural science, and the object of history is the actions of people in the past and its purpose is to know human in general. (Collingwood, 1996, p. 384) Accordingly, history is read with an ideological relativity framework and it gives examples from the past to the present. While the fact of thinking over the defined object connects history to the social sciences to some extent, the activity of thinking through the clues taken from the object renders the boundaries uncertain between history and philosophy. The historian is the person who initiated the search for the past from today and made inferences for the present based on their conclusions. When Colingwood's historical perspective is read in conjunction with the Annales School's approach, it turns

out that history is not solely an area of social sciences that examines what happened in the past.

Annales Magazine, founded in 1929 by Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre in France, became a school for French historiography and a new understanding of history writing. Annales School was established to develop a new approach to historiography that would provide cooperation with various social sciences such as sociology, economics, social psychology and anthropology, where the priority had been given to constitute collaboration with individual-oriented social disciplines, rather than pursuing old school chronological methods. (Yeğen, 2016, p. 26). Paul Connerton says that in the context of collective memory, it is possible that the factors of the past can influence or distort the present. Pursuant thereto, political elements are more dominant in the shaping of social memory and history is constructed as a process determined according to the parameters of the situation rather than reviving the events experienced by different people in the past. (Connerton, 1999, p. 98)

3.1. Formation Process of the Official History Discourse

The implication of ascribing various meanings to history apart from the discovery of what happened in the past can also be traced through the history education policies of the states. In fact, it should be emphasized that creating citizenship consciousness is a more essential target compared to purpose of teaching historical events. According to Yıldırım, the essence of the first

approach, which is classified under *non-disciplinary aims* of historical education, is about formation of civic awareness and identity transfer. While schooling the past, social and cultural values are highlighted in line with the aim of raising *appropriate* generations. Thus, the identity of the society is inherited to the students to establish a bond of belonging. (Yıldırım, 2014, p.64). The importance given to the history education in the eyes of the cadres of the new Turkish Republic should be evaluated in this context.

The Republican regime, which was declared in 1923, proposed a new model in terms of social construction procedure as well as governmental organization. While the new order renounced the imperial claim in favor of the nation state, it took a positivist perspective on the mutual relationship between the state and the citizen and determined Turkish citizenship as a common denominator. The constitution of social structure through civic consciousness, made it necessary to loosen the ties of the religious community system which may adequately serve as a building block for the imperial systems. Accordingly, what is needed to keep the nation-state alive is not the ummah-based Muslim brotherhood but the idealistic unity of the Turkish citizens who turn their faces to Western modernity.

The cadres of the new Republic began to define themselves first by expressing what they were not. Yıldırım states that in order for individuals to position their places in the community, the concept of *the other -who carries all*

negative values- is needed and the identity of *us* is formed as a result of this negative construction mechanism. Thus, identities are positioned through the *otherness* which is converted into a tool and the individuals define themselves on the basis of continuity, integrity and differentiation by means of this conversion procedure. (Yıldırım, 2014, p.64).

The Turkish History thesis was implemented as part of a multi-dimensional transformation plan, prepared by the positivist ruling bloc of the state to address the social memory of *the faithful* Turkish youth. The movement was led by a core cadre of intellectuals gathered under the entity *Turkish Organization Association*ⁱ, such as Afet İnan, Yusuf Akçura, Reşit Galip, Samih Rifat and Yusuf Ziya. Akman thinks that in the period between 1929 and 1937, the exclusion and scorn of the West world towards the Turkey was confronted by *Turkish History Thesis*ⁱⁱ which was stating that the Turks were the people that created great civilizations throughout the history. According to the author, the aim was to make the *Turk* proud of their ancestry and glorious past and thus to place a sacred Turkish identity at the center of official historiography. (Akman, 2011, p.83) It should also be said that this view has a pragmatic aim of emphasizing the possession of the territory by extending the Turkish presence in Anatolia to ancient times, as the country was substantially

ⁱ Türk Ocağı

ⁱⁱ Türk Tarih Tezi

uninhabited as a result of the mutual population exchanges after the War of Independence. The researches on the origin of Sumerians can be elaborated in this context. Görücü reports that during this period, the Seljuks were put forward in order to loosen the ties with the Ottoman Empire. (Görücü, 2009, p. 140)

From this point of view, the Ottoman sultans are fond of their comfort, the ulema class prevents advancement, education system is in a vacuum, status of the women is well below from that of Western equals whereas bigoted domestic forces and almost the whole world constitutes of internal and external threads to independence of the country. Therefore, the dignity of the new order should be appreciated and citizens should league together against the ideal of the Republic.

It is worth to state that the aforementioned history education policy continued during the *Republican People's Party*ⁱ period and after Atatürk. Çapa is of the opinion that this period, which stands out with the rallies of science and education congresses, is separated from the education policies of the previous period with the emphasis on humanism. (Çapa, 2017, p. 133)

Official History texts offer profound material for those interested in ideological analyses. Whether these texts reflect exactly what happened in

ⁱ Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP)

history, has relatively negligible importance in the context of ideological readings. İlhan Tekeli draws attention to this situation:

...Even though official histories do not reflect historical truth efficaciously, they have become a reality by themselves. These texts have become documents that need to be examined in order to demonstrate how national ideology is established. They have formed a reality in this respect. (Tekeli, 2007, pp. 35-36)

Obviously, any text that claims to shed light on history will not tolerate the questioning of the truth expressed by her. Nevertheless, even in cases where the link between the text and actual experience is weak, it is still necessary to determine the specific position of the argument in terms of examining the socio-ideological consequences and to question the ground-forming function for the formation of the counter-theses. It can be said that official history theses endeavor to reach the masses through literary texts as well as other tools of history education. At this stage, it would be appropriate to look at the two-way reflection between historical novels and the history thesis, which coincided with the foundation period of the Republic.

3.2. The Affinity between Official History and Historical Novel

Şimşek uses the metaphor of *photography* and *painting* when he talks about the educational functions of historical novels. According to the author, while the historian takes photographs of events, the historical novelist paints a scene of historical characters, events or phenomena with his own expression and perspective. The style and interpretation of the artist is very evident in

the drawing. In the photograph, although it seems as if the image is the closest to the truth or the photograph reflects the reality as a mirror image, the photographer's perception of world is reflected in the work, as a result. (Şimşek, 2006, p. 69) In the previous subheading, mostly subjective and ultimately ideological dimensions of history writing and history education process were pointed out. It is clear that every photographer reflects his own artistic understanding to his works through filter, choice of venue, angle of shooting and other technological means. The historians reveal their intellectual preferences in the direction of his own ideological formation, through the historical materials they choose or exclude and through the composition of the selected historical materials. The historical novelist, however, is more fortunate than the historians to act independently. Çelik emphasizes that the history eroded by the historian in the first hand, enters a second change in the historical novel filter which is called *fiction*. The novelist takes the material composed by the historian, creates a fiction, fulfils the black spots and presents the historical material to the attention of the readers. (Çelik, 2002, p.49) During the emplotment process, historical novelist brings past experiences to the present over the heroes of the novel. For this reason, the names one knows from history books are carried into life through literary texts. The reader's level of appreciation for novel fiction is directly proportional to the abundance of identities or similarities between their life and the atmosphere of the novel. The historical novelist has the comfort of

filling the gaps in or between historical texts as they wish and may even reflect the historical events counterfactually. Depictions about venue, details of daily life routine and complementary narratives that are not found in historical sources provide the basis for the permanent presence of the novel subject in the mind of the reader. For example, when comparing the novels of the Ottoman era, Çelik states that Kemal Tahir in *Benevolent State*ⁱ prefers rice for the food that Kayı tribe had eaten; where Tarık Buğra opts for casserole in *Little Osman*ⁱⁱ. (Çelik, 2002, p.54)

Historical novels, which have a significant advantage over official history theses in terms of the opportunity to address the level of consciousness and emotion, played an active role in the function of social transformation together with official history theses. The flexible structure of novels, their ability to set an exemplary level and their potential to reach all parts of society -as well as the young population in education- are among the factors that create this advantage.

The cadres that founded the Republic received support from historical novels during their efforts to establish national identity through the enlightened Kemalist ideology. Güneş tells that in popular love novels of the era, the concepts of *national grace* and *national morality* seen in canonical literature,

ⁱ Devlet Ana

ⁱⁱ Osmancık

have been replaced by the concept of *civilized morality*, which arises from the civilized interpretation of the body and is formed by the class pride of the bureaucratic elite. (Güneş, 2005, p.93)

The presentation of Islamic historical novels under this title exhibits some difficulties. Primarily, it is obligatory to point out the differences in style and content created by writing time in narratives. As it is known, the emergence of salvation novels dates to the periods long after the single party authority. For the moment, it would be more accurate to associate Islamic historical novels with the alternative history writing efforts to the official history thesis.

3.3. On Political Islam in Turkey

According to Silverstein, the differentiation in the late Ottoman Empire of specifically Islamic regimes of knowledge and power from other kinds of knowledge was the onset of a process, solidified in the Republic after 1923, whereby Islam came to be increasingly *privatized*, increasingly defined as having to do with private belief, personal choice and domestic affairs. The Republican state made a conscious project of this privatization, which is the core issue around which the *modality* of Turkish modernity has been elaborated. For such a project, the institutionalization of a private/public distinction and the locating of Islam as a matter of personal, private choice, are taken to be an index of the presence of political modernity in Turkey. (Silverstein, 2007, pp.20-21)

Unsurprisingly, Republican People's Party's point of view was not shared by the Islamic sect. The religiously oriented voters have formed the backbone of the center-right parties. In the 1970s, political arena was ripe enough to allow autonomy for the representation of the religious interests articulated first by the *National Order Party*ⁱ and later by the *National Salvation Party*ⁱⁱ which played a key role in the repoliticization of Islam by enlarging the channels of political representation. (Yıldız, 2003, pp.1-2)

The government of Turgut Özal, who came to power after the coup of 1980, took advantage of the unorganized opposition and stepped forward to introduce all the institutions of capitalism to Turkey to integrate into the rest of the capitalist world. In this period, when the entry of international capital into the country was permitted, the state began to withdraw from many areas of the economy with the privatization practices. This also meant giving up on the *social state approach*, even if the effectiveness of the one in Turkish example was controversial.

With the downsizing of the state, it did not take long to populate the emerging area by other organizations. It can be assumed that the narrowing of the definitions of the public sphere and the social state, had played a certain role in explaining the increasing influence of the sects after the 1980s and the

ⁱ Milli Nizam Partisi

ⁱⁱ Milli Selamet Partisi

reasons for the rapidly increasing congregation practice within the Islamic segment.

The Islamic movement, had not been strengthened individually and sufficiently to emerge on its own behalf and account. For this reason, it was content with forming an important wing of a coalition established under the roof of the *Motherland Party*ⁱ. The formation of the coalition benefitted from the fact that people who were tired of the terrorist environment were seeking reconciliation. Moreover administrators of the coup had forbidden the other representatives of the movement from political participation.

Bayramođlu states that this era witnessed the differentiation in the structure of the proletarian class, new economic actors from small and medium-sized enterprises with their demands for the change of the extremely monopolistic economic structure disqualifying them from the market which led them to politicize accordingly. (Bayramođlu, 2001, p.35)

*The Welfare Party*ⁱⁱ became the locus of the populist version of political Islam as the Motherland Party began to lose power. According to Ahmet Yıldız, the Welfare Party was a protest movement; it successfully mobilized the reactions of those voters who saw themselves deprived by the privileged class of the

ⁱ Anavatan Partisi

ⁱⁱ Refah Partisi

so-called white Turks. Party's discourse of *just order*ⁱ was a turning point for Political Islam movement in Turkey.

The discourse of just order was not a directly religious one. The core audience of the *just order* was mainly an entire class of the deprived. The fact that Welfare Party targeted such an audience by instrumentalising Islamic idioms and symbols in its political campaigns and that it defined the establishment as having an anti-religious form of laicism was used as a pretext by the military elite for the military coup in 1997, also known as *February 28 process*. (Yıldız, 2003, p.2)

It may be said that the struggle of the Islamic circles for opening up to the public realm is the subject of Turkey's fundamental conflict in the last half century. Even though the beginning of the debate on the headscarf has a long history, the conflicts have intensified over time and changed dimension in the last 30 years. The February 28th era *-on which the debate is still ongoing-* is probably the climax of opposition.

In the 1990s' Turkey, there were serious differences between the definitions of the Republican cadres and the conservative groups regarding the separation of religion and public sphere. The secular group understood the concept of secularism as the prevention of religious interference in political area where religious conservatives tended to interpret the concept as liberalization of religion from politics. Metin Heper summarizes the demands of the Welfare Party from secularity:

What they wish to change is the particular conception of secularism that the founders of the Republic instituted in Turkey's constitutions and laws-the

ⁱ Adil Düzen

separation of religion from politics and the control of religion by the state so that it would not develop retrogressively and challenge the secularist democratic principles upon which the Republic was established. The Welfare Party argues that, in true secularism, not only is the state autonomous from religion, but religion, too, is autonomous from the state. (Heper, 1997, p.43)

The expectation of the conservative circle was that a compromise could be achieved between Islam and democracy if the secular sector gave up its imposing attitude. This was, according to Metin Heper, a precondition for a liberal economy, an open society, and a liberal democratic polity.

A marriage between Islam and democracy in Turkey can be consummated if the radical secularists stop trying to impose their preferred life-style and set of values upon the Islamists, and if the latter do not attempt to undermine by word or deed the basic tenets of the secular democratic state in Turkey. A critical mediating role may be played by the moderate secularists whose numbers are on the increase. If these conditions obtain, and there is reason to think that they may, the Turks can indeed manage to achieve what Lewis thought they could: "a liberal economy, an open society, and a liberal democratic polity." (Heper, 1997, p.45)

In this regard, it is possible to view February 28 as the resistance displayed by the typical hegemony against the nascent competitive socio-economic power that was in the process of inclusion in the historical bloc. Likewise, *Justice and Development Party*ⁱ may be considered as the product of the Anatolian capital that moved from the *periphery* of the system to the *center* of it during this conflict.

ⁱ Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi

Justice and Development Party founded in 2001 by members of a number of existing conservative parties, has won pluralities in the six consecutive legislative elections. Ergun Özbudun concludes that the party successfully rebuilt the Özal's Motherland Party coalition, bringing together former center-right voters, moderate Islamists, moderate nationalists, and even a certain segment of the former center-left. (Özbudun, 2006, p.546)

As it is known, political Islam's struggle for self-acceptance in the public sphere has come a long way since 2002, when the Justice and Development Party came to power. For today, there are not many goals to be achieved in terms of political participation. In the context of bureaucratic guardianship, new arguments are not often encountered in the debate on secularism. Undoubtedly, the accusations of *otherification* and *alienation* can still be found in the literature of political propaganda. However it may be accurate to comprehend the demands of participation in terms of social accretion.

In the past 18 years, the Justice and Development Party has appeared as the primary political force in Turkey and introduced new policies in almost every areas of life. However, the process of execution and the targeted consequences of the policies are subject to different interpretations from the point of the counter parties. It is clear that more time is required to determine whether the outcomes will comply with the projected results or not.

3.4. Quest for Alternative History: Conservative Historiography

In the previous sub-headings, it has been stated that the process of identity construction relies upon the marginalization and that the persistence of the group is ensured through the positive characteristics while negative characteristics are employed to create the perception of internal and external threat. Shunning the old, the new deal had to make the difference visible in order to distinguish itself as well as allowing the society to internalize the new values.

Biletska and his fellows read the clothing reform in this relativity. (Biletska, Şahin & Şükür, p.104) Adjustments directly affecting the daily lives of people were supposed to realize the radical distinction between the old and the new.

The most concrete manifestation of this purpose is reflected in the efforts to construct the Republic woman. Güneş is of the opinion that the reconstruction of woman as the leading pillar of the modernization project plays a crucial role. Accordingly, the female body that has gotten out of veil and put on a lady's suit and a hat instead is the most important proof of the disengagement from the past, indicating civilization. This would later expose the different parties of the subject to the everlasting discussions around veiling. While the covering of female body is considered to be the most important indication of morality in conservative ideologies, the purification of

woman from the uncivilized symbols is just as important for the modernist discourse. (Güneş, 2005, p.47)

It was inevitable for the aforementioned marginalization and transformation attempts to give rise to opposition or heighten the already present conflict. It is known that Islamic circles resisted Kemalism due to its reforms they considered as interventions in daily private life. When the two views clash, it is seen that Islamic circles try to respond to all of the discourses of the Kemalist regime on the same level but with completely opposing arguments.

The situation is similar when it comes to official history too. The argument for official history has created a basis for evaluation and response for its alternative as well. Çelikel states that alternative historiography asserts its own historical reality by criticizing official history yet at the same time it cannot completely detach from official history. According to the author, the opposition requires political power to assert itself. In order to get that, nonofficial historiography often end ups having to adhere to an ideology and renders historiography a tool of itself by denying that ideological orientation the purpose of historical realism. (Çelikel, "academia.edu", 2019, pp.2-5)

From this point of view, alternative historiography, ultimately aims to rally supports in ideological relativism like official historiography does, seeing no harm in adopting the exact methodology of what it challenges. Ayçiçek interprets the nationalist-conservative theses produced outside of the field

where Republic discourse is produced as the challenges to Kemalism as the official ideology. (Ayçiçek, 2019, pp.197-212)

The roots of the idea that would later be formulated as Turkish-Islamic synthesis have been seen in the works of relatively conservative authors such as Peyami Safa, Hilmi Ziya Ülken, İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu and Mustafa Şekip Tunç since the 1930s. However, the maturing of the intellectual structure corresponds to the 1960s when there were more free discussion atmosphere compared to the one-party period. In the intellectual plan, *Turkish Culture Research Institute*ⁱ (TKAI) has an important place in the formation of the Turkish-Islamic synthesis idea. According to Aydın, the most important reference of the Turkish-Islamic historiography was the *exerting dominance over the world*ⁱⁱ that became the leading opinion in the discourse of the Nationalist Frontⁱⁱⁱ governments before the September 12 coup and in the cultural field of the dominant politics after that date. According to this view, there is a direct harmony between the ideal world order considerations and universal moral understanding of Turks, who did not lose their identity upon entering the Islamic circle, rather crowned their superior qualities developed throughout history with Islam and became the accepted representatives of this religion all over the world. In Turkish history, the awareness of

ⁱ Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü (TKAE)

ⁱⁱ Türk Cihan Hâkimiyeti Mefkûresi

ⁱⁱⁱ Milliyetçi Cephe (MC)

Turkishness and the phenomenon of Islam are two *-not conflicting but overlapping-* important concepts. The Turks, who chose Islam as a religion, served as the flagship of this religion, while Islam protected the identity of Turkishness from being evanesced. Aydın thinks that the idea of Turk-Islam synthesis rejects the universal understanding of history since history is the march of the culture, cultural attitudes, lifestyle and cultural potential peculiar to a nation throughout the ages. This peculiar history distinguishes itself from the other national histories and progresses towards its own, ultimate destination. (Aydın, 1997, p.138)

Although the contributions of the pioneers to the formation of the Turkish-Islamic synthesis cannot be denied, the special position of the *Intellectuals' Hearth*ⁱ should be pointed out. The main argument of the magazine is that the Republican guardianship institutions have expired and therefore the forced acts structured by the Kemalist regime should be terminated. It is useful to remember that the main assertions in the guardianship debates will be brought back to the agenda by Justice and Development Party through the metaphors of *real representatives of the nation* and *forceful minority in charge isolated from their own people and relay upon external powers*. Every artificial texture produced in the process of modernization and is external to its society, requires forced practices and alienated groups of the nation's values,

ⁱ Aydınlar Ocağı

to regenerate itself. Turkish-Islamic synthesis points out the insistence of the *concrete* and *organic* against the *impracticable* and *artificial* in a sense. (Ayçiçek, 2019, p.206)

It can be understood that alternative conservative historiography is, in its structure, reactive to universality. Ultimately, Turkish conservatism is based on the reaction to Kemalist revolution which has clearly nothing to do with pan-Islamism or monarchy. It is seen that the negated universal integration-oriented Kemalist discourse was used to establish the counter identity. In addition, Ayçiçek draws attention to the anti-humanist and anti-communist dimensions of thought. (Ayçiçek, 2019, p.207) Communism is separated from its economic and intellectual background and roughly reduced to atheism in Islamic novels. However, it should be emphasized that the anti-communist point of view is a common denominator among conservatives and nationalists.

