

論文の英文要旨

論文題目

Orientation and Transformation of Fethullah Gülen's Thoughts and Movement in Contemporary Turkey

氏名

KOKAKI, Aya

A Turkish Islamic intellectual, Muhammed Fethullah Gülen (b. 1941), and the faith-based civil movement that he inspired and initiated in the late 1960s, the Gülen movement (or *Hizmet* movement), have caused significant controversy in contemporary Turkey, especially related to the conflict between Islam and secularism. Previous studies on secularism and modernity in modern Turkey explained that secularization was required for modernization. Thus, the scholars at that time ignored religious intellectuals and movements as not worth studying and even as an embodiment of backwardness. This modernization theory's inadequacy was revealed in the 1970s when an Islamic resurgence arose in Turkey as well as the world. Additionally, these scholars' views on modernism have been challenged from a postmodern perspective. For instance, to eliminate the inherent bias in previous studies, historian Carter V. Findley insisted that religious intellectuals and movements should not be overlooked but should be studied in the context of modern Turkey. This study concurs with that perspective and focuses on the contemporary religious intellectual and the movement inspired by him. It examines the transformation of this faith-based civil movement's orientation and the changing issues on the movement at the Justice and Development Party (AKP) government period since 2002.

This study particularly focuses on two points. The first point includes the

transformation of the identity of Gülen and the Gülen movement, which was recognized as a product of the Turkish–Islamic synthesis. This ideology, based on a combination of Turkish nationalism and Islamic culture, has been adopted as the country’s official ideology since the military junta of 1980. Thus, former studies described Gülen and the movement as an example of modernized religious nationalism. However, as the movement’s activities spread worldwide, it has shed its Turkish nationalistic features and even its Islamic identity, and showed themselves to acquire more universal features as a global actor. To clarify the alleged transformation, it is necessary to examine the movement’s discourse and its activities in the 2000s.

The second point involves the democratization of Turkey, which Gülen and the movement attempted to achieve, and, as a related issue, the theme of the compatibility of Islam with democracy. Previous studies indicated that Gülen and the movement offered an alternative to the hard-line secularist understanding of modernity by combining traditional values with modern science. Through its educational activities, the movement has confirmed its stance of supporting democratic values while also retaining Islamic values. Thus, the Gülen movement’s views what they have done to address several issues in the 2000s, deserve consideration. Concerning this, however, previous studies were limited in that they relied on Gülen’s discourses in the 1980s and 1990s to discuss the orientation and perspective in the 2000s. Therefore, this study examines the movement’s intellectual activities in the 2000s, called the Abant Platform, with Gülen’s discourse in mind.

In the first chapter, interpretations of secularism and democratization in Turkey are reviewed. Firstly, possible revisions of the meaning of secularism to the existing Turkish constitution have been discussed. Concerning democratization, whereas the hard-line secularists took an undemocratic stance to protect their vested interests, the newly established religious faction gradually claimed protection of basic human rights, including religious rights and individual preference in religious matters. This tendency has become apparent in the Gülen movement in the 2000s and has presented some provocative views on controversial issues, which are examined in this study’s third chapter.

Before considering that theme, the thesis’ second chapter examines Gülen’s thinking and the movement’s activities. To place his ideas in historical context, first, the teachings of Said Nursi (1877–1960), a predecessor of Gülen, is reviewed. Although Nursi was educated and influenced by the traditional Naqshbandi order of Sufism,

he considered modern sciences to be within a religious framework and emphasized the need to learn them. Simultaneously, he encouraged activism to disseminate Islam but never adopted radical approaches or countenanced violent means. These attitudes were among the crucial ways in which Gülen embraced Nursi's teachings. The study confirms that aspects of Nursi's ideas and historical Sufism's role as a part of Turkish Islam have been reflected in Gülen's thinking and in the movement. Regarding their view of Turkish Islam, the Turkish word *Hizmet* (service in Turkish) is examined. Whereas *Hizmet* was historically viewed as providing legitimacy for the Turkish state's understanding of their missions, the Gülen movement tried to redefine its characteristics and values in a more global and universal way, consistent with its claim to be a civic movement with a universal perspective. The development of the movement's activities abroad reinforced this orientation. Its future tendencies will have to be carefully analyzed as the movement continues to evolve, but present circumstances can already be interpreted as a significant change in orientation.

Concerning its second major change in orientation, Gülen and the movement have significantly emphasized democratization in Turkey, including the very political issues with which they had attempted to avoid becoming involved. One of the critical incidents that forced them to tackle political issues was the "February 28 Process" by the military in 1997. After the incident, Gülen himself was compelled to leave Turkey due to the heavy negative campaigning against him. However, the movement, based on its self-examination regarding what triggered the military intervention in politics, recognized the need for a place to discuss critical issues in Turkey. For this purpose, it established the Abant Platform in 1998, with the aims of gathering leading journalists, academic intellectuals, and government officials with different opinions, developing more "democratic" proposals on the issues and presenting them to the public.

In the third chapter, the discussions held and proposals presented at the Abant meetings on several controversial issues are analyzed. The main topics are (1) secularism, (2) democracy and criticism of the army, (3) pluralism and social reconciliation in terms of the Kurdish issue, and (4) a new constitution. An examination of various proposals presented reveals how they countered the undemocratic status quo in Turkey and focused on various aspects of democratizing the country. These concerns led the Abant meeting participants gradually toward crystallizing a draft of a new constitution to replace the 1982 constitution, which was established under a military regime. The Abant meetings were carefully

prepared and organized political commentaries while reading political pictures of that time. Not surprisingly, they aroused fierce opposition from hard-line secularists, yet they still managed to offer thought-provoking proposals. Moreover, the meetings demonstrated their ability to become a means of making some of the emerging proposals politically relevant. Participants at the meetings have included many members of the ruling AKP and even some leading politicians in the AKP government. For instance, Vice-Prime Minister Bülent Arınç, who has served as one of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's top aides, participated in the Abant meetings from the beginning. Furthermore, the study shows how some ideas discussed at these meetings have found their way into actual policies. However, they also tended to be "undemocratic" at the time when they extended the influence in the police and bureaucracy, which may cause the Gülen movement to be more problematic in the context of Turkey.

The final chapter summarizes the main findings, noting that as the AKP government gained momentum in the 2000s, faith-based civil movements such as Gülen movement were allowed to act assertively in Turkey and abroad. As their activities grew and became widely disseminated, their orientations changed gradually. The study confirms that Gülen and the movement emphasized the promotion of further democratization of Turkey by their intellectual activities in holding the Abant meetings and so on. More attention, however, should be paid to the movement's orientation in the future, because that may continue to change depending on the political situation, resulting in considerable impacts on Turkish politics.