It is seen that the front against the cadres establishing the Republican regime glorified the Ottoman Empire, which was deteriorated by the Republican intelligentsia. The Ottoman period is the main factor that gives the Turkish right a sense of place, position and value.

In the context of Islamic historiography, a special parenthesis is required for Necip Fazıl Kısakürek. Alternative historical arguments which would be widely used by the Islamic segment were first expressed or formulated by him to be

presented to the public. Contrary to the official history discourse, Necip Fazıl claims that Sultan Vahdettin is the one who initiated the War of Liberation. In his book *Vahidüddin*, it is told that Mustafa Kemal is sent to Anatolia with a large amount of money by the Sultan. According to the author, Sultan Vahdettin showed an opposing stance against the Independence War in the eyes of the public, only for the success of the liberation movement but after the triumph, he was forced to leave his beloved homeland. (Kısakürek, 2012) Additionally, in another work written by the author about Sultan Abdülhamit II., *-whose policies are not appreciated among the Republican cadres due to the oppression environment of his reign-* restoring the reputation of the Sultan was aimed. (Kısakürek, 2003)

Uncompromising face of Kemalism *-Gökalp's no individual, but society, no rights, but duty discourse for instance-*, reshaped the public sphere via cultural policies and restricted subsistence and propagation possibilities of the values and identities (religion and tradition) that would turn crowds into a society. (Ayçiçek, 2019, p.209)

Another striking element in the alternative conservative history perspective, is the emphasis on the necessity of building family and community values against universal integrationist policies that disrupt the social structure. Accordingly, *local and national culture needs a local and national educational substructure.*

Here, it is useful to briefly mention the impact of Islam's canonical texts on Islamic historiography. As is known, in Islamic texts the term *nation* is used to express religious differentiation rather than ethnicity. It includes the claim of being different from the outside world, but homogeneous within the Islamic community by means of its internal content. The resemblance of Muslims to the bricks of a wall emphasizes both the solidarity among the Muslims of the world and the indifference of one person from the other in terms of both individual and ethnic origin. The unchanging approach of individual and social laws of the Islamic faith makes the differences of interpretation of historical events relatively insignificant. However, it is difficult to say that the historical way of thinking that influenced state chroniclers until the last times of the Ottoman Empire had a conspicuous impact on the history writing experiences of Islamic nation states in the 20th century.

It can be said that Arab nationalism, which was affected by Israel's expansionism and followed İzzet Derveze as an opinion leader, has a certain perspective against the Ottoman Empire era and also aims to create *a sui generis* historiography model. Nevertheless, it is considered that this issue falls outside the scope of the thesis subject.

Here, Sabri Ülgener, who underlines the role of mentality in the construction of social identity through legitimacy, has to be mentioned. According to Ülgener, the mentality is a sequence of rules built as a result of a commitment

to a set of value provisions. An important point regarding the nature of the mentality in the functioning of this line is the question of *legitimacy*. The other is to believe that certain values and convictions are the right thing for subjects and to build provisions to establish this belief. The mentality is the expression of the rules and rules that are repeated to most hearts in order to convince themselves and others to justify the value provisions adopted in that direction and to keep the attention alive at this point. (Şirin, 2017, pp. 239-258)

Özgültekin mentions a project based on the transformation of the definition of national identity, based on the Justice and Development Party and claims that it is a construction different from the restoration idea of September 12th. (Özgültekin, 2019, p.49) In the party discourse, it is understood that plenty of ideological materials were borrowed from the corpus of Turkish-Islamic synthesis, and it is clear that the emphasis on *Turkishness* is kept in the background compared to Islamism. However, it is quite difficult to say that an Islamic historical perspective was created in this period.

Şimşek and Pamuk predict that it cannot be written for a long time in the form of the introduction of individual and group histories in the opposite direction of *history as a narrative* approach which problematically emerges from today's historiography and adopts a rather micro and particulate treatment. (Şimşek, A. & Pamuk, A, 2019, pp.21-26) Apparently, it is necessary to wait

some more time to observe reflections on the historiography of postmodernism in Turkey.



CHAPTER 4

CALLS FOR COLLECTIVE AWAKINING: BUILDING UP THE IDENTITY

Alver considers literature to be one of the most significant building blocks in the process of acquiring an identity by a society. A nation sees and observes itself in literature, from the communication it has with its past, to its expectations from the future as well as the kind of life experience it exhibits today. The idea that *every literary piece defends a certain view of the world, conviction, doctrine or ideology or reacts to them* portrays literature as a conscious endeavor. Literature seeks to shape the society's life and provide the people with an identity and thus create a new plane of life. (Alver, 2006, p.35)

It was previously stated that both official history and Islamic historiography which purports to provide an alternative to it rely on the *other* for the construction of itself. Accordingly, the identification of one's own stand meant knowing what one was not in the first place. In this sense, a thick wall of thought was required to separate the Kemalist regime from the masses in pursuit of an Islamic order, just like the one the Kemalist ideology put up

between itself and the Ottoman. Islamic novels may be said to have followed the same path so as to construct a native and national identity as well.

4.1. Criticism of the Kemalist Order

Kemalism and the institutions of the Republic seem to have been defined as the objects of marginalization in Islamic novels which aim to restore the society in accordance with the order of Islamic life. While there is a shift of emphasis and style in the novels published since *The Peace Street*, there is a general agreement on anti-Kemalist perspective. Nevertheless, the founder of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, is not targeted directly and yet the contrast reflected in between the lines is still communicated to the audience. The institutions of the Republic are criticized, although they are rarely associated with the actions of particular people. Instead, corrupt practices are subtly shown to be attached to the general mindset. In almost all of the plots, there are collective crimes whose actors are actually known to the audience but left as unidentified. Şenler communicates with the audience on this matter with a great sadness:

Isn't this system to blame for the degeneration of our society, which was once deeply loyal to its essential identity, religion, verses and traditions? Our hometown has completely gone astray; people have been alienated from Islamic way of living and its principles. Should a peaceful, clean, quiet town complying with Islamic edict exist anywhere... They'll make sure that it will also end up like other corrupt towns and cities... By building modern residences through the establishment of a military or civilian facility and filling it with ladies with miniskirts, as well as officers and servants brought to the big city, who are heavy drinkers and gamblers themselves, with no

sentimentality. Or, they'll found a girls institute, -supposedly for educational purposes –as the perfectly effective solution. They will appoint a nonspiritual lady who wears make-up but no veil and has no sentimentality as a schoolmistress, along with male teachers that are enemies of the religion”ⁱ. (Şenler, 2008, p.55)

The anonymization of the faults is closely linked to the authors' concern for the future. In the preface of the 96th edition of Abdullah from Minye Hekimoğlu İsmail says: “The original title of the book is Abdullah from Ankara”ⁱⁱ, but if I had told that the story took place in Ankara instead of Egypt and actually used the name Ömer Okçu, I would be in jail for at least 10 years.” In the novel, Minyeli Abdullah ends up in prison and is sentenced to death, supposedly for reading books but actually for being a Muslim, which indicates Hekimoğlu İsmail's concern for himself. Likewise, Eroğlu views fear of sentence to be a factor which leads writers to fiction. The researcher asserts that having seen other authors arrested for their political views, poetry and writings since the foundation of Turkish Republic, which is claimed to rest on the principles of democracy and modernity, authors might have had to hide behind fiction. More importantly, there is the possibility of the intention of

ⁱMemleketimiz bir baştan bir başa hep bu sistemle asli vechesini kaybetmiş, dinine, örf ve ananelerine sınıksız bağlı olan halkımız hepsi bu sistemle İslami prensip ve yasayışlarından uzaklaştırılarak bozunup dejenere edilmiş değil miydi? İslami emirlere riayetkâr, tertemiz, sakin bir kasaba mı mevcuttur bir köşede? Oranın da bozulmuş kasaba ve şehirler gibi olmasını temin etmek için askeri veya sivil herhangi bir tesis kurularak inşa edilen modern lojmanlarda hanımları kızları mini etekli, kendileri içkici ve kumarıcı olan büyük şehirden getirilmiş maneviyatsız memur ve müstahdemler oturtulur. Veya en mükemmel ve tesirli çare olarak genç kızları eğitime ismi altında oraya bir Kız Enstitüsü kurulur. Okulun başına açık saçık makyajlı, maneviyatsız ve mukaddesat düşmanı bir müdüre hanım ile ... din iman düşmanı erkek hocalar tayin edilir.

ⁱⁱ Ankaralı Abdullah

assigning a different meaning to the aforementioned historical period through literature as a reaction to the different narrative of the official history regarding the same era. (Eroğlu, 2013, p.15)

The depiction of the degenerate Kemalist order appears to be indispensable to Islamic novels. Especially the earlier authors of salvation novels tend to associate the group they marginalized with evil without even attempting to establish a causal relation, which challenges common sense. On the other hand, they *save* a female character from that hell by making her fall in love with another male character while leaving the rest to divine justice still present in the world.

The general perspective is that Muslims are good because they are Muslims, and those who advocate the Western-like Republic are bad people because of their thoughts. Those who advocate the organizations of the order are applying the forms of immoral behavior *-borrowed from the bad guys of Yesilçam-* on young girls who are traditionally Muslim, pure and clean, but not enlightened enough with Islamic consciousness. Traditional pure Muslims often end up regretting for not having met political Islam, resulting in suicide. The examples of the subject are too much, and even the works which do not use this classic template are exceptions. For instance, in *The Peace Street*, a naive, Anatolian girl called Zeynep goes to a poetry recitation with her friends from university and drinks alcohol because she cannot resist to her insistent

friends. As can be predicted, she is raped by her friend who drugged her drink. When she regains consciousness, she finds a note scoffingly saying: *Merci*. Zeynep will pay for her mistake in a few days by jumping into the sea from Sarayburnu. (Şenler, 2008, pp. 25-28) Another example can be found in the novel by M. Talat Uzunaylalı, *The Daughter of the Senator*, in which the youth of the order is again deprived of its core values. The plot of the novel is similar to that of *The Peace Street*, but this time Bilal and Feyza are replaced by Ebru and Ata. As the guy must go to the woman's place for the meeting, the background of the story is again a university environment. While trying to seduce Ata (Uzunaylalı, 1986, pp. 20-21) Ebru expresses herself with an obscene language one normally does not encounter in Islamic novels. After having reached the salvation in the next chapters, Ebru blames a procurer for being as dishonorable as Western thinkers and considers the intelligentsia praising the West equally despicable. (Uzunaylalı, 1986, p. 90) The male protagonist of the novel, Ata, expresses the following regarding the order:

The new little states built on the territory of the Ottoman Empire, which was demolished by the West, always fit the west where the message came from, almost as if they were satellites. This embarrassing situation continues with all the violence today. The Eastern civilization was the collective name of the values that made us who we were, but Western revolutions cut the veins and the arteries among us. Our personality was, at this point, different from the others. Today, we are unskilled with no personality, no difference and this goes back to the fact that we changed our civilization¹. (Uzunaylalı, 1986, p.85)

¹Batının yıktığı Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun toprakları üzerinde kurulan yeni devletçikler, hep dışarıya mesajın geldiği batıya uymuş, adeta onların birer uydusu olmuştur. Bu yüz kızartıcı

Finally, the parenthesis will be closed by reminding of the advice given to students by their teacher, Necla, who is depicted as the *advocator of the system* in *The Cypriot*. She suggests that, being modern, students have fun, get close with the opposite gender and follow their instincts by living as they please so that they will not experience sexual problems. (Karatay, 1972 p.96)

The efforts of the official history to create unity through internal and external adversaries have been mentioned. It is understood that some of the efforts of othering included the establishment of a relationship between the enemy and Kemalism as a result of which the Republican ideology was deemed equivalent to *infidel*. In *The Cypriot*, Mehmet Salih has a very harsh assessment about the teachers of the education system in Turkey.

We want our young people to be virtuous. Be Muslims. But they're being instilled the English, Greek way of living instead. Look at him, he's not a teacher, he's a British spy. Look at him, his birth certificate states his religion to be Islam, and yet he oppresses the students who pray. Are they receiving money from the British to work against Islam? What the hell are they doing? These bastards are outright spies. Why would he be hostile to his own nation's beliefs unless he were a spy"ⁱ (Karatay, 1972, p.36)

durum bugün de tüm şiddetiyle devam ediyor. Batılı devrimler ile aramızdaki atar ve toplardamarları kesilen Doğu medeniyeti, bizi biz eden değerlerin adıydı. Kişiliğimiz diğerlerinden farklılığımız bu noktadaydı. Bugün kişiksiz farksız ve vasıfsız isek bu medeniyet değiştirmemizde yatmaktadır.

ⁱ Biz istiyoruz ki, gençlerimiz faziletli olsun. Müslümanca yetişsin. Onlar, İngiliz, Rum yaşayışını aşıyorlar. Adama bak, öğretmen değil sanki İngiliz casusu. Adama bak, hem nüfus cüzdanında Müslüman yazıyor hem namaz kılan talebelere baskı yapıyor. İslamiyet aleyhine çalışmak için İngilizler'den para mı alıyorlar? Ne halt yapıyorlar? Namussuzlar düpedüz casus. Casus olmazsa kendi milletinin inançlarına düşman olur mu?

Although the founder of the Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, is not directly targeted, an example may be given from the novel, *Cypriot*, to help with the location of references. According to a Greek newspaper, in an enosis rally in Greece, people respond to their silence in front of the Venizelos statue which is described by Mehmet -*the protagonist*- as *ignorance*. According to Mehmet, there is no difference between the ancient Hellene, who once worshipped the idols of Zeus, Athena, Apollo, Aphrodite, and the Greeks in the twentieth century who deified statues. The men beg to help from the statue for the annexation Cyprus, which is beyond ignorance, stupidity and bigotry. (Karatay, 1972, pp. 72-73).

The cynical approach to the Republic and its institutions seems unchanged. However, it is possible to talk about the style getting harsher as time passes by. The Islamic sect, who is accused of bigotry, sets up the defense of the opposite party on the claim of ignorance by saying that *Abu Jahil is dead, but his mentality continues in the Zeyneb of Time*ⁱ. (Alpat, 2017, p.45) In the new period, it is clear that the issues that have not been expressed often before, have begun to find themselves a place in the agenda. For example, in the aforementioned novel, *The Kemalist Army*, which is actually supposed to be the *Prophet's quarry*, is criticized for the prohibition of prayers or the right to rebel to authority is underlined through the formulation that one should obey

ⁱ Zamanın Zeyneb'i

the man-made laws as long as they do not *contradict* with divine principles.

(Alpat, 2017, p.105)

Another novel that has created a tremendous impression in the Islamic groups is the work of Durali Yilmaz, called *Hagia Sophia Began to Speak*ⁱ. In the novel, the agony of Hagia Sophia, which was silenced and turned into a museum on November 24, 1934, is conveyed to the reader from the mouth of Hagia Sophia with the literary device called *personalization*. On that day, the works of the great Turkish calligrapher Kazasker Mustafa İzzet Efendi are lowered to reveal the mosaics of the Byzantine scraps. The words of Allah and the name of his beloved prophet found on the plates on the ground, make clear allusions to the ideological priorities of the leaders of the Kemalist revolution. This is a new game in which Christians are engaged under the name of Turkism and Islam. (Durali Yilmaz, 2012, p.128)

The jail experience of an innocent Muslim is by no means unusual. However, the stories of the oppressed against the *tyrant* are emphasized more frequently as the quest for participation accelerates. Remembering that there is no serious criticism of the justice system in *The Peace Street* and the Western directors of the era in *Abdullah from Minye* can occasionally grant an amnesty, the fair rulers seem to have been outnumbered over time.

ⁱ Ayasofya Dile Geldi

The most striking example to be mentioned under this title is Iskender Tutar's novel, *Speak or Otherwiseⁱ*, whose hero is subjected to torture by Kemalist system just because he is a Muslim. The bravery of his story is comprised of highly detailed narrations on the tortures of the riot force alias the police school between 1990 and 2001 and with detailed depictions of torture scenes that one is not accustomed to seeing in an Islamic novel, along with the use of profanity and slang. (Tutar, 2016, p.208)

4.2. War, Jihad and Martyrdom

As in almost all belief systems, struggles to sermonize the religion have been praised in the classical Islamic religious texts as well as in historical practices and the members of the religion have been expected to be diligent on this path. By etymological origin, *jihad* encompasses all the activities that the person should do for the glorification of religion. However, in the classical period, it is more common to view the concept in the form of collective and armed struggle with non-Muslims in order to spread Islam. With political Islam becoming an independent ideology, it is understood that the scope of the concept is enlarged again to include other interpretations regarding communiqué and defense. Given the classical meaning, jihad is inevitably associated with the battle environment. The concept, being set as the objective of ultimate religious service, necessarily results in the

ⁱ Konuş Yoksa

instrumentalization of war through rationalization. This process of normalization is not at all unusual to the Islamic geography, which has almost never seen a year without war since the beginning of 20th century. The great reward promised for the afterlife for participating in the war is expected to influence the individual rationalization and motivation processes.

In Islamic novels, the phenomenon of war and the definitions of jihad are among the themes that are often communicated through the emphasis of martyrdom. In this respect, the Egyptian-Israeli wars, the Cyprus conflict, the struggles of the Chechens against Russia, the resistance against Hafiz Assad oppression in Syria or the other political events such as the 1991 Algerian coup exhibit robust material for the genre. The threat of punishment when producing literary pieces about Turkey, may be the main reason for the preference of other Islamic countries as venues that offer abundant material in terms of war. It is clear that the allusions in the aforementioned novels can apply to Turkey as well. The literary works of period of the War of Independence, which have similar characteristics to those of Islamic novels that deal with the theme of war, will be addressed in the following section of the thesis.

At this point, the construction of *the enemy* as the opposite pole, is worth mentioning. The process of marginalization and assigning a negative perception to the marginalized, *-through which the identity is constructed-*

results in the *other* becoming *the enemy* in the case of a war. It is only possible that the glorified jihad takes its rightful place in the eyes of the reader, when the enemy is strong and cruel and the threat is likely and close. The victory would only be spectacular in the event that a mighty enemy who dominates the world is defeated by a weak Muslim.

The world of our century has fallen into a trap. The world is handled clandestinely. Turkey is a part of this world. The fact that the bird in a cage can fly to the left or right doesn't mean it's free. The movements happen in the cage. The world and humanity are in such a cage. We need brains, leaders to tear this cage apart, do you understand?ⁱ (Atay, 1972, p.111)

The typical framework of a salvation novel dealing with war, jihad or patriotic death consists of foreign forces that want to destroy the world of Islam, their collaborators within them, a Western style ideology encompassing them all and the pursuit of total awareness from Islamic perspective. In order to achieve the latter point, Muslims need to be awakened from their uncompromising sleep and become combatants. The formulation of the plot is also pre-determined: the struggle for salvation must be initiated from the inside, because that who does not secure the inside cannot deal with the exterior and they don't *quite* have the right to correct others without having corrected themselves. First the *essential jihad*ⁱⁱ must take place, then the circle

ⁱAsrımızın dünyası bir tuzağa düşmüş. Dünyayı gizli eller idare ediyor. Türkiye bu dünyanın bir parçası. Kafesteki kuşun sağa sola uçması onun serbest olduğunu göstermez. Hareketler kafesin içinde geçer. Dünya ve insanlık böyle bir kafesi içinde. Bu kafesi parçalayacak beyinlere, liderlere ihtiyaç var. Anlıyorsun değil mi?

ⁱⁱ nefse karşı cihad

should be expanded. (Atay, 1972, p.88) At this point, it is worth to state that even the Muslims who have not corrected themselves may interfere with others as indicated with the use of the word *quite*. Examples of similar approaches are likely to come up in many different works. For example, even in *The Peace Street*, which has nothing to do with the topic of war at first glance, the community that comes out of the mosque can be likened to the soldiers of the Islamic Army. (Şenler, 2008, p.10)

The cooperative internal threat must be eliminated before the Islamic Army can eliminate the external threat. Nehir Aydın Gökdoğan tells of Algeria in 1991 in her novel, *The Roses Cry in My Country*ⁱ. The officer who betrayed his country, says:

What does it matter if those barefoot, bald-headed people love us? What's a public? He'll appeal today and he'll shut up tomorrow. The real trick is not to lose the confidence of Europe.

...

It is true that France is taking advantage of us. For centuries, this wheel has been spinning like this. And why do we soldiers tolerate this? At this point, I'll remind you of how France has protected our benefits. Don't forget how they value people like you and me! Yes, we gave them the country's resources, but we didn't give them for nothing. They're using them with our permission. It's a mutual exchange of interest! So our Western friends supported our administration, and we supported them. That's all! I am aware that we're not a developed country. Our people are poor. But we're in a good mood. Our luxurious residences in which we live, our high salaries have always provided us a comfortable life. Now, the Islamists are trying to turn the tables, which is supposed to wake our ignorant people. We mustn't be duped. Or we'll be worst off in this fight.ⁱⁱ (Gökdoğan, 2018, pp.65-66)

ⁱ Güller Ağlar Ülkemde

ⁱⁱŞu yalınayak, başı kabak biçare insanlar bizi sevse ne olur sevmese ne olur? Halk dediğin nedir? Bugün itiraz eder yarın susar. Asıl hüner Avrupa'nın güvenini kaybetmemekte.

The use of all the elements in the definition of jihad, is a necessity in the battle with the dominant class which cooperate with the strong foreign powers. Enemies are separated into five groups, such as the exquisite, the entourage, the managers who do not serve Islam, the non-Muslim states and agents. Under the disguised appearance of Muslims, the agents carry the purpose of tearing the country down through radio and television. For this reason, the mujahedeen must prepare to be beneficial to Islam with wealth, weapon and science. (Ismail, 2018, pp.133-138) Another example is given in Ahmet Pakalın's work, *The Korans and Bombs*ⁱ, by expressing the assertion that Hafez Assad's regime was elected by the French to destroy Islam. Although the cruel Assad claims to be a Muslim and even goes to Friday prayers on a regular basis, his main goal is to end the 1300 years old Islamic sovereignty. Muslims, who have lost their dominant positions in the country of Islam, remain unaware of their status due to the hypocritical attitude of the leaders. (Pakalın, 2018, p.61)

...

Fransa bizden nemalanıyor doğru. Yüzyıllardır bu çark böyle döner durur. Peki ya biz askerler buna neden göz yumuyoruz? İşte bu noktada, Fransa'nın çıkarlarımızı nasıl gözettiğini sana hatırlatırım. Senin ve benim gibilere verilen değeri unutma! Evet, o saydığın ülke kaynaklarını verdikse cebimizden vermedik. Bizim iznimizle kullanıyorlar. Karşılıklı bir çıkar alışverişi bu! Yani batılı dostlarımız bizim yönetimimizi destekledi, biz de onları. Hepsi bu! Evet öyle gelişmiş bir ülke değiliz. Halkımız yoksul insanlar kıt kanaat geçiniyor. Ama bizim keyfimiz yerinde. İçinde yaşadığımız lüks lojmanlarımız, dolgun maaşlarımız kısaca her zaman rahat bir hayatımız oldu. Şimdi ise İslamcılar tarafından bu tablo alt üst edilmek isteniyor. Güya cahil halkımız uyandırılacak. Bu oyunlara gelmemeliyiz. Yoksa bu kavgadan en zararlı çıkan biz oluruz.

ⁱ Mushaflar ve Bombalar

When the boundaries of jihad and enemies are so broad, it is clear that each space can become a battlefield and every case turns into war material. It can be said that there is also a general agreement on this approach of expanding. The state of war is a natural condition that arises spontaneously in the link of causality which emerged as the result of Muslims being sufficiently diligent in the name of experiencing and living Islam. The way to get rid of the untimely situation is through total fighting and resistance, as the religion commands. The evil of war in the novels comes to the front due to persecution of Muslims. Dispraise of war in general or the longing for peace in the name of all mankind, cannot find much room for themselves in the works. The good times are seen as the right of Muslims who jihad in the path of Allah, with all their wealth and self, as a result of which they dissociate from unawareness. Universal peace in this sense, however, is a sort of *pax-Islamica* under the domination of Islam. Ali Bulaç conceptualizes this view as Pax-Islama as follows:

If we talk about the Pax Islama, the founding element will be moral superiority. By reviving the legacy of the prophets, Muslims can establish peace in the entire Earth by glorifying the will of freedom, moral honesty, law-justice and coexistence, and the attempt to build is the purpose of becoming a Muslim. *No justice, no peace*. There is no justice in the world, never in peace, until justice. Modernity has promised freedom, security and prosperity to the humanity. These are the three ideals that make modernity worldwide widespread, but these three have not been realized. If Muslims can represent justice, equity, freedom, and moral superiority on the basis of a contract, they will set their own order and their own troops in the

territories and give a new message to the world, with the permission of Allah. They will blow a new soul to corpses.ⁱ (“alibulac”, 2019)

This perspective makes every local struggle, in fact, a part of the eternal struggle of Islam with the superstition. For instance, *The Freedom Fighters*ⁱⁱ, in which Kıyamoglu Sancaktar told of the Chechens' struggle with the Russians, are not the war of independence in a region of the world, but the great World War with Islam's own enemies. (Sancaktar, 2016, p.108) Every initiative against dominant understanding of Western collaboration, carries its potential to be a spark for awakening all over the world. Each struggle is valued in terms of its ability to be a model, and it is intended to wake people from the blindness because it stimulates the feelings of solidarity between Muslims.

Another aspect of the matter is the martyrdom. The heroes of the novels, striving for jihad, are rewarded with a glorified death for their sacrifices. In almost every work, the phenomenon of martyrdom *-which is one of the*

ⁱ Eğer Pax İslama'dan söz edeceksek, bunun kurucu unsuru ahlaki üstünlük olacaktır. Müslümanlar, Peygamberlerinin mirasını canlandırarak özgürlük, ahlaki dürüstlük, hukuk-adalet ve bir arada yaşama iradesini yücelterek yeryüzünün tamamını içine bir barış kurabilirler, kurma teşebbüsleri müslüman olma misyonlarının gayesidir. “Adalet yok ise barış da yoktur.” Dünyada adalet yoktur asla barış da olmayacaktır, adalet oluncaya kadar. Modernite beşeriyete özgürlük, güvenlik ve refah vaat etti. Moderniteyi dünya çapında yaygın kılan bu üç ideal oldu, fakat bu üç ideal de gerçekleşmedi. Eğer Müslümanlar adaleti, hakkaniyeti, özgürlüğü, sözleşme temelinde bir arada yaşamayı ve ahlaki üstünlüğü temsil edebilirlerse, Allah'ın izniyle hem bölgelerinde kendi düzenlerini ve kendi birliklerini kuracaklar, hem de dünyaya da yeni bir mesaj verecek, ölü cesetlere yeni bir ruh üfleyeceklerdir.

ⁱⁱ Özgürlük Savaşçıları

highest a Muslim can reach and heralded with great rewards in the afterlife- is encountered. Even the devoted Feyza of The Peace Street is martyred in an unusual place -*the courtroom-* lacking a substantial causality. Four heroes of the novel Abdullah from Minye are killed separately, independently of each other at the end of the story. In almost every novel, the hero or at least one of the role models reaches the ultimate salvation. Even if there is no actual battle environment, individual sacrifices can be presented under the concept. For example, in the novel The Young Sentenced to Death, Vedat, who knocks his prison friend Ebazer unconscious, takes his place and walks to execution for him. (Şenlikoğlu, 2018, pp. 201-224) Without exception, all characters know in advance that they will be martyrs and willingly embrace their deaths. The heroes are killed at the end of the novel, serving two purposes. The first of them concerns the novelist, who gives a reward by thanking their characters for their efforts. The characters that are respected in this world due to their sacrifices get an honorable position in the eyes of the creator by reaching the martyrdom. As it provides material for current politics, this situation is actually seen as a fatality, a chance. As it is said in Dervişⁱ, martyrdom does not come to those who are busy with the worldly trial, spouse and business. (Gönül, 2010, p.203) However, the emphasis on the mechanism of the martyrization seems more important in the context of

ⁱ Derviş

giving up individuality for the formation of a collective Muslim personality. Deliberately and willingly walking to death, the Muslim individual serves the purpose of continuation of the Islamic society, which is more valuable than their own lives. In this sense, the individual is pushed to the background through the martyrization while the Muslims' *mass stance* against the case is highlighted. The sanctity of the struggle is also supplemented by reminders emphasizing that the pioneers who walk to the glorified death have rights over every individual of the society. Thus, the ranks are closed, the collective consciousness is built.

4.3. Independence War

The War of Independence constitutes an important reference point for the history of political Islam in Turkey. For the founders of the Republic, the period of National Struggle is also the beginning of the fight against the Ottoman which was the greatest obstacle preventing the nation from reaching the contemporary civilization and its institutions and had to be a thing of past from then on. As it comes to political Islam, it represents the time period following the expelling of enemies from the country, when the first signs of conflict with the lifestyle in compliance with the orders of Islamic ideology were seen. In other words, it is the beginning of Islam being condemned to exile in its own homeland, the differentiation in common targets and consequently great disappointments. The common point of these seemingly

irreconcilable two perspectives is that it creates a starting point for a change required to be analyzed.

The period of National Struggle has been the theme of numerous novels written in a Kemalist perspective. The phenomenon of the instrumentalization of literature for the creation of an ideology in the context of official historiography has been marked in the previous chapters. The epoch referred to with similar ideas also finds its place in the Islamic novels. However, the number of works that explicitly use the war as their backgrounds is very few compared to the ones belonging to the *opposite side*. The allusions related to the War of Independence are explained to the reader in the form of short mentions of the words by Islamic novel characters, while the main emphasis remains generally on what is *current*. There may be two explanations for this situation. Firstly, it is necessary to state the time difference between the two sides of writing. The time of the Republican novel, based on the thesis of official history, dates back to approximately forty years before the emergence of Islamic novels. It would take a while to see an author from the Islamic wing that could challenge Halide Edip, Yakup Kadri or Falih Rifki. A more important reason for this situation is about the purpose of the emergence of the genre. Islamic novels are texts aimed at transforming the reader's mindset and thus considered a propaganda material for the goal of collective awakening. Because the order to be fought is being regenerated by today's people, the novel fiction needs to be arranged for the day. The

historical references and reminders in the novels are designed to serve the creation of the perception of an unchanging enemy. The reader is warned of dissociation and disintegration -*which are said to be eternal and everlasting*- that people are divided into two as believers and blasphemy, suggesting that they had better not choose the wrong side.

In this chapter, two novels that deal with the perception of the War of Independence and qualify as examples for the issue will be examined. The first of them is the Pharaoh's Faith by Tarık Buğra, and the other is Hüseyin Karatay's The Stolen War. When considered relevant to the subject, other examples of the Islamic novel writing on the narratives of the National Struggle will also be provided.

Pharaoh's Faith is a work of Tarık Buğra published in 1976, which is a continuation of the Little Aghaⁱ series. The novel is set in a time period of four years beginning from 5th August 1921 against the background of Sakarya War, to the assassination attempt of İzmir in 1925. In the novel, the character of Hodja from Akşehir (Little Agha) and One-armed Salihⁱⁱ, formerly known from Küçük Agha, are also included. The Pharaoh's conceptualization is a metaphor created by the Little Agha character in the other early novel. The reason for choosing Pharaoh's Faith as the topic of analysis instead of Little Agha and

ⁱ The series consist of three novels, Little Agha (Küçük Ağa) Little Agha in Ankara (Küçük Ağa Ankara'da) and Pharaoh's Faith (Firavun'un İmanı).

ⁱⁱ Çolak Salih

Little Aga In Ankara which also deal with the times of War of Independence, lines in the extent and causes of the disintegration highlighted in the novel. In Pharaoh's Faith, the cynical point of view of the new order and the efforts to regain reputation of the historical conservative characters seem to be more evident than the other novels.

In the novel, the disappointment of the Muslim intellectuals after supporting the National Struggle is reflected through the experiences of Mehmet Akif Ersoy, Hüseyin Avni Ulaş and Hasan Basri Çantay who *-like the group they represent-* saw the liberation of the country within the framework of conservative thinking. These people, whose patriotism one would not question, have supported the Liberation War wholly and with altruism, *-even though they had seen the signs of betrayal-* simply because the independence of the homeland was at stake. Mehmet Akif, the hero of the novel, says:

We have neither the right nor the possibility to mull over or worry about the possibilities of victory after the triumph. All we can do and have to do for now is to work with all of our power in order to complete the mission given to us by the history and destiny.¹ (Buğra, 1976, p.62)

After the peace, *-as the reader can predict-* Muslims would be exposed to a cruel treatment that they did not deserve. The people with whom they were

¹Zafer sonrasında ihtimalleri üzerinde durmaya, hele hele onları şimdiden dert etmeye ne hakkımız ne de imkânımız var. Bizim şimdilik yapabileceğimiz ve yapmamız gereken tek şey, bütün gücümüzle çalışmaktan, tarihin ve kaderin bize yüklemiş olduğu vazifeye dört elle sarılmaktan ibarettir.

on the same path together during the war times, would alter their directions to channels that would only lead them to their self-interests.

People surrounding Mustafa Kemal who value their personal ambitions above the national interests are depicted in the novel through the personality of the evil character Ali Yusuf who does not care about moral norms. When he was young, he was involved in usury and journalism from which he gathered information about people and then used it for his own benefit to gain a place in Kemal Pasha's inner circle by taking credit for the accomplishments of the conservative group. The anti-communist atmosphere observed in the work is brought to the ground by Ali Yusuf's activities on the Russian-Ankara axis. It is not surprising that at the time when there was a right-left conflict in the country, the conservative sided with anti-communism. According to the character Hüseyin Avni in the novel, people who circled Ankara and do not care about anything but their self-interests, know about the projects, the plans and principles of Kemal Pasha. It would be appropriate to call their attitude *plus royaliste que le roi*ⁱ. Mr. Avni is also confident that they work for their own prosperity rather than the country's survival or Kemal Pasha's victory. After all, if they are not eliminated, Turkey will surely lose, and Pasha himself would have to give new battles in order to prevent the ugliest

ⁱ more of a royalist than the king

outcomes. But this time the victory would be more difficult than that of Sakarya. (Buğra, 1976, p.178)

Hüseyin Karatay's novel *The Stolen War*, shows a similar approach. The purpose of the novel, makes itself clear even in the name of the work. It is possible to state the main thesis of the novel in this way: The war for liberation was carried out by the faithful Turkish people but the success of the is stolen by the enemies of the people and the process of establishing the new state was drawn in another direction contrary to the will of the public. This viewpoint is common in the *Pharaoh's Faith* and *The Stolen War*. But in the first novel, the perspective of conservative elites is dominant, where the situation is similar to the Republican novels in the form of an official history thesis, described from the perspective of the elites of the state. At this point, it is worth remembering that Mehmet Doğan uses the term *novels of officers* for early era Independence War novels. However, the second work reflects the events directly from the eyes of the ordinary people. Although Kazım Karabekir and Fevzi Çakmak are presented to the reader as role models, the hero of the *Stolen War* is an ordinary man, Sergeant İlyas.

In *Stolen War*, Fevzi Pasha is of the opinion that the Battle of Sakarya will result in victory. While Mustafa Kemal Pasha is cursing upon hearing of the

bad news, Fevzi Pasha thinks that they will defeat the Greeks, but Mustafa Kemal mocks him by not believing him. (Karatay, 1987, p. 286) In the novel, a detailed parenthesis was opened to Ali Şükrü Beyⁱ, who was one of the opposing names of Atatürk. The parliamentary speech of him, claiming that the magnificent victory gained by robins was wasted in Lausanne, is also included in the story. (Karatay, 1987, p. 288) Four days after the disappearance of Ali Şükrü Bey, his body is found in a well-dug pit in Çankaya, creating a suitable backdrop for the dramatic end of the story. (Karatay, 1987, pp. 296-299)

The novel ends with the innocent people being sent to death and Sergeant İlyas, upon hearing that he is to stand trial the next day. He leaves his village in search of a place where he can live freely with his faith and continue to claim his case, alluding to the terrorizing atmosphere of the Independence Courts.

In both novels, the conservatives that form the ideological and physical backbone of the struggle are punished in return for the sacrifices. In the context of the novel, Pharaoh's Faith, Mehmet Akif is relegated and Hüseyin Avni accused of collaborating with the attempted assassination of Atatürk, is

ⁱ Ali Şükrü Bey, being the deputy of Trabzon, was one of member opposition group in the National Assembly against Mustafa Kemal known as the Second Group. He is remembered for his harsh criticism of the Turkish delegation in the Congress of Lausanne . He was assassinated on 27 March 1923.

being judged to death penalty. At the end of the novel, the accomplices of the infidels win and Pharaoh's faith comes true:

They saw that they were about to be buried in the water. That's when they believed it, and they did it with the highest pitch, the most spectacular and striking styles. Among them were those who sought refuge and their intermediation before this intercession was accepted, and those who had been enemies; and lots of them. And of course, they were very fortunate to be pharaoh; because they could sustain their pharaoh ties, to continue their pharaoh's batons more efficiently.ⁱ (Buğra, 1976, p.202)

While the ones gathered around Mustafa Kemal are depicted as evil, Atatürk is not directly criticized, but indicated to the reader not to have given the necessary importance to correct the situation. For instance, when Hüseyin Avni is accused of being a collaborator in assassination attempt, everyone focuses on Atatürk's opinion. However Gazi Pasha prefers to take a sip from his raki and change the subject by saying: "*How is the construction going, boy?*"ⁱⁱ (Buğra, 1976, pp. 207-208)

The criticism of a dimension or a segment of the liberation war in Islamic novels is understood to contain references for the current day. The factors that led to the emergence of today's corrupt order are to be attributed to the

ⁱ Ne zaman ki sulara gömülmek üzere olduklarını gördüler. İşte o vakit iman ettiler, üstelik bunu da en yüksek perdeden, en gösterişli ve göze çarpıcı üsluplarla yaptılar. Aralarında önce kendilerine sığınanlar ve aracılıklarını isteyenler bu şefaath kabul edildikten sonra ise kendilerine düşman kesilenler de vardı; hem de sürüyle. Ve elbette bunlar Firavundan çok şanslı idiler; çünkü Firavunluklarını sürdürebiliyor, firavunluklarının vurgunlarına daha verimli devam edebiliyorlardı.

ⁱⁱ İnşaat nasıl gidiyor çocuk?

ideas that have been formed years ago, to be directly effective on the ideal structure built on the reader's simple dilemmas and contrasts.

Drawing attention to the fact that the mistakes made in the past have given rise to the effects extending into the present, also reinforces the perception of the uniqueness and constancy of the truth. Sergeant İlyas emphasizes this misconception with the following words:

If it's an idiot that is stumbling, he won't care. He falls to the same trap again on the same road. To the deceived people, curates appear flat, ugliness look nice. The words of the Westerns are not their words. It's an overlord's word. Shame they'll be emulators of the West. They're trying to spin a mill with pouring water. They want to carry the dirty water of the West in buckets. What a pity. This water is insufficient. This water won't grow a great tree. The skinny, the stump will raise the fertile West water.ⁱ (Karatay, 1987, p.294)

It should also be noted that the issues highlighted in common in both novels are used with similar templates in other Islamic novels. Rasim Özdenören in *The Man who Grows Roses*ⁱⁱ, tells that when people were fighting for the Quran and for the caliph, the Frenchmen were forced to leave the city. However, what happened afterwards was the result of something that they were not fighting for, and what they did not think to fight for. It appeared as if they fought to eradicate something with war. (Özdenören, 2008, p.31)

ⁱ Tökezleyen ahmaksa, bunu fark etmez. Aynı yolda aynı tuzağa yine düşer. Zihni çelinmiş insana, eğrilikler düz görünür, çirkinlikler hoş görünür. Batıcıların sözleri, kendi sözleri değildir. Efendilerinin sözlerinden aşırmadır. Batının kopyası olacaklar yazık. Dökme suyla değirmen döndürmeye kalkıyorlar. Batının kirli suyunu kova kova taşımak istiyorlar. Yazık. Bu su yetersiz. Bu su ulu ağaç yetiştirmeyecek. Sıska, güdük verimsizler yetiştirecek Batı suyu.

ⁱⁱ Gül Yetiştiren Adam

Similarly, in the novel *Searching for the Missing*ⁱ, Şerife Katırcı and Fatma

Katırcı, express their discomfort regarding what the war brought with itself:

You'll be naked if the French ask you to. Are those not the Frenchmen who once entered our homeland and raped the Muslim women, girl? Aren't these the heathens that pushed Muslims into mosques and killed them all?

...

Oh dear! Pity us... They are having you do in the name of fashion what they could not accomplish back then. Our honor, our race, our faith... Have we wasted thousands of lives for those, daughter? If you would strip like this, why were your ancestors buried in the ground? Why did they use their bodies as a shield against non-Muslims? ⁱⁱ (Şerife Katırcı, Fatma Katırcı, n.d., p.70)

Although it is possible to find many examples on the subject, there is no significant difference in the nature of the given message. Accordingly regarding the roots of the disintegration, it can be argued that the feeling of having been deceived and left out, may find itself supporters among Islamic groups.

Feeling powerless, Islamic masses withdrew into their shell. Only in the relatively libertarian environment of the 1961 Constitution they began to actively show up in the political scene again. Believing that they were punished although they endured agonies and made sacrifices, conservative

ⁱ Kayıp Aranıyor

ⁱⁱ Fransız gâvuru soyun dese çirliçiplak olacaksınız demek. Kız bu Fransız dediğin bir zamanlar yurdumuza girip Müslüman kadına, kıza tecavüz eden kâfir değil mi? Müslümanları camilere doldurup topluca öldüren kefereler değil mi bunlar?

...

Vah vah... yazık bize... Demek o zamanlar yapamadıklarını, şimdi moda diye yaptırıyorlar. Kızım biz namusumuz, ırzımız, imanımız için binlerce canı boşa mı vermişiz? Siz böyle soyunacaktınız da dedeleriniz niye toprağa gömüldüler, kefereye karşı bedenlerini siper ettiler.

Muslims began to express their wishes more assertively. Time was the time to participate in the public realm and demand for a share in governmental mechanism.



CHAPTER 5

POLITICAL ISLAM AND PARTICIPATION

5.1. The Problem of Alienation

According to Tolan, alienation is a psychological situation that emerges as a result of the contradiction between the natural relationship that reflects the essence of the human and the social relationship that determines its existence. (Tolan, 1980, p.145) Marx, who brought the concept to the field of political philosophy, linked it to the mode of production and pointed to the alienation patterns determined by the variable substructure relations over the dominant forms of production in the dualities of human vs. nature and human vs. society. (Akyıldız, 1998, pp.165-166)

It is difficult to follow the phenomenon of alienation in Islamic novels within the framework of Marxist relativity. As will be examined in the following sections, the references on economic relations of production and distribution are almost non-existent. Considering that the relationship of conservative Islamist segments in Turkey with the left thought to all fractions, is addressed in the context of anti-religious aspect –*simply atheism*- the situation becomes more comprehensible. Another dimension of the issue is related to socio-

economic mobility opportunities. The narratives of social vertical mobility, which are frequently used to increase dramatization and to emphasize contradictions in Islamic novels, cannot coincide with the Marxist theory which states that the phenomenon of alienation maintains unless the relations of production and distribution change.

From this point of view, the degrees of alienation experienced by the characters in Islamic novels are not determined by the relations of production and distribution but by psychological perceptions stemming from otherness. Frustrations in the individual level are instrumentalized to serve the efforts of building collective consciousness and the perception of *common nonconformism* is constructed. Üstün İnanç's best-selling novel *You're Not Alone*ⁱ can entirely be read as a product of such effort. First published in 1987, the novel has made 32 editions to date and has also been adapted to cinema to reach a country wide audience. The novel depicts the struggle of a young college girl facing the pressure of her family and society because of her hijab. As a result of the decisive stance of the heroine of the novel, Serpil, her environment changes its attitude over time, and even her mother, who is intolerant of religion in the beginning, becomes influenced by her daughter. His father on the other hand, who insists on his attitude towards religion, pays the price with his life for his mistake. (İnanç, 2016)

ⁱ Yalnız Değilsiniz

However, the first work that comes to mind when it comes to issue of alienation is Rasim Özdenören's only novel *The Man who Grows Roses*. In the novel, which was first published in 1979, Özdenören conveys his message to the reader through two parallel stories, one in the United States and the other in Anatolia in a post-Republic period. Initially in Las Vegas and then in İstanbul, the first fiction depicts unhappy people who lead a bohemian life style that ends with suicide. The other story of the work is more relevant to the thesis, whose protagonist is an old man. Known as the man who grows roses, he was involved in the War of Independence with the effort of reviving Islam to be incorporated into the aftermath of the war and has not stepped out of his home for fifty years. During this time, he only cultivates roses and gives them away as a gift to those who visit him. As a defense mechanism against those who deceived himself, the man who grows roses breaks his ties with social life, chooses mode of inaction as a way out. What feeds this mood, is the deep shame he feels for his friends who chose to stand trial against the order and ultimately executed by the Independence Courts. The old man, who could not resist his insisting grandson, goes to a morning prayer and realizes the big change in the city he has lived in and is surprised by the lack of congregation in the mosque. The impressive end of the novel is his reaction to the imam, who looks like a Muslim, but wears a fedora when the prayer is over. The old man speaks to the mosque community in the novel:

O! Congregation- O! unwaries! Are you Christians? ... Or Zoroastrians? ... What nation do you belong to? ... Now that you are out of prayer, you are from the Islamic nation... But can you prove it? As you come here to pray in the mosque, you are the people who fit Islam, but where is your Islam?... Do you know why Allah has destroyed the previous ones? Because they were beginning to resemble unbelievers... My brothers, show the Islam in yourselves. Because Islam wants to be reflected upon you.

Faith is confidential, Islam is open. Faith is in the heart, Islam is apparent. If Islam is sharia, sharia wants to be seen in your deeds... You pray, but your appearance is like Christians. Brothers! A person resembling to an unbeliever from outside is similar to unbeliever...ⁱ (Özdenören, 2008, pp.131-133)

The end of the 80-year-old man is learned from a newspaper report in the parallel story of the novel. The man, who is thought to be mentally ill, is arrested for inciting the people to revolt. In the search of the aforementioned house, the books with Arabic letters are seized. The old man who appears in court in a strange outfit claims that he did nothing but grew roses. (Özdenören, 2008, pp.139-140)

The stories of alienation, which emerged as erosion in the sense of belonging, loss of hope for the future or the destruction of the emotional link with the society, does not lead to individual psychological pathways in Muslims because these people have the power of faith where others do not. However,

ⁱ Ey cemaat-i Müslimin ve gafilin! Sizler Nasrani misiniz? ... Yoksa Mecusi mi? ... Hangi millettensiniz? ...Şimdi namazdan çıktığınıza göre siz İslam milletindensiniz... Ama bunu ispat edebilir misiniz? Siz buraya, camiye namaz kılmaya geldiğinize göre İslam'a uyan insanlarsınız, fakat hani İslam'ınız?... Allah sizden öncekileri niçin helak etti biliyor musunuz? Çünkü onlar kâfirlere benzemeye başlamışlardı... Kardeşlerim içinizdeki İslam'ı gösterin. Çünkü İslam, sizin üzerinizde görünmek ister. İman gizlidir, İslam açık. İman kalptedir, İslam zahirde. İslam şeriatsa, şariat sizin amellerinizde görünmek ister... Namaz kılıyorsunuz ama görünüşünüz Nasrani gibi. Kardeşler! Dışı kâfire benzeyen insanın içi de kâfire benzer...

the sense of alienation from the environment resulting from official marginalization policies sharpens the distinctions between the parties and puts insurmountable barriers. The trauma, which is claimed not to be experienced in an individual base, shows itself with its full power in the social basis this time. Differences in the world view among children of the same religion of the same nation, *-leaving all common denominators on the side-* are decisive and the system prevents the social participation of the others.

The sense of empathy towards the opposite front and the attempt to establish causality do not find much space in Islamic novels. The dominant Western ideology mocks those who pray. (Şenler, 2008, p.75) The teacher from Turkey dares to scoff him by saying that Mehmet was a bigot.

Wow! Look at that bigot! I came here from Turkey because of these bigots. You're going to find me here, too? Who brainwashed this boy at this young age?ⁱ (Karatay, 1972, p.53)

The train conductor, presented as a servant of the order, is very kind and deferent to the representatives of the power while dares to behave with no respect towards the majority of the people. (Karatay, 1972, p.122) Moreover, he does so where there is no effect on the course of the story and is irrelevant to the general subject matter of the novel, probably only because of his unconsciousness and malignity. Sevgi, the protagonist of the novel in Zeyneb

ⁱ Vay yobaz vay! Ben bu yobazların yüzünden Türkiye'den buraya geldim. Burada da mı beni bulacaksınız? Bu yaştaki çocuğun kafasını kim bozdu?

of the Time, is beaten to death by his brother who does not want him to wear a headscarf. The characters in the same novel describe themselves as *outlandish in their own homeland* (Alpat, 2017, p.98). The aid sent from Turkey to Bosnia, to be delivered Muslims by the *Compassion Society*ⁱ, is distributed to Christians due to the negligence of the Turkish officers. (İnal, 2012, p.129) In Raif Cilasun's Holy Ordealⁱⁱ, Kasım says:

How good it is to keep quiet. The ship that we board is taking water, we are afraid to say that we are still sinking. I don't understand if it is better to shut up or to yell...ⁱⁱⁱ (Raif Cilasun, 2017, p.208)

It is possible to reproduce the relevant examples. However, considering Islamic novels both from a perspective of their inner-structures and the fiction path they follow in chronological order, it can be seen that the plots contain some common fundamental points. After construction of collective Muslim identity through criticism of Kemalism by stressing the feeling of alienation as a result of ideological based daily life practices, the contest for socio-economic participation takes the turn.

ⁱ Merhamet Cemiyeti

ⁱⁱ Kutsal Çile

ⁱⁱⁱ Susmak ne iyi şey. Bindiğimiz gemi su alıyor, biz hala batıyoruz demekten ürküyor ve çekiniyoruz. Susmak mı yoksa bağırıp çağırmak mı hayırlı, anlayamadım doğrusu...

Now, existence in the public sphere becomes the more important than before and the struggle over the female body will constitute the most easily visible dimension of the issue.

5.2. Public Realm as the Basis of Struggle

According to Habermas, the public space in Western Europe emerged as part of the liberal bourgeoisie class. However, Suman states that this directional determination corresponds to a limited level of disclosure in the Turkish instance. According to Suman's reference to Göle, the modern public space that the Kemalist state was trying to create was defined by the concepts of secularism and *worldliness*ⁱ. In Turkey the public space was created not by a certain layer of society, such as the bourgeoisie, but was left under the control of the secular elite by the authoritarian state. (Suman, ed. Göle, 2017, pp.70-71)

The struggle in the public sphere can be gathered under two general headings as political and social participation. However, it should be said that the visible wrestle in both areas is carried out through the female body. Earlier in the thesis, the importance of the creation of a modern female image in the Western sense was mentioned in the efforts of modernization of early Republican period. As in many other fields, the alternative preference for the

ⁱ dünyevilik

Republic's women's envisagement was put forward on the same base by using the same instruments, but this time from opposite ideological point of view. Göle says that women are the principal actors in this process as they display the boundaries between private and public, licit and illicit, body and imaginary. Islamism reinforces the boundaries in social relations through regulating bodily practices in public spaces; this regulation, in turn, serves as a public display of Islamic subjectivity. The Muslim body becomes, for actors of Islamism, a site for resistance to secular modernity. (Nilüfer Göle, 2002, p.189)

It is proper to say that the expectations of obtaining or indirectly controlling political power do not find much space in the literary field. There is no doubt that this area has the potential to create penal problems for Islamic novelists. The general characteristic of the genre is to recommend a horizontal organization for the individual awakening, rather than vertical social construction through governmental mechanisms. The novel *Lost Days*ⁱ, in which Mustafa Miyasoğlu tells about the pre-1980 student events, is among the rare examples. In the novel, the background of student movements is reflected to the reader through individual preferences and self-criticisms.

No matter how, the order that took injustice for prejudice had to be altered...
Of all the mistakes, even today, the only right was the attitude taken against
the injustice of the apparent order... Maybe we were doing the things wrong.

ⁱ Kaybolmuş Günler

But the things we were against were even more mistaken than us and things were driving us crazy... Who can clean the stain of the intellectual that has been present since the Young Turks? ⁱ (Miyasoğlu, 1980 b, pp. 99-101)

The use of the hijab issue incorporates some useful elements for parties with different perspectives. First of all, the headscarf makes the problem visible and classifiable. The possibility of passing other elements belonging to the conservative area through the way that would be opened by headscarf in the public sphere, was the source of the expectations of Moslems and the concerns of secular sector. On the other hand, it should be emphasized that conservative men have a much more advantageous position in terms of public participation than conservative women. It is more difficult to isolate and exclude Islamic elements in the body of a Muslim man, unless he wears an Islamic robe and an imamah. Contrary to that since the veil of women is relatively palpable, it is more favorable to make the issue political. The naive and fragile structure of women has a function of increasing emotionality.

Mainly, the reflection of the public space conflict has been through the female body and the veil debate in particular. The demands of public participation in Islamic novels arise in the form of headscarves, educational rights and a freedom of praying. So much so that it is almost impossible to find a novel

ⁱ Nasıl olursa olsun haksızlığı önyargı olarak kabul edilen düzen değişmeliydi... Bütün yanlışlıklar arasında bugün bile tek doğru görünen düzenin haksızlığı karşısında alınan tavırdı... Bir yanlışlık belki, yanlış şeyler yapıyorduk. Fakat karşı olduğumuz şeyler bizden de yanlıştı ve bizi çığırımızdan çıkarıyordu... Jön Türklerden beri sürüp gelen aydın lekesini kim temizleyebilir?

that does not include the headscarf problem among the examples of the genre. The picture generally drawn is about the women excluded from social opportunities. They are stripped of their right to receive education due to their veils. The only reason for the persecution is women's desire to live in accordance with their beliefs. Here, it is useful to mention a few of them which are considered to constitute a precedent among many samples.

An example of the issue is the novel *An Outcry of a Mother*ⁱ by Raif Cilasun in which the story of an elderly woman struggling to save her grandson who is about to drown in the swamp of the Western civilization's hedonistic lifestyle is narrated.

Once upon a time, even women who once were in the disgraceful life had to go veiled. Now dressing to kill is the most normal view of everyday life. Fashion is said to be progressive. Naming it as Westernization, all the spoiled traditions of the West were transferred. Naming it as fashion, a life style that rocks the foundations of our family values was accepted without questioning. We could not take care of our sons, our generation.ⁱⁱ (Cilasun, 2017 a, pp. 42-43)

A similar example can be found in the novel *Long Walk*ⁱⁱⁱ.

... They try to show veil dress up as an inferiority, from antiquity, bigotry or stupidity. It was shown as a fault and as shameful clothing. They introduced

ⁱ Bir Annenin Feryadı

ⁱⁱ Bir zamanların yüz kızartıcı hayatın içinde olan kadınlar bile, örtülü gezmek zorundaydılar. Ya şimdi açıklık günlük hayatın en normal manzarası oldu. Bir moda bir ilericiliktir tutturuldu. Batılılaşmak dendi, batının ne kadar kötü âdeti varsa aynen hatta daha fazlası alındı. Moda dendi, aile hayatımızın temelini sarsan bir yaşayış şekli bizde de hemencecik kabul edildi. Biz oğullarımıza, kendi neslimize sahip çıkamadık.

ⁱⁱⁱ Uzun Yürüyüş

nudity as virtue and glory, and sentenced it to serve as a marketing tool of wild capitalism.ⁱ (Çam, 2004, pp. 149-150)

In the novel *Search for the Lost*, Şerife Katırcı and Fatma Katırcı associate the right of the being covered with the right of receiving education via the story of Nuray. According to her, the reason for the prohibition of the veil is hidden in the policy of the authority that pushes Muslim youth into ignorance to keep them away from public realm.

Ladies! I am dressed according to the order of my lord, not according to the fashion order. I can't change myself with the orders of fashion designers in every six months. You may feel suffocated because of the hot air. I am perfectly comfortable in my dressing style. I don't want to burn here and in hell like you will do. You don't think that I deserve but I have the right to go to college. You will not be able to say that Muslims are ignorant anymore. You will say they would like to study but we showed them the door.ⁱⁱ (Katırcı & Katırcı, n.d., p. 124)

In *The Peace Street*, the daughter of Feyza, Hilal, who is a very successful student, is being harassed by her Kemalist teacher simply because of her belief (Şenler, 2008, p. 279) and is subjected to framing so that she shall not pass the exam. (Şenler, 2008, p.374)

ⁱ...Tesettürlü giyinmek, çağdışılık, gericilik, aptallık aşağılık bir davranış gibi gösterilmeye çalışılmaktadır. Tesettürü ayıp ve utanılacak bir giyim gibi gösterildi; çıplaklığı erdem ve yücelik olarak lanse edip vahşi kapitalizmin ürün pazarlama aracı olmaya mahkûm ettiler.

ⁱⁱ Hanımefendiler! Ben modanın emrine göre değil, Rabbimin emrine göre giyindim. Sizler gibi altı ayda bir modacıların emriyle kılık değiştiremem. Siz daha örtünmeden harareten bunalabilirsiniz. Ben bu örtünün altında gayet rahatım. Sizin gibi hem burada hem de cehennemde yanmak istemiyorum. Bana layık görmüyorsunuz ama üniversitede okumak benim de hakkım. Artık Müslümanlar cahil okumuyorlar diyemeyeceksiniz. Onlar okumak istediler ama biz kovduk diyeceksiniz.

The photos of Serpil, the poor warrior of Islam in *You Are Not Alone*, are shared with the newspapers by her very own family just for punishment for her veil. Moreover, the bottom of the photos is filled with slanders. But it is time to go over the events because the country will not be abandoned to the whims of worthless non-believers. (İnanç, 2016, p.197)

While the efforts to appear in the public sphere were continuing, the Islamic circle was aware of the importance of economic freedom from the very beginning. Supporting capital formation for a domestic and national entrepreneur class was seen as a necessity to promote socio-political power. By doing so, an Islamic cultural elite, would also be constituted. It is open to debate to what extent the latter goal is reached to success but it is worth to elaborate on the perceived socio-economic narrative in Islamic novels.

5.3. Economic Issues

With the exceptions of the occasions in which there is a disparity between the time of writing and fictionalization, the extent to which the criticism of Kemalist economic order in Islamic novels is actually about Kemalism itself, is controversial. Through an analysis on novels, it is possible to see that some efforts have been made so as to relate the economic structure to the Kemalist ideology. Yet, endeavors to equate Kemalism with the marginalized aspect of vilifying economic relations of production and distribution in the name of *the order* represents an ultimately reductionist view. Even so, the substantiation

of the claim that the current order has a purely Kemalist ideological background necessitates the acceptance of additional premises. First of all, it should be remembered that the literary genre, which is known to have emerged at the end of the 1960s, did not experience the economic production and distribution relations of the single-party period. In the sense of economic management modelling, it is clear that the statist practices of the single-party period had already been abandoned in those years. An economic system governed by the secular group who have ties with the founding ideology may not be sufficient to characterize the economic system as Kemalist, especially when efforts to create a capitalistic market economy are known. Moreover, the suggestions conservative groups come up with as an alternative to the structure they criticize have little to offer to change beyond the relations of distribution. In summary, it is necessary that the link between the criticism of the order and Kemalism be approached with caution. However, it is beneficial to examine the economic perceptions and social mobility narrations in novels in order to ensure thematic integrity.

In the studied Islamic novels, the most economically comprehensive definition of the Islamic order is found in the novel Abdullah from Minye by Hekimoğlu İsmail. Later, the National Outlook cadres would refer to this framing in the exact way. One of the points noticed is that, political Islam which demands a share of power, must be economically strong. For this purpose, it is highly recommended that members of the community form their capital

accumulation by partnering with each other. It is essential that partnerships to be established, operate on investment to cover almost all industrial branches. Revenues to be obtained will be used primarily for the purpose of zakat and to help Islamic organizations for charitable purposes after the mandatory costs are deducted. The provision of interest-free lending to newlyweds, substitution of profit-loss partnerships instead of interest accounts for debt relations and providing scholarships to students, are counted among the priority stuff of the *Islamic Aid fund* created. The model told in the novel becomes very successful but the British and other minorities try to avoid the development of the partnership with their economic power by referring to all sorts of tricks. (Ismail, 2018, pp.174-175)

The novel also includes findings on the functioning principles of the American economy. Accordingly in the United States:

Firms are very common. Taxes are proportional to income. Although the state is secular, a great importance to religion and freedom is given. Even the Islamic life is easier to live than that of in Egypt. The media are in the hands of the church. There are churches in every workplace. Girls and boys are educated in separate schools up to the age of twenty. Children are raised in religious life. In public schools, pastors teach. The American state is deeply committed to religion. Everything that is done in the name of secularism in

Egypt is essentially irregularities. Combating communism is only possible through religious belief and financial progress. (İsmaıl, 2018, pp.181-182)

The extent to which the author reflects the reality of the United States is suspicious. However, a point of view of the economic order that is described throughout the statements and even a severe aspect of appreciation, are evident. Thus, it is not the order that is bad, but the practitioners of the order that do not comply with Islam are criticized.

The disparity between the time of writing and fictionalization has been noted before. With this distinction in mind, the criticism of economic order in Islamic historical novels can provide researchers with efficient analysis material. The most important work to be examined in this sense is M. Necati Sepetçiođlu's novel *The Wheat Truck of Cevahir and the Sergeant Sadık*ⁱ. Against the background of famine environment of the Second World War, the novel criticizes the economic order and management, the government's tax and agricultural policies in the background of Sunni Islam-Alevi relations. The basic argument of the story is that, during World War II, İsmet İnönü kept wheat in the warehouses in case of a war and refused to distribute it to the public. The result of this wrong decision is *hunger amidst plenty*. According to the author, citizens are disgusted by the land crops tax, which is more than the Muslim people can tolerate. Additionally an unfair asset tax-related practice for

ⁱ Cevahir ile Sadık Çavuş'un Buđday Kamyonu

minorities is also introduced. The Republican People's Party administration increases its oppression and persecution every day in order to sustain its power. The main characteristics of the period are looting, bribery and waste. The tax collectors and gendarme that come to the village are the representations of the oppressive atmosphere. İsmet İnönü being responsible for the cruelty, is the planner and implementer of the wrong economic decisions.

In the novel, the tax collectors, accompanied by gendarmerie, seize Osman's only corn sack. The persecutions of the state officials are described in detail. In the village, people fear the gendarmerie and the collector so much that they do not even recite the Azan and no one leaves their house. (Sepetçioğlu, 1977, pp. 282-291)

As can be predicted, the understanding of the State, which allows interest, is severely criticized in novels. (Cilasun, 2018, p.52) The batter entrepreneur, drawn in the works, should surely be in a moral weakness. In the novel of Hüseyin Gedik, *Crying Notes*ⁱ the manufacturer Koray Bey is depicted as follows:

After all these adverse conditions, Koray Bey, who is not well with the workers, has completely detached from the workers. He was treating them like slaves, not giving the workers a penny more than the minimum wage. Recently, workers' working conditions began to deteriorate. Workers fighting for their rights, were laid off immediately, without hesitation. He became

ⁱ Ağlatan Notlar

aware of everything between workers through the snitches in the shortest time. Koray Bey began to cause great distress for the workers.ⁱ (Gedik, 1994, p.78)

Addressing the perception of poverty through television series Yücel, who examined the television series *-in which poverty is not an economic problem, but rather perceived as a test of Allah-* concluded that the class differences of Islamic belief has undertaken a naturalizing function. As a remedy for poverty, the benefactor has been boosted and the rich are not condemned as long as they comply with Islam. (Yücel, 2016, pp. 201-211) It can be said that a similar fiction is preserved in Islamic novels as well. In the plot patterns, which are built on the binaries and contrasts, the wealth is praised when coupled with charity. Poverty, however, is ultimately an individual and a moral problem. In order to exemplify the ideal boss type in the *When the Flowers Get Thirstⁱⁱ*, Dursun tells about his dream:

Then I'd give them a job and a dorm when I found the needy, unemployed, powerless and the poor people. I would make it easier for the ten-fifteen students who were in a predicament to collect scholarships. I'd make a large cafeteria under the dorm, get them to eat. I would stand next to the cook and I would put food into their dishes... The factory would distribute shares from the profit to the workers. So that, I could introduce them to the satisfaction derived

ⁱ Zaten işçilerle arası iyi olmayan Koray Bey'in tüm bu olumsuz şartlardan sonra işçilerle arası iyice açılmıştı. İşçilere asgari ücretten bir kuruş fazla vermediği gibi, onlara köle muamelesi yapıyordu. Son dönemlerde işçilerin çalışma şartları iyice kötüleşmeye başlamıştı. Biraz hakkını aramaya kalkan işçinin gözünün yaşına bakmadan hemen işten çıkarılıyordu. İşçiler arasındaki ispiyoncuları vasıtasıyla da işçiler arasındaki her şeyden kısa zamanda haberdar oluyordu. Tek kelime ile Koray Bey, işçilere kan kusturmaya başlamıştı.

ⁱⁱ Çicekler Susayınca

from working. Their peace and lack of fear of tomorrow would be my greatest joy.ⁱ (Yıldız, 2018a, p.270)

Social mobility is a frequently referred tool to increase the degree of dramatization. If they manage to trust in God, they are eventually rewarded. Thanks to his patience, Minyeli Abdullah makes the transition from portage to high-ranking bureaucracy quite quickly, but this new form constitutes also a separate divine test subject. Similarly, Bilal, the main character of *The Peace Street*, reaches prosperity through his patience and grace of Allah.

Lastly, this discussion will include a relatively different response to the injustice of the economic order. The novel, *The Muslim Warrior*ⁱⁱ, which can be assessed as the counterpart of Yaşar Kemal's *Thin Memed* in the conservative section, tells of the story of Abdullah showing the signs of red flag against Kerim Bey, who glorifies abuse. The struggle against the protectors of the *status quo* differs from the others, emphasizing the right of Islamic resistance and the affirmation of the armed struggle to a measure.

When the novel was published in 1995, the political atmosphere was limiting the hero's ability to constitute an exemplary to the Islamic group. Among the

ⁱ Sonra bakıma muhtaç, işsiz güçsüz hayata ve insanlara küsen fakirleri buldukça onlara iş ve yurtta yer verirdim. Zor durumda tahsiline devam etmekte olan on-on beş öğrenciye burs verip tahsil yapmalarını kolaylaştırdım. Yurdun altını geniş bir yemekhane yapar, onlara yemek çıkartırdım. Aşçının yanında dikilip yemeklerini tabaklarına ben koyardım... Fabrika karından işçilere hisse dağıtır, onlara çalışma zevkini aşılardım. Onların huzuru ve yarından korkmamaları benim en büyük sevincim olurdu.

ⁱⁱ Müslüman Savaşçı

Islamist youth, participation in radical terrorist organizations is known. However, the action of taking the hills alone is not a common practice for rebelling against the corrupt socio-economic structure. Hence forth, Abdullah marries the daughter of Kerim, Selma, and thus makes a soft transition to the legitimate structure at the end of the novel.



CHAPTER 6

POSTMODERNISM, INDIVIDUALIZATION AND EXPECTATIONS

Throughout the history of the Republic, the efforts of political Islam to adopt itself in the public sphere can be read with a variety of fiction, each of which clarifies the different dimensions of the subject. It is clear that in the way the parties are defined, models that allow for different assessments can be created in revealing the similar and diverging aspects of the missions undertaken for both parties and in determining the scope and nature of the ideological devices used. The unchanging common point of fiction is the phenomenon of *conflict*.

Kahraman defines the Republican wing, through the historical bloc conceptualization borrowed from Gramsci. According to the author, the ideology of the Republic is an epistemological break in the historical background. It is also a historically progressive movement. It is a national bourgeois democratic revolution. It was realized with the historical bloc consisting of the gentry, the army and the intellectuals. But since the forces that would carry the revolution classically were not formed in a sufficiently objective way, the movement was increasingly centralized, became

bureaucratic and decisions were taken from top to be notified to bottom. In a semi-totalitarian, authoritarian, hierarchical structure, the revolution has tried to cut off all ties with the past in order to impose its reality on society. (Kahraman, 2002, p.8)

The newly established Republican regime *-in accordance with the rising ideological formation of the period-* claimed to regulate every aspect of life. Since *science was the most genuine master in life*ⁱ, the measure of thinking should be calibrated through this positivist point of view. In this sense, almost everything had to be defined and encouraged to implement, from how to grow agricultural produce to how to dress in formal or informal gatherings. Religious thought, which was said to belong to the individual sphere of people, also had its share from this re-evolutionary perspective. For the correct understanding of religion, the power had translated and expounded on the holy book of Islam and took the responsibility of religious education on itself. It can be assumed that the claim to regulate every aspect of life suppressed individual choices by trivializing it.

Consequently, positivism-based hegemonic nation-state ideology tried to impose its own world view on society in a superimposed manner but did not achieve the desired success in the process of socio-cultural transformation. In the transition period from the Ottoman to the Republic, it is understood

ⁱ Hayatta en hakiki mürşit ilimdir.

that the power evolved towards a structure that was legitimized through the election by putting an end to the sovereignty of the monarch as in the Western bourgeois revolutions. However in the second phase of the transformation, it cannot be said that the efforts to prepare the market to serve capitalism have been successful despite the existence of such attempts. It would be necessary to wait for the Özal period for radical steps to be taken on this issue.

The rapid change in Turkey's socio-economic environment after 1980's was elaborated in previous chapters. The rural-urban migration phenomenon resulting from the implementation of economic formulations has contributed to social mobility in two ways. At the end of this period -*whose one side evolved to degeneration and the other to arabesque*- individuality was accepted to be superior and was appreciated than it had ever been before. The process that took place from 1990s to 2000s bears the trace of socio-economic issues caused by dramatic structural changes. 2000s, mark the beginning of the use of state apparatus by the Islamic capital, which has grown in the last twenty years, in order to create its own *domestic and national* bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, those who view the issue from the axes of modernity and postmodernity, move the field of conflict to a different ideological historical perspective. It can be said that political Islam approaches

postmodernism with a certain tolerance. Kahraman states that the concept brings with it the criticism of two fundamental elements inherent in modernism. First, positivism accepted as the founding ideology of modernism, adopted a dogmatic character and constituted hegemony on social, cultural and political processes. Second, it created a future utopia by doing social engineering to master the ideology of a teleological and imaginary future and organized the social and political procedures accordingly. (Kahraman, 2002, p.8)

The socio-cultural adaptation of the problem, has revealed a structure which naturally nurtured the opposite pole of the Republican cadres and included conflict. For the conservative wing that defines itself as opposed to the Kemalist ideology, postmodernism which criticizes modernity, should be naturally appealing. It can be thought that the structure of postmodernism that emphasizes dissimilarities by expostulating the uniformity and the administrative structure of the Republic, can also yield results as differentiation in governmental structure. Since the early 1990s, Islamic segments have begun to articulate postmodernist views with indirect references, without establishing a direct relationship between them and postmodernism, due to concepts' Western origin. Concordantly, the *Medina Document*, which advocated for multi-jurisdiction, was presented as a concrete indicator of social peace and was frequently brought up. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss whether Medina Document has

such a mission or not. However, the aspect of the document regarding the culture of coexistence should be pointed out.

From this perspective, postmodernism, which includes the right to be different, can be seen as a suitable ground of thought for political Islam.

Referring to Armağan, Saf explains why postmodernism appeals to Islamists as follows:

- Postmodernism reveals the dilemmas and inabilities of modernism.
- Pursuit of alternatives for the exhausted modernism is believed to offer a chance for Islam to be revived.
- The rejection of the one-sidedness of modernist secularism paves the way for the utilization of the elements of traditions and religion suggested by Islam.
- Post-modernists give importance to diversity and abundance of values. (Saf, 2016, p.110)

Although postmodernism and Islamism show similarities in many points in terms of criticism of modernism, the author states that there are certain differences between them. Since postmodernism has a pluralistic structure on the basis of identity politics, it tolerates Islamism as a political movement. However, the same approach does not apply to Islamism. According to the

writer, Islamism is a totalitarian ideology and does not allow for diversity or pluralism in its essence. (Saf, 2016, p. 109)

It is only to be expected that the changing socio-economic conditions have an impact on Muslims' daily living practices too. To Göle, the pace of change in social the structure of the Islamic community in Turkey has increased since 1980s.

...all three categories of the Islamist counter-elites (the engineers, the women and the intellectuals), reveal a new profile of Islamist actors; all three are the product of secular education, urbanization and Islamization; all three are the result of the hybrid nature of modernism and Islamism; and all three are in conflict with the previous modern Westernized elites. (Göle, 1997, p.57)

The Islamists are the counter-elites of Republicans, but the elites of their followers. They have become the new models. The utopian desire to change society is what distinguishes Islamist movements from other contemporary social movements, *-such as feminism and environmentalism-* which recognize pluralism and contribute to the strengthening of civil society. Islamist movements, on the contrary, aim at a complete change that can threaten secularism. They want to have moral control over the public sphere through control of women's sexuality, limiting public encounters between the sexes, and the right of censorship over the media and the arts. (Göle, 1997, p.58)

A similar framework summarized above can be observed through Islamic novels. Since the 2000s, Islamic novels have departed from the typical template of salvation novels with respect to the themes they deal with. To the novel characters of this period, Kemalist ideology no longer provides a suitable basis. To exemplify, the plot of Rasim Özdenören's pacifist Muslim subjectivity against *imposing Kemalist ideology* fails to keep its place in the public agenda where Halime Toros settles accounts with the two-way neighborhood pressure on the problem of headscarf. Even the writers such as Emine Şenlikoğlu and Ahmet Günbay Yıldız, known for not being open to reconciliation, question the dominant religious understanding. Before discussing the consequences of this situation, it is better to dwell upon its causes.

The possessed political and economic power brought with it the necessity of answering some questions Muslims had never seen in the earlier periods. The younger Muslim generation brought up as the opponent of the former elites have also become the inheritors of them. In this sense, the solution recommendations of their forerunners who encountered with similar problems, have become handy to them when compared to their classical reference sources' recipes.

Contemporary authors begun to frame the old formulas in a different way so as to accommodate to the newly emerged community. The typical

salvation novel which almost always ends with patriotic death and centers on an impossible love is not fit for the purpose. Further, the mindset *Don't let it out of this room* seems to have lost its actuality. In the plot of a classical Islamic novel immoral norms, sins and confusions are part of the opposite side. Characters who have once reached salvation never go beyond the limits of Islam again. They are always sure of themselves and they never falter. But with the new understanding of fictionalization, everything has been altered due to the needs of new Muslim type.

Among the novels read on the aforementioned time period, there is no source worth-mentioning in terms of the binary of political Islam and Kemalism, which makes the topic of this thesis. The emphasis on anti-Kemalism appears to have relatively diminished in the novels of this era, evolving to something rather un-Islamic with an unknown essence.

Halime Toros' novel *The Tune of the Hoops* can be read as an objection of Islamic feminism to male dominant culture. The author boldly questions the relationship between Muslim women and the society they live in and analyzes the social prejudices against a woman who takes off her headscarf.

It was like I was his other face. I was the part that jumped from his rib. He would answer to society and to Allah in my nameⁱ. (Toros, 1997 p.110)

...

ⁱ Sanki öteki yüzüydüm onun. Kaburgasından fırlayan parçaydım. Topluma da Allah'a da benim adıma o hesap verecekti

We all wanted the consent of Allah. Yes indeed. How the consent of Allah transformed into the consent of our husbands after the marriage, we could not understandⁱ. (Toros, 1997 p.115)

...

But I'm afraid to run into myself. I am afraid being abandoned, being alone, condemning, losing everything I have. I am afraid not to find an answer when they ask "why?"ⁱⁱ (Toros, 1997 p.153)

Ahmet Kekeç's novel, *After the Rain*, is about virtual, degrading, dirty relationships of the society. Contrary to usual, the protagonist of the novel, Murat, is a dissembler whose expectations of the future are lost and is overwhelmed by the heavy pressure of political and environmental conditions. He cannot understand and being far away from salvation, he is disturbed and unhappy.

Ahmet Akçay reports that Ahmet Günbay Yıldız, in his novel, *Forgive us Life*ⁱⁱⁱ, tells a story about the frustration of a Muslim boy whose father was living with a woman without official marriage. Emine Şenlikoğlu's novel *Woman Oppress Woman*^{iv} is about the love of a married woman to a man other than her husband. (Akçay, 2012, p.123)

ⁱ Biz Allahın rızasını istiyorduk. Evet öyleydi. Evlenince ne oldu da kocanın rızasına dönüştü evliliklerimiz anlayamadık.

ⁱⁱ Ama kendimle karşılaşmaktan korkuyorum. Terkedilmekten, yalnız kalmaktan, kınanmaktan, sahip olduğum herşeyi kaybetmekten. "Neden?" diye sorduklarında verecek bir cevap bulamamaktan.

ⁱⁱⁱ Affedersin Hayat

^{iv} Kadınları Kadınlar da Eziyor

It may be said that disclosures become very common from inner circle of Islamic neighborhoods. Characters actually have a hard time with the everyday problems and are hurt by the sins of the conservatives. They get tired of the bigotry in their close environment and show resistance to old extraneous advises. They even use the arguments they have borrowed from the counter side as a mechanism of internalization.

Since the beginning of the 2000s, political Islam is in power by itself and thus it no longer requires the consent of the other side for the fulfilment of the public demands. As a result, building collective consciousness through marginalization does not have the rational basis it did before. When the government in power eliminated the spaces of victimhood articulated by the people who voted for the party, this decreased the effect of the narrations about the evil of the other side. Fiction, by its very definition, has to present *the other* as strong so that the victory can be great. However, islamophobia encountered in daily life have long ceased to be organized actions but mostly individual attitudes so they lack the means to cause huge victimhood or injuries.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

Political Islam in Turkey has mainly defined itself through Kemalist ideology and its institutions that are perceived as counter front. Precisely because of that, it is mandatory to comprehend the current form of political Islam by exposing the *anti-revolutionary* aspect of the movement.

Understanding the position of the Kemalist ideology in the Islamic novels has vital importance in order to comprehend the political struggle of Islam in Turkey. These works are also important mediators in terms of this ideological opposition.

The fact that many Islamic novels written beginning from the late 1960s have been able to enter almost every house up to the remote corners of Anatolia, can be said to aim to protect families from the damages of foreign publications by directing their children to relatively *safe territories*. However, considering the ultimate goals of political Islam, it can be seen that the real benefit expected from the novels is the formation of a Muslim community that is enchained to a common ideological idea. In other words, it is possible

to say that individualistic efforts to protect the youth and the wishes of establishing political unity may serve as interconnected goals.

It is possible to categorize Islamic novels under political fiction, to some extent. The fact that they serve to the development of collective conscious and are used as a tool of propaganda with their direct political messages interwoven into the plot indeed supports this claim. It is the literature itself which serves as a political propaganda material for the Islamic circle, identifies an opposing party and by doing so, it determines its own ideological position. On the other hand, it aims to unite its supporters in the face of common suffering, closes the ranks, and emphasizes the dynamics of the group by making the differences less important.

There is a relatively homogeneous understanding among Islamic novels regarding the Kemalist order, despite of their differences in style and emphasis. The main argument of the novels is that after the War of Independence, Islamic groups were shunned and the expected fair Islamic order was replaced by the pre-Islamic age of ignorance system that alienated the individual.

The cadres that founded the Republic received support from historical novels during their efforts to establish national identity through the *enlightened positivist* ideology. The argument for official history has created a basis for evaluation and response for its alternative as well. Ultimately, Turkish

conservatism is based on the reaction to Kemalist revolution which has clearly nothing to do with pan-Islamism or monarchy. It is seen that the negated universal integration-oriented Kemalist discourse was used to establish the counter identity.

A striking element in the alternative conservative history perspective, is the emphasis on the necessity of building family and community values against universal integrationist policies that disrupt the social structure. Accordingly, local and national culture needs a local and national educational substructure.

Kemalism and the institutions of the Republic seem to have been defined as the objects of marginalization which aim to restore the society in accordance with the order of Islamic life. In the works, the founder of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, is not targeted directly, and yet the contrast reflected in between the lines is still communicated to the audience. The institutions and practices are criticized, although they are rarely associated with the actions of particular people. Instead, corrupt implementations are subtly shown to be attached to the general mindset.

In the novels, the phenomenon of war and the appreciation of jihad are among the themes that are often told through the emphasis of martyrdom. Willingly walking to death, the Muslim individual serves the purpose of continuation of the Islamic society, which is more valuable than their own lives. In this sense, the individual is pushed to the background through the

glorified death, while the Muslims' *mass stance* against the case is highlighted.

The sanctity of the struggle is also supplemented by reminders emphasizing that the pioneers who walk to the martyrdom have rights over every individual of the society.

Throughout the history of the Republic, the efforts of political Islam to adopt itself in the public sphere can be read with a variety of fiction, each of which clarifies the different dimensions of the subject.

The War of Independence constitutes an important reference point for the history of political Islam in Turkey. According to its supporters, the era evokes the first signs of conflict with the practices or a lifestyle in compliance with the orders of Islamic ideology. In other words, it is the beginning of Islam being condemned to exile in its own homeland, the differentiation in common goals and consequently great disappointments.

It is appropriate to determine the common point of the Islamic novels about the subject as the agreement that the new order after the war has been built with a very different point in mind than the goal of the Liberation War. In the works, conservatives that form the ideological and physical backbone of the struggle are punished in return for the sacrifices which would yield to alienation problems later on.

The degrees of alienation experienced by the characters in Islamic novels are not determined by the relations of production and distribution, but by psychological perceptions stemming from *otherness*. Frustrations in the individual level are instrumentalized to serve the efforts of building collective consciousness and the perception of *common nonconformism* is constructed.

The demands of participation in Islamic novels arise in the form of headscarves, educational rights and freedom of prayer. The picture generally drawn is about the women excluded from social opportunities who are stripped of their right to receive education due to their veils.

Communism is separated from its economic and intellectual background and roughly reduced to atheism in Islamic novels. However, it should be emphasized that the anti-communist point of view is a common denominator among conservatives and nationalists. In the plotted patterns, which are built on the binaries and contrasts, the wealth is praised when coupled with charity. Poverty, however, is seen as an ultimately individual and a moral problem existing from divine examination.

From 1990s to 2000s, Turkey experienced the traces of socio-economic issues caused by rapid structural changes. The concept of alienation and demands for social and political participation paved the way for individualization among conservatives. 2000s, on the other hand, mark the beginning of the use of state apparatus by the Islamic capital, which has especially grown in the last

twenty years, in order to create its own *domestic and national* bourgeoisie following its power grab. The country witnessed the differentiation in the structure of the proletarian class, new economic actors from small and medium-sized enterprises with their demands for the change of the extremely monopolistic economic structure disqualifying them from the market which led them to politicize accordingly.

Changing socio-economic conditions have impacts on Political Islam too. The Islamists are the counter-elites of Republicans, but the elites of their followers. They have become the new models.

A process similar to the framework summarized above can be observed through Islamic novels. Since the 2000s, Islamic novels have departed from the typical template of salvation novels with respect to the themes they deal with. To the novel characters of this period, Kemalist ideology no longer provides a suitable basis. The possessed political and economic power brought with it the necessity of answering some questions Muslims had never seen in the earlier periods. The younger Muslim generation brought up as the opponent of the former elites have also become the inheritors of them. In this sense, the solution recommendations their followers come up with regarding similar problems have begun to appeal to them more. Contemporary authors appear to aim at framing the old formulas in a different way so as to accommodate them to the newly emerged individualization, rather than

building collective consciousness. The typical salvation novel which almost always ends with patriotic death and centers on an impossible love is not fit for the purpose.

The emphasis on anti-Kemalism appears to have relatively diminished in the novels of this era, evolving to something rather un-Islamic with an unknown essence.

Salvation novels are still being written and sold sizably. Even today, the genre continues to be popular because of its dimension that addresses the psychological world of readers. However, it is seen that the classical salvation template will be abandoned as time passes by. The new approach will probably define its place somewhere close to individual life coaching mission rather than an initiative for collective conservative consciousness. The fact that the cult works have not appeared in recent times can be explained by this attitude. As in all areas of literature, Islamic novels have to alter to adapt to changing circumstances. The direction of transformation will mainly be determined in line with the direction of development of society.

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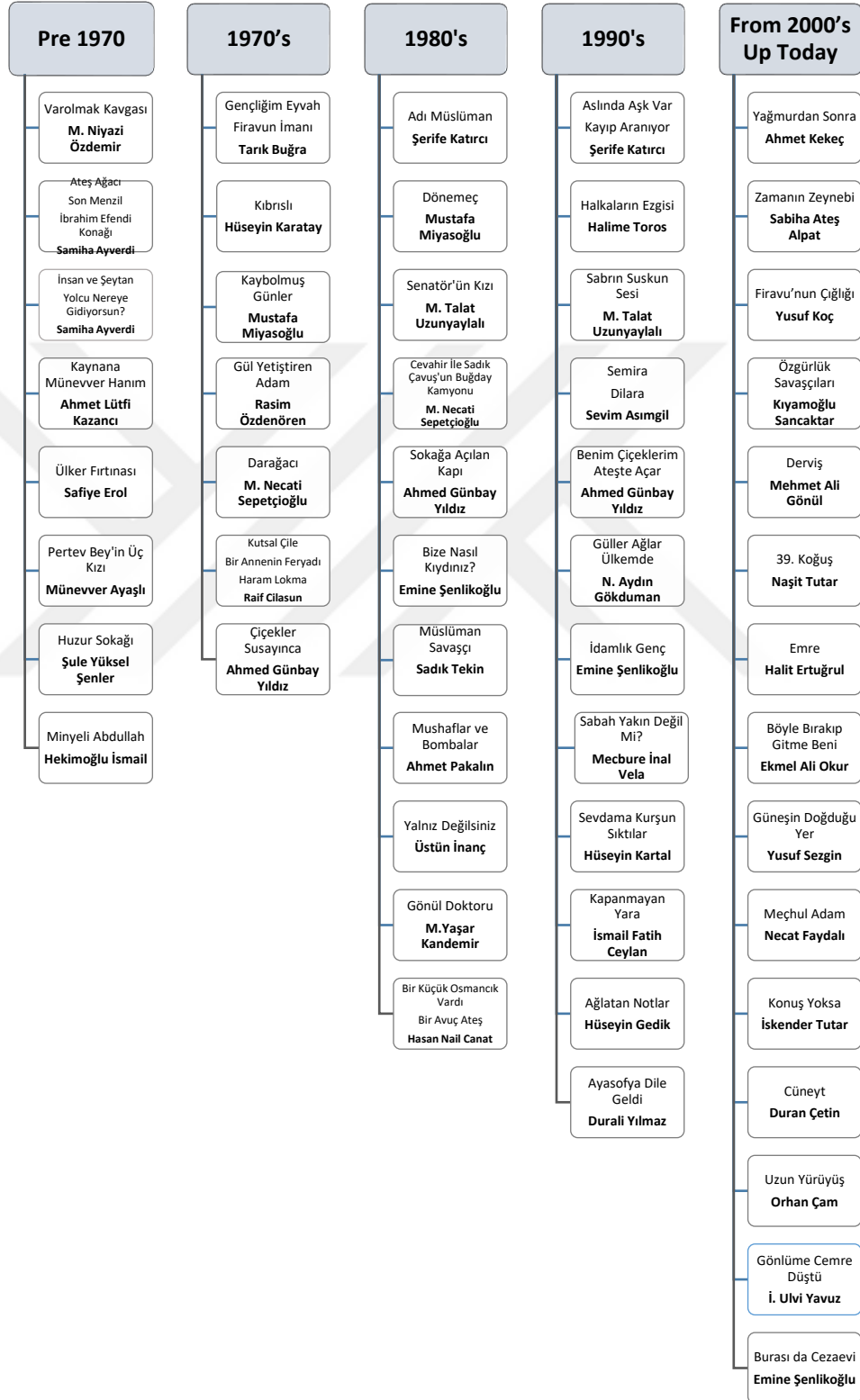
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APPENDICES

A: Figure 1 Chronological Classification of the Novels



B: TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKE ÖZET

Bu alıřmada siyasal İslam olgusunun, Müslüman kimliđi oluřturma ve toplumsal katılım yönündeki gayretleri, İslami romanlar üzerinden incelenmiřtir. Özcü yaklařımdan uzak durmayı tercih edenler için her iki alan arasındaki etkileřimin varlıđı bir sır olmasa da, romanların kolektif bilinlenme abasına hizmet etmesi gerektiđini düřünen ve kendilerini *Müslüman* olarak tanımlayan bireyler ile oluřturdukları siyasal hareket arasındaki etkileřimin boyutlarını göstermesi bakımından, konunun ayrıca ele alınması zorunludur.

Edebiyatın, Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarından itibaren İslam olgusuna kayıtsız kalmadıđı hususu vurgulanmalıdır. Sıklıkla bařvurulan bađnaz ve sözde dindar cami hocası tiplemesinin toplum hafızasında belirli bir yeri olduđu söylenebilir. Bu tipleme, köy enstitülerinden yetişen öđretmen kuřađın daha aktif olduđu köy romanlarında da boy göstermekte ve düzenin iřbirliki temsilcisi olarak deđiřimin karřısında durmaktadır.

Siyasal İslam'ın genel fikri yapısına uymadıđı gerekesiyle, laik kesime ait olarak kabul ettiđi alanlarda kendi paralel uygulamalarını hayata geirdiđi bilinmektedir. İslami düđün organizasyonları, tesettür defileleri, İslami eđlence-tatil mekânları ve benzeri uygulamalar konuya uygun örnekler olarak

verilebilir. Hatta bu kesimlerce eleştirel yaklaşılan tüm kültürel yapı ve pratiklerin başına nerdeyse sadece *İslami* ifadesi eklenmek suretiyle, kendilerini inançlı kabul eden grupların tüketimine açıldığı değerlendirilebilir. İslami romanlarda da benzer aşamalar takip edilmekte, ancak bu sefer olumsuz olarak kurgulanan karakterler yüceltilirken, olumlu olarak yansıtılan kahramanlar sorgulanır hale getirilmektedir. Bu açıdan bakıldığında seküler ideolojiye ait olduğu düşünülen eserlerin önemli bir kısmının İslami karşılıklarını tespit etmek mümkündür.

Romanlarda, Kemalist ideolojinin kahramanlarına şüpheyile yaklaşılmasının kendi içinde tutarlı iki boyutu vardır. İslami kesim açısından siyasi propaganda vazifesi gören edebiyat karşı tarafı tanımlarken kendi duracağı ideolojik pozisyonu da belirlemiş olmakta, taraftarlarını ortak acılar karşısında bir bütün haline getirerek grup dinamiklerini ön plana çıkarmaktadır. Eserlerde Kemalist düzen şeytanlaştırılarak olumsuz yargılar mevcut sistemle özdeşleştirilmekte, geriye kalan iyi değerler ise siyasal İslam'ın payına bırakılmaktadır.

Eserlerde kurgulandığı şekliyle Kemalist ideolojinin pozisyonunun anlaşılması, Türkiye'de siyasal İslam'ın mücadelesinin kodlarının çözümlenebilmesi bağlamında yaşamsal önemi haizdir. Roman yazarlarının oyunu izleyip başkalarına aktaran anlatıcılar olduğu kabulünden hareketle, anlatıların siyasal İslam'ın kültürel izdüşümlerini yansıtan değerli kaynaklar olduğu söylenebilir.

Bu tez çalışmasında, toplumsal hafızada iz bırakmış ve *Huzur Sokağı*, *Minyeli Abdullah*, *Kıbrıslı* gibi alanının kült eserlerin yanı sıra, -*Ahmet Günbay Yıldız örneğinde olduğu üzere*- Anadolu'da hemen her eve girmiş, çok satan yazarların romanları incelenmiştir. Bunun haricinde, işledikleri konuların mahiyeti bakımından dönemsel olarak öne çıkan Üstün İnanç, Emine Şenlikoğlu, Şerife Katırcı gibi yazarların eserleri araştırmaya dâhil edilmiştir. Özeleştirel bakış açısıyla seleflerinden ayrılan ve bu nedenle benzer çalışmalarda kendilerine yer bulan romanlarının da incelenmesi, konunun bütünlüğü açısından zorunlu görülmüştür. Hüseyin Karatay'ın Kurtuluş Savaşı'nı anlattığı *Çalınan Savaş* ve Tarık Buğra'nın *Firavun İmanı* romanları da ayrıca mercek altına alınmıştır. Büyük satış rakamlarına ulaşmamakla birlikte, uygun araştırma malzemesi sunacağı öngörülen diğer romanlar da okuma listesine eklenmiştir.

Bu noktada, İslami romanlar üzerine çalışma yapan diğer araştırmacılarda olduğu gibi, çok sayıda eser üzerinden yapılacak konu bazlı inceleme ile az sayıda eserin derinlemesine incelenmesi arasında tercih yapma zorunluluğu hâsıl olmuştur. İkinci yöntemin daha detaylı ve çok yönlü analizlere daha uygun olduğu düşünülmeyle birlikte, çalışmanın maksatları bakımından çok sayıda benzer örneğin temin edilmesinin daha kullanışlı olduğu değerlendirilmiştir.

Önceleri tercüme edebiyatı şeklinde başlayan Türk romancılığı, daha sonra kendi üslubunu oluşturarak içinden çıktığı topluma özgü konulara yönelmiştir. İlk telif romanların, yerli anlatı ile Batılı roman arasında bir yerde, fakat yeni hayat tarzının bir ifadesi olarak daha gerçekçi ve *insana dair* bir anlayış içerisinde yazıldığı söylenebilir.

II. Meşrutiyet sonrası Türk romanı, Meşrutiyet ideolojisi çevresinde değerlendirilmelidir. Bu ideoloji, yeniden kuruluşun, ulus olma ülküsünün ve çağdaşlaşmanın endişelerini beraberinde getirmekte ve Cumhuriyet dönemine kadar uzanan çizgide meydana gelen romanlar için bir hazırlık safhası olma özelliklerini bünyesinde taşımaktadır.

Toplumun eğitmeye dönük faydacı ve öncü işlevler yüklenen Tanzimat romanında işlenen Doğu-Batı çatışması sorunsalı, Cumhuriyetin ilanından sonra Kemalist kadrolarla milliyetçi - muhafazakâr kesim arasında paylaşılmış gibi gözükmektedir. Cumhuriyeti kuran elite destek veren edebiyatçılar, toplumun kültürel yapısına uygun ve pozitivist bir batılılaşma anlayışını savunurken, geleneksel değerleri batı karşısında yüceltme gayreti muhafazakârların alanına bırakılmıştır. Cahil toplumun edebiyat üzerinden eğitilmesi düşüncesi ise, iki görüş arasında taraftar bulmuştur. Ancak burada İslami kesimin edebiyat üzerinden propaganda faaliyetine katılmasının, Kemalist devrim taraftarlarına göre nispeten geç bir zamana denk düştüğünün belirtilmesi zorunludur.

Cumhuriyet'in ilk yıllarından itibaren geçmişle hesaplaşma, eski düzeni tasfiye etme ve özellikle Osmanlı cemaatçiliğine karşı bir millî kimlik yaratma meseleleri, romancıların üzerinde önemle durdukları konuların başında yer almıştır. Yakup Kadri'nin *Yaban* örneğinde olduğu gibi istisnalar bir kenara bırakılırsa, bu dönemde kirlenmiş İstanbul algısına karşı temiz ve saf Anadolu imgesinin sıklıkla kullanıldığı söylenebilir. Ancak yerli halk, pozitivist ve nihayetinde Batıcı bir akıl doğrultusunda yeniden tanımlanmalı, arkaik geleneklerinden arındırılmalıdır.

Cumhuriyet'in ilk yıllarındaki *gözleme dayanan gerçekliğin*, 1930-1940 yılları arasında *toplumcu gerçekçiliğe* yönelmeye başladığı görülmektedir. Avrupa'dan ucuz malların gelişiyle geleneksel üretimin sona ermesi, işsizlik ve köyden kente göç olgusu, bu döneme ait eserlerde kendine yer bulmuştur. İkinci Dünya Savaşı dönemi ve sonrasında yaşanan ekonomik sıkıntılar ve artan toplumsal mobilite, köy ve köylünün sorunlarına eğilme yaklaşımını öne çıkarmıştır. 1970'lerde zirveye çıkacak olan köy edebiyatında Cumhuriyet döneminde kurulan Köy Enstitülerinin önemli bir kaynak vazifesi gördüğü söylenebilir.

İslami Romanları, politik romanların bir alt türü olarak değerlendirmek mümkündür. Gerçekten de türe ait metinlerin, grup bilinci oluşturma çabaları ve satır aralarına serpiştirilen doğrudan siyasi mesajları ile bir propaganda vasıtası olarak kullanılmaları, bu kanaati desteklemektedir. Eserlerde geçen

günlük hayatta rastlanması kolay olmayan tesadüfler haricinde, kurgusal planda gerçek hayata uygunluk konusunda bir gayretin varlığından da söz etmek mümkündür. Ancak özellikle ilk dönem hidayet romanları için geçerli olan iki boyutlu tipler, türü, Yeşilçam sinemasının melodramasına yaklaştırmaktadır.

Klasik hidayet roman şablonunda, önceden günah objesi olan kadının, Müslüman erkeğe âşık olduktan sonra hidayete ermesi klişesine, sıklıkla rastlanmaktadır. Romanın başkarakteri konumundaki erkek ise, moderniteyi genç kızın ortamında deneyimlemek zorundadır. Bu durumun iki noktadan kaynaklanması olasıdır. Birincisi, bohem olarak tasvir edilen kadın karakterin, Müslüman erkekle karşılaşabileceği alanlar sınırlıdır. Yazar karakterleri cami ya da tarikat ortamında bir araya getirirse, erkeğin dönüştürücü fonksiyonunun yeterince vurgulanamayacağı açıktır. Meselenin ikinci boyutu ise İslami kesimin sosyal statü beklentileriyle ilgilidir. İdealize edilen müslüman erkekler, Kemalist romanlarda sürekli bağınazlık içinde halkı geri bıraktıran cahil ve sömürü düzeninin işbirlikçisi köy imamları şeklinde değil, sosyal katmanları hızla tırmanmaya talip üniversite öğrencileri olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadırlar. Görülen odur ki, imamlara itibarlarının iade edilmesi, hidayet romanlarının öncelikleri arasında yer almamaktadır.

Klasik dönemdeki İslami romanların temelinde okuyucuyu kurtuluşa erdirerek *asr-ı saadet* devrinin yeniden hayata geçirilmesi amacı vardır. Uygun şartlar

olduğunda hidayete ermiş bireylerin ebedi mutluluğu beraberce yakalayabileceklerine olan inanç, türün pek çok eserinde kendini gösterir.

Hidayete eren kahramanlar, bocalamayan, hata yapmayan, çelişki yaşamayan bireylerdir. Karakterlerin bu çerçevede oluşturulduğu eserlerde kurguların zorlama ve çoğu zaman da gerçek hayattan kopuk olması kaçınılmazdır. Tam da bu noktada roman yazarı bir açmazı çözümlenmek zorunda kalmaktadır. İslami romanların ortak kaygısı, yaşanan gerçekliğin edebiyat alanına taşınarak bireyin düşünce dünyasına etki edilmesidir. Ancak eserlerin verdiği nihai mutluluk mesajı için, kişilerin günlük hayatın getirdiği sorunlar ve bu sorunlar karşısında geliştirilen bireysel çözümlerden mümkün olduğunca arındırılması istenmektedir. Zira farklılaşma tipleri karakterlere dönüştürmekte, dönüşen karakterler ise homojen olarak bir arada yaşayan kitlelere evrilememektedir. Diğer bir anlatımla, kişinin dönüşmesi için eserlerin kişinin hayatına benzer sorunlar ve örnek cevaplar içermesi zorunluyken, hidayetinin ardından dönüşmenin belirli bir anda durdurularak karakterlerin masalsılığa yönelmesi arzu edilmektedir. İşte bu çelişik amaçların, ancak nihayetinde sanal ve belirli ölçüde izin verilen bir gerçekliğin varlığıyla uzlaştırılabileceği düşünülmüştür.

İslami romanların edebi yönlerinin kuvvetli olmadığı söylenebilir. Zaten amaç sanat adına kalıcı bir eser bırakmak olmadığından, bu durum okuyucu tarafından sorun edilmez. Mahiyeti itibariyle karşı tepki akımı olarak gelişen

tür, mesaj kaygılı anlatımıyla kendini belli eder. Burada mesaj kaygısının öneminin altının çizilmesinde fayda bulunmaktadır. Zira yazar *bilen* pozisyonuyla okuyucusunu eğiterek doğru yola ulaştırma hususunda kendisini sorumlu hissetmektedir.

1960'ların sonlarından günümüze kadar yazılan çok sayıda İslami romanın Anadolu'nun ücra köşelerine kadar hemen her eve girebilmiş olmasında, ailelerin çocuklarını *masuma* yönlendirerek *yabancı neşriyatın zararlarından koruma* amacı bulunduğu söylenebilir. Ancak siyasal İslam'ın nihai hedefleri dikkate alındığında, romanlardan beklenen asıl faydanın ideolojik ortak bir hedefe bağlı Müslüman kitlenin oluşturulması olduğu görülebilir. Diğer bir ifadeyle bireysel manada gençliğin korunması çabasıyla, toplumsal planda siyasi birliğin tesis edilmesi isteklerinin, birbirleriyle irtibatlı hedefler olduklarının söylenmesi mümkündür.

Tarihe geçmişte neler olduğunun ortaya çıkarılmasından daha farklı anlamlar yüklenmesi, devletlerin tarih eğitimi politikaları üzerinden de izlenebilir. Ülke vatandaşlarına yönelik tüm tarih öğretimi faaliyetlerinde, tarihi olayların öğretilmesi temel amacının yanında vatandaşlık bilincinin oluşturulması kaygılarının da belirleyici olduğu vurgulanmalıdır. *Tarih eğitiminin disiplin dışı amaçları* olarak da ifade edilen yaklaşımın özü, vatandaşlık eğitimi ve kimlik aktarımına dönüktür. Burada toplumsal ve kültürel değerler merkeze alınarak öğretilen geçmişle makbul vatandaşlar yetiştirmek hedeflenir. Böylece içinde

yaşanılan toplumun kimliği öğrenciye aktarılarak aidiyet bağı kurulmaya çalışılır.

1923 yılında ilan edilen Cumhuriyet rejimi, devlet organizasyonunun ötesinde, toplumsal kurgu bağlamında yeni bir model önermiştir. Yeni düzen, imparatorluk iddiasından ulus devlet lehine feragat etmeyi öngörürken devlet ve birey ilişkisini bu kez pozitivist bir bakış açısıyla ele almış ve ortak kimlik paydası olarak Türk vatandaşlığını belirlemiştir. Toplumsal yapı harcının vatandaşlık üzerinden oluşturulması, imparatorluk sistemi olan dinsel grup bağlarının gevşetilmesini zorunlu kılmıştır. Buna göre, ulus devleti ayakta tutabilmek için ihtiyaç duyulan şey artık, ümmete dayanan Müslüman kardeşliği değil yüzüne batıya dönmüş Türk vatandaşlarının ülküsel birliği olmalıdır.

Cumhuriyet kadroları kendilerini tanımlamaya öncelikle ne olmadıklarını ifade ederek başlamışlardır. Bireylerin kendilerini belirli bir yerde konumlandırabilmek için tüm olumsuz değerlerin yüklendiği bir *ötekinin varlığına* ihtiyaç duyulmakta ve yapılan bu *negatif inşa* sonucu *biz* duygusu oluşturulmaktadır.

Bu maksatlarla hazırlanan Türk Tarih tezi, Cumhuriyet ideallerine bağlı, yüzü batıya dönük pozitivist Türk gençliğinin toplumsal hafızasına hitap etmek üzere, iktidar bloku tarafından hazırlanan çok yönlü değişim planının bir parçası olarak hayata geçirilmiştir. 1929 - 1937 yılları arasını kapsayan bu

süreçte, İktidarı oluşturan elitlerin tez aracılığıyla, Batının Türklere yönelik dışlama ve küçümsemesine, *aslında Türklerin tarih boyunca uygarlıklar yaratan bir ulus olduğu* savıyla cevap vermeye çalıştığı değerlendirilebilir. Bu bağlamda ve ötekinin kurgulanmasını teminen, Osmanlı padişahları rahatlarına düşkün, ulema sınıfı gelişmeyi engelleyici vb. şekilde tanımlanırken, ilerlemeye karşı bağnaz güçler iç, ülkenin bağımsızlığına göz koymuş yedi düvel ise dış tehdit unsurlarını oluşturmuştur.

Cumhuriyeti kuran kadrolar, aydınlanmacı Kemalist ideoloji üzerinden milli kimliği oluşturma gayretleri sırasında, tarihi romanlardan destek almışlardır. Popüler aşk romanlarında kanonik edebiyatta görülen *millî güzellik ve millî ahlâk* kavramlarının yerini, beden medeni yorumuna bağlı olarak ortaya çıkan ve büyük ölçüde bürokratik elitin sınıfsal gururuyla şekillenen *medeni ahlâk* anlayışının aldığı belirtilmelidir.

Anılan ötekileştirme ve dönüştürme çabalarının, karşı tepki cephesini oluşturduğu ya da öteden beri örtük biçimde devam eden çatışmayı daha belirgin hale getirdiği anlaşılmaktadır. Özellikle günlük özel alana müdahale şeklinde algılanan reformlara, İslamcı kesimin direnç gösterdiği bilinmektedir. Kadın bedeni üzerinden yürütülen mücadelenin bugün dahi mutlak bir uzlaşmayla neticelendiği söylenemez. İki farklı bakış açısının karşı karşıya geldiği anlarda, İslami cephenin rejimin hemen tüm söylemlerine aynı düzlemde ve fakat tam aksi savlarla yanıt vermeye çalıştığı anlaşılmaktadır.

Buna göre alternatif tarih anlayışı da *-resmi tarihçilikte olduğu gibi-* benimsemiş bulunduğu ideolojik izafiyet çerçevesi doğrultusunda yandaş kazanma amacına yönelmiş ve böylelikle karşı çıktığı anlayışın metodolojisini aynen benimsemekte sakınca görmemiştir.

Karşı cephenin kendi varlığını kanıtlaması için siyasi güç gerekmektedir. Bunu sağlamak üzere resmi olmayan tarih yazımları genellikle ideolojik bir taraf tutmak zorunda kalmakta, bu ideolojik yönelim ise, tarihsel gerçekçiliği amaç olmaktan çıkararak nesneleştirmektedir.

Bu bağlamda resmi tarih tezinin, kendi alternatifi için de değerlendirme ve cevap verme zeminini oluşturduğu belirtilmelidir. Alternatif tarih yazımı, kendi tarihsel gerçekliğini kanıtlama yoluna giderek resmi tarihi eleştirmiş ancak resmi tarihten tamamen kopmamıştır.

12 Eylül ve sonrası döneminin egemen düşüncesi haline gelen Türk-İslam sentezi yaklaşımına göre, Türk Milletinin ideal dünya düzeni telakkileri ile evrensel ahlak anlayışları arasında doğrudan bir uyum vardır. Türkler, İslam dairesine girmekle benliklerini yitirmemişler ve fakat tarih içindeki geliştirdikleri üstün hasletleri İslam ile taçlandırarak bu dinin tüm dünyada kabul gören temsilcileri haline gelmişlerdir.

Alternatif muhafazakâr tarihçiliğin, yapısı itibariyle evrenselliğe karşı reaksiyoner olması anlaşılabilir. Nihayetinde Türk muhafazakârlığı, Kemalist

devrimin muhafazakârlık karşıtlığına gösterilen tepkisellik üzerine kuruludur. Bu noktadan hareketle, Kemalist söylemin evrensel entegrasyon yönlü düşünce ufkunun olumsuzlanmasının, karşı kimlik oluşturulması çabalarının doğal sonucu olduğu ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Muhafazakâr tarih perspektifinde dikkati çeken diğer bir unsur, toplum yapısını bozan entegrasyoncu politikalara karşı aile ve cemaat değerlerinin inşa edilmesi zorunluluğuna yönelik vurgudur. Buna göre yerli ve milli kültür, yerli ve milli bir eğitim altyapısına ihtiyaç duymaktadır.

Özetlenen çerçevede Kemalist ideolojinin Osmanlı'yla arasında inşa ettiği kalın fikirsel duvarın bir benzerinin, mevcut rejimle İslami düzen arayışı içinde olan kitleler arasına çekilmesi gerekmektedir. İslami romanların da *yerli ve milli* bir kimlik oluşturma sürecinde aynı patikayı kullandığı söylenebilir. Toplumu İslami hayat nizamı doğrultusunda sağaltmayı kendine hedef edinen İslami romanlarda, Kemalizm ve Cumhuriyetin kurumları ötekileştirilme nesnelere olarak tanımlanmış gözükmemektedir. Bu bağlamda, Cumhuriyetin kurucusu Mustafa Kemal Atatürk doğrudan hedef alınmamış ve fakat satır aralarına serpiştirilen karşıtlık, okuyucuya hissettirilmiştir. Eleştiriler doğrudan Cumhuriyet kurumlarına yönlendirilirken, hatalar genellikle somut kişilerin eylemleriyle ilişkilendirilmemiş ancak muğlak ifadelerle egemen zihniyete izafe edilmiştir.

Ötekileştirme bağlamında çoğu eserde, düşmanla Kemalizm arasında bağ kurularak Cumhuriyetçi ideolojinin *gâvurlukla* eşdeğer tutulduğu görülmektedir. Kemalist romanlarda yobazlıkla itham edilen İslami kesimin savunmasını, karşı tarafın cehaleti iddiası üzerinden kurgulaması da ayrıca dikkat çekmektedir.

İslami romanlarda savaş olgusu ve cihat tanımları, şehitlik vurgusuyla birlikte sıklıkla işlenen temalar arasındadır. Yazarların kendileri için hissettikleri cezalandırılma kaygıları, olayın geçtiği yer bakımından malzeme sunan diğer İslam ülkelerine yönelimi beraberinde getirmiştir. Bu meyanda, Mısır-İsrail Savaşları, Kıbrıs Barış Harekatı, Çeçenlerin Rusya'ya karşı verdikleri özgürlük mücadeleleri, Suriye'de baskıcı Hafız Esad'a karşı direnişler ya da 1991 Cezayir darbesi gibi hayli geniş bir alana yayılan siyasi olaylar, bu tür romanlara kaynaklık teşkil edebilmektedir. Anılan romanlardaki göndermelerin, *-her zaman olduğu gibi-* Türkiye'ye yönelik biçimde okunabileceği açıktır.

Üzerine kimlik bina edilen ötekileştirme ve ötekileştirilene yüklenen negatif inşa süreci, savaş zemininde *ötekisinin düşmana* dönüşmesiyle sonuçlanmaktadır. Yüceltilen cihadın okurun gözünde hak ettiği yeri alması, ancak düşmanın güçlü ve zalim, tehditin ise kuvvetle muhtemel ve yakın olması ile mümkündür.

Güçlü dış mihraklarla işbirliği içindeki egemen sınıfla yapılacak savaşta cihadın tanımında geçen tüm unsurların bir arada kullanılması zaruret arz etmektedir.

Evrensel barış ise ancak İslam hâkimiyeti altında ve bir nevi *pax-Islamica* formatında tahayyül edilmektedir.

Romanlarda bu dünyada gayret ve fedakârlıkları nedeniyle saygı duyulan karakterler, şehitliğe ulaşmak suretiyle yaratıcı katında da şerefli bir mevki elde etmektedirler. Güncel siyasete malzeme verdiği üzere, bu hâl aslında bir kısmet, bir şans işi olarak görülmektedir. Ancak şehadet mekanizmasının, kolektif Müslüman kişiliğinin oluşması için bireysellikten vazgeçilmesi bağlamındaki vurgusunun daha dikkat çekici olduğu değerlendirilmektedir. Bilerek ve isteyerek ölüme yürüyen Müslüman birey, kendi hayatından daha kıymetli olan İslami toplumun devamı gayesine hizmet etmektedir. Bu manada şehitlik kurumu üzerinden fertler arka plana itilirken, Müslümanların dava karşısındaki kitlesel duruşları ön plana çıkarılmaktadır. Geride kalanlara, davaları üzerinde şehitliğe yürüyen öncülerin, grup üzerindeki hakları hatırlatılarak saflar sıklaştırılmakta, ortak bilinç inşa edilmektedir.

Türkiye’de siyasal İslam’ın tarihi bakımından Kurtuluş Savaşı, önemli bir referans noktası teşkil etmektedir. Cumhuriyeti kuran kadrolar açısından Milli Mücadele dönemi; emperyalist devletlere karşı verilen savaşın olduğu kadar çağdaş medeniyet seviyesine ulaşmanın önündeki en büyük engel olan Osmanlı ve onun artık tarihe karışması gereken kurumlarıyla olan mücadelenin de başlangıç tarihi olarak tanımlanırken; siyasal İslam açısından ise düşmanların yurttan kovulmasını müteakiben başlayan, İslam ideolojisi ve

onun emrettiđi yaşam pratiklerine yönelik taarruzun ilk emarelerinin görüldüğü zaman dilimi şeklinde anlaşılmaktadır.

Eserlerdeki belirgin anlayışa göre, barış sonrasında hak etmedikleri muamelelere tabi tutulan Müslümanlar, iktidar sahiplerinin kişisel çıkar kaygıları doğrultusunda başka mecralara yönelttikleri bir davanın ıstırabını yaşamaktadırlar. Romanlarının ortak noktasını, savaş sonrası kurulan yeni düzenin, savaş öncesinde ortaya konulan gayeden çok farklı bir noktada inşa edildiğine ilişkin mutabakatta aramak uygun olacaktır. Mücadelenin ideolojik ve fiziki belkemiğini oluşturan muhafazakârlar, savaş sonrası dışlanmışlar ve fedakârlıkları cezalandırılmakla karşılık bulmuştur.

İslami romanlarda rastlanılan yabancılaşma olgusunu Marksist izafet çerçevesi üzerinden takip etmek oldukça güçtür. Müslüman kimlik inşası çabaları bağlamında ekonomik üretim ve bölüşüm ilişkileri üzerinden yapılan yönlendirmeler, neredeyse yok denecek düzeydedir. Türkiye'deki muhafazakâr İslamcı kesimlerin, sol düşüncenin bütün fraksiyonlarıyla olan ilişkisinin büyük ölçüde din karşıtlığı ve ateizm bağlamında ele alındığı düşünülüğünde, bu durum yadırgatıcı olmaktan uzaklaşmaktadır. Meselenin diğer bir boyutu ise sosyo-ekonomik mobilite imkânlarıyla ilgilidir. İslami romanlarda dramatisasyonu arttırmak ve karşıtlıkları vurgulamak için sıkça başvurulan toplumsal dikey hareketlilik öykülemelerinin, üretim ve bölüşüm

ilişkileri değişmedikçe yabancılaşma olgusunun süreceğini savunan Marksist teoriyle ortak bir noktada buluşması mümkün olmamaktadır.

Bu meyanda, İslami romanlardaki karakterlerin yaşadıkları yabancılaşma düzeylerini, üretim ve bölüşüm ilişkileri değil, ötekileştirilmişlikten kaynaklanan psikolojik algılamalar belirlemektedir. Bireysel plandaki hayal kırıklıkları, kolektif bilinç oluşturma çabalarına hizmet etmek üzere araştırlanmakta ve toplulaştırılmış düzen karşıtlığı algısı kurgulanmaktadır.

İslami romanlarda dışlanmışlık duygusu altında içe kapanma, geleceğe dair umudunu yitirme ya da içinde bulunulan toplumla duygusal bağın yok olması neticesinde aidiyet duygusunda erozyon şeklinde ortaya çıkan yabancılaşma hikâyeleri, bilinçlenmiş Müslüman gençlerde, bireysel psikolojik patolojilere yol açmamaktadır. Zira bu gençlerin elinde diğerlerinde olmayan iman gücü vardır. Bununla birlikte resmi ötekileştirme politikaları neticesinde ortaya çıkan, içinde bulunulan çevreye yabancılaşma hissi, ayrımları keskinleştirerek tarafların arasına aşılmaz engeller koymaktadır. Bireysel bazda yaşanmadığı iddia edilen travma, bu kez tüm ağırlığıyla kendini toplumsal planda hissettirmektedir.

İslami kesimin kamusal alana çıkma mücadelesinin, sosyolojik manada Türkiye'nin son yarım asırdaki temel çatışma konusunu teşkil ettiği söylenebilir. Başörtüsü üzerinden sürdürülen düşünsel çatışmanın 2000'li yıllara kadar kendi içinde boyut değiştirerek şiddetlendiği görülürken,

günümüzde konuya ilişkin tartışmaların eski hararetini yitirmeye başladığı değerlendirilmektedir.

Cumhuriyetçi kadrolarla muhafazakâr kesimin, din-kamusal alan ayırımına ilişkin tanımlamaları arasında ciddi farklılıklar bulunmaktadır. 1990'ların Türkiye'sinde, seküler dünya düzenini savunanlar için dinin siyasal alana müdahalesinin engellenmesi şeklinde anlaşılan laiklik kavramı, dindarlar için siyasetin din alanından elini çekmesi zorunluluğu şeklinde anlaşılmaktaydı. Bu bağlamda tesettür konusunun kullanılması, farklı bakış açılarına sahip taraflar için kullanışlı bazı unsurları bünyesinde taşımaktadır. Öncelikle başörtüsü, sorunu görünür ve tasnif edilebilir kılmaktadır. Başörtüsünün kamusal alanda açtığı yoldan muhafazakâr alana ait diğer unsurların da geçebilme ihtimali, muhafazakârların beklentisini, seküler kesimin ise endişelerinin kaynağını oluşturmuştur.

İslami romanlardaki katılım talepleri başörtüsü, eğitim hakkı ve ibadet özgürlüğü kavramları şeklinde ortaya çıkmaktadır. O kadar ki, türün örnekleri arasından içinde bu üç sorundan birisine değinmeyen bir roman bulmak neredeyse imkânsız gibidir. Genel olarak çizilen tablo, başörtüsü nedeniyle ellerinden eğitim hakkı alınan Müslüman kadınların, toplumsal imkânlardan dışlanması hakkındadır.

Eserlerde geçen Kemalist ekonomik düzen eleştirisinin, *-yazma zamanı ile kurgu zamanının ayrıştığı haller dışında-* gerçekte ne ölçüde Kemalizmin

kendisiyle ilişkilendirilebileceği tartışmalıdır. Romanlar üzerinde yapılan inceleme sırasında, doğrudan kurucu ideoloji ile ekonomik düzen arasında bağ kurma gayretine rastlanmakla birlikte, ekonomik üretim ve bölüşüm ilişkilerine yönelik kötülerin *düzen* adı altında ötekileştirilen boyutunun, birebir Kemalizmle eşitlenmesi gayretleri, son tahlilde indirgemeci bir bakış açısı içermektedir. Bu halde dahi mevcut ekonomik yapının bütünüyle Kemalist bir ideolojik altyapıya sahip olduğu iddiasının temellendirilmesi, ilave kabullerin varlığını zorunlu kılmaktadır.

Eserlerde kötü olanın düzenin uygulayıcılarının İslam'a uygun olmayan davranışları ve nihayetinde iktidarın nimetlerinden Müslümanların pay alamamaları olduğu hususunun altı çizilmekte, faiz ve faize izin veren devlet anlayışı eleştirilmektedir. Betimlenen batıcı girişimci tiplmesi ise muhakkak ahlaki bir zafiyet içinde olmakta ve sorun, ancak sermayedar muhafazakâr olup zekât verdiğiinde çözülmektedir. İkilikler ve karşıtlıklar üzerine kurgulanan olay örgülerinde, zenginlik kınanmamakta bilakis hayırseverlikle birleştiğinde övülmektedir. Allah'ın bir imtihanı olan yoksulluk, bireysel ve ahlaki bir sorun olarak sıradanlaştırılmakta ve çare olarak okuyucuya sabır tavsiye edilmektedir. Nitekim Minyeli Abdullah, sabrı sayesinde hamallıktan üst düzey yöneticiliğe çok çabuk bir şekilde geçiş yapmakta ancak bu yeni hali de ayrı bir imtihan konusunu teşkil etmektedir. Huzur Sokağı'nın başkarakteri Bilal de sabrı ve şükrü sayesinde *-Allah'ın bir lütfu olarak-* fakir başladığı hayatında zenginliğe ulaşmaktadır.

Romanların bütününde sosyalizm karşıtı bir duruşun hâkim olduğu belirtilmişti. Ancak bu duruş, ekonomik temelli bir çözümlemeden ziyade, - *yabancılaşma bahsinde belirtildiği gibi*- ateizm eleştirisi üzerinden kendini göstermektedir. Batı tarzı bohem hayatının getirdiği ve mücadele edilmesi gereken en önemli düşman olan ateizm, birçok yazarca sol düşünceyle doğrudan ilişkilendirilmektedir.

Cumhuriyet tarihi boyunca siyasal İslam'ın kamusal alanda kendini kabul ettirme gayretleri, her biri konunun farklı boyutlarına açıklık getiren çeşitli kurgularla okunabilir. Tarafların tanımlanma biçimlerinde, her iki taraf için yüklenilen misyonların benzeşen ve ayrışan yönlerinin açığa çıkarılmasında, kullanılan ideolojik aygıtların kapsam ve mahiyetlerinin belirlenmesinde farklı değerlendirmelere imkân veren modellerin oluşturulabileceği açıktır. Kurguların değişmeyen ortak noktasını ise çatışma olgusu oluşturmaktadır.

Siyasal İslâm görüşünün küresel ve ulusal sosyo-ekonomik gelişmeler doğrultusunda yeniden yapılanması, öncekilerden farklı ve yeni bir tür muhafazakâr kitlenin ortaya çıkmasına yol açmıştır. *Liberal muhafazakârlık* şeklinde kavramlaştırılan bu anlayışın, 12 Eylül sonrası darbe ortamında kendisine uygun bir büyüme ortamı bulduğu gözlemlenmektedir.

1983 yılında işbaşına gelen Turgut Özal hükümeti, darbenin getirdiği örgütlü muhalefetsiz çalışma ortamından faydalanarak, dünyaya entegre kapitalizmin tüm kurumlarıyla Türkiye'de de boy göstermesi için radikal adımlar atmıştır.

Uluslararası sermayenin ÷lkeye giriřinin önünün açıldıđı bu dönemde, devlet, yerini piyasa aktörlerine bırakarak ekonominin birçok alanından çekilmeye başlamıştır. Bu durum aynı zamanda Türkiye örneğinde etkinliđi tartışılrsa bile, teorik düzeyde var olduđu düşünölen sosyal devlet yaklaşımından taviz verilmesi anlamına gelmektedir. Devletin küçölmesiyle, ortaya çıkan alanın başka kurumlarca doldurulması için çok zaman gerekmemiştir. 1980'ler sonrasında İslami kesim içinde cemaatleşme/tarikatleşme pratiđinin hızla artmasının nedenleri arasında, *sosyal devlet* tanımının iktidarın tarafından daraltmasının payı olduđu varsayılabilir.

Ekonomik reçetelerin uygulanması sonucunda ortaya çıkan köyden kente göç olgusu, toplumsal mobiliteye her iki yönlü katkıda bulunmuştur. Bireyselleşmenin etkisiyle, bir ucu yozlaşmaya diđer ucu ise arabeskleşmeye evrilen bu dönem sonunda, farklılıklara karşı daha toleranslı bir yaklaşım sergilenmeye başlanmıştır. 1980'li yıllardan 2000'li yıllara kadar olan süreç, hızlı yapısal dönüşümlerin yol açtığı sosyo-ekonomik sorunlar üzerinden izlenebilir. 2000'ler ise özellikle son yirmi yılda palazlanan İslami sermayenin siyasal alanda iktidarı ele geçirmesi ve kendi *yerli ve milli* burjuvasını oluşturmak üzere devlet aygıtını kullanmaya başlamasının tarihi şeklinde yorumlanabilir.

Bu dönemde, kendisini Kemalist ideolojiye karşı olarak tanımlayan muhafazakâr kesim için, modernizme eleştiriler yöneltten post-modernizm,

dođal olarak çekici gelmiş olmalıdır. Post-modernizmin tekliđi eleştirerek farklılıđı öne çıkaran yapısının, Cumhuriyetin yönetim yapısında da deđişim yönünde sonuç verebileceđinin düşünülmesi olasıdır.

Yukarıda özetlenen çerçeveye benzer bir sürecin, İslami romanlar üzerinden izlenmesi mümkündür. 2000'lerden itibaren bireyselleşme emarelerini daha cesurca sergilemeye başlayan İslami romanlar, ele aldıkları konular itibarıyla klasik hidayet romanı çerçevesinden ayrılmaya başlamışlardır. Bu dönem için roman kahramanları için Kemalist ideoloji, artık elverişli bir zemin olmaktan uzaktır. Anılan döneme ilişkin okunan romanlar arasında, tezin ana eksenini oluşturulan siyasal İslam-Kemalizm karşıtlıđı ilişkisi bağlamında zikredilmeye deđer bir kaynađa rastlanmamıştır. Bu dönemdeki eserlerde anti-Kemalist vurgunun görece azalarak, mahiyeti belirsiz bir İslam dışılıđa evrildiđi görülmektedir.

1990'ların sonundan itibaren, İslami romanların belirli bir bölümünün, toplu hidayet söyleminden vazgeçerek bireysel çözümlemelere yöneldiđi bilinmektedir. Modernite olgusuna Müslüman öznelliđin cevabı şeklinde okunabilecek süreç, İslami cemaatin topluma katılımının arttıđı ölçüde bütünselliđini muhafaza etmekte zorlandıđı bir yapıyı ön plana çıkarmaktadır. Toplumsal üretim ve bölüşüme katıldıđı ölçüde özgürleşerek farklılaşan Müslüman birey, artık kendisine özel sorunların çözümünü toplu söylemlerde deđer, tekil özgün deneyimlerde aramaktadır. Bireyselleşmenin farklılaşmayı,

farklılaşmanın da eleştirelliği çağırması beklenen bir durumdur. Nitekim geçmişte *dayatmacı Kemalist ideolojiye karşı pasifist Müslüman* özneliği kurgulanırken, romanlardaki Müslüman birey artık kendi mahallesinin baskısıyla hesaplaşmaktadır. Bir dönemin sahabe tabiatlı tavizsiz karakterleri ise yerlerini, aşklarını ve hatta cinsel arzularını korkusuzca itiraf edebilen yeni dindarlara bırakmışlardır. Bu dönemde önceleri sorgusuzca kabul edilen ya da görmezden gelinen imam nikâhı, kadının konumu, evlilik dışı ilişki gibi güncel mevzular da roman malzemesi haline getirilmiştir.

Yeni dönemde mahalle içinden yapılan ifşaata sıklıkla tanık olunmaktadır. Karakterler günlük hayatın getirdiği sorunlar karşısında bocalamakta, muhafazakâr çevrelerin günahkâr davranışlarıyla incinmektedirler. İçinde buldukları mahallenin bağnaz ortamından sıkılmakta, kendi başlarına tepkisel ayrılıklara karar verebilmekte, hatta bu konuda karşı cepheden ödünç aldıkları argümanları, bir içselleştirme mekanizması olarak kullanabilmektedirler.

2000'lerin başından itibaren siyasal İslam tek başına iktidardadır ve artık kamusal taleplerin çözümü için karşı cepheden icazet bekleme noktasında değildir. İktidarın kendisine oy verenlerin yıllardan beri dile getirdikleri mağduriyet alanlarını birer birer ortadan kaldırması, öteki tarafa ait kötülük hikâyelerinin eskisi kadar heyecan vermemesi ile sonuçlanmıştır. Yaşam pratiği içerisinde karşılaşılan İslam karşıtı davranışlar *-eskisinden farklı olarak-*

organize eylemler değil bireysel tavırlardır ve ölçek itibarıyla büyük mağduriyetler yaratma kabiliyetinden yoksundurlar.

Öte yandan, yeni dönemde sahip olunan ekonomik ve politik güç, daha önceki dönemlerde yaşayan Müslümanların hiç karşılaşmadığı soruların cevaplanması zorunluluğunu beraberinde getirmiştir. Eski egemen elitlere muhalif olarak yetiştirilmiş yeni nesil Müslümanlar, aynı zamanda karşıtlarının kültürel mirasçıları haline gelmişlerdir. Bu manada seleflerinin benzer sorunlara ilişkin çözüm önerilerinin, geçmişe oranla daha fazla ilgi çektiği anlaşılmaktadır.

Yeni dönem roman yazarları için esas hedefin kolektif bilinç oluşturma çabasından ziyade, yeni dönemin getirdiği bireyselleşme olgusuna karşı bilinen reçetelerin nasıl adapte edileceği sorunu olduğu söylenebilir. Bu arayış için sonu hemen her seferinde şehitlikle biten ve bir imkânsız aşk etrafında şekillenen hidayet romanı formatı, ihtiyacı karşılamamaktadır.

Günümüzde de yazılmaya devam eden İslami romanlar, okuyucularının psikolojik dünyalarına hitap ederek, kayda değer satış başarılarına ulaşmaktadırlar. Ancak türün belirgin bir şablon değişikliği içinde olduğu söylenebilir. Söz konusu arayışın kolektif zihin inşasından ziyade bireysel gelişim rehberliği türüne yakın bir noktada olduğu belirtilmelidir. Son dönemde kült olarak nitelendirilebilecek eserlerin ortaya konamayışı da bu bağlamda değerlendirilebilir. Edebiyatın her alanında olduğu gibi, İslami

edebiyatın da zaman içerisinde kendisini deęişimlere adapte ettięi anlaşılmaktadır. Deęişimin yönünün ise toplumsal dönüşüm pratikleri uyarınca belirleneceęi açıktır.



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Adı / Name : Boğaç.....

Bölümü / Department : Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi.....

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