

**THE CHANGE OF DEMOCRACY AND THE POLITICAL
ISLAMIST ELITS IN TURKEY**

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Abstract:

In Turkey, the process of democracy comprise of four periods. The first period includes the years of Ottoman and World War One. The second is the period of foundation of Republic and revolutions. This period was continued towards the end of World War Second. The third period is the institutionalization of multiple party systems and it was started in 1946 and continued to 1990 when Islamic Parties have strengthened in political sphere. However, two military coups was been accrued in this period. The last periods started with the predomination of Islamic Parties in political sphere and push ahead with competence of Ak Party.

The political Islamist elits in Turkey, has emerged from the traditional democratic parties and bureaucratic institutions. Becous, The founders of the AK Party and the National Salvation Party had previously made politics at the central parties.

In this rescript, the process of change of elites in terms political, economic, bureaucratic and social change is compared as a result of interaction between free election and social change and the emerged of political islamist elits.

Key Word: The Pover Elit in Turkey, The İslamist Elites, The İslamist Power's Elites, The Process of Democracy, Military Coups in Turkey, The Free Elections, The Circulatiin of Elites

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The democratization process of Turkey can be divided four periods. The first period is years of Ottoman and the First World War and the second period which was continued towards the end of the Second World War, is the establishing of Republic and the revolutions. The third period is process of institutionalization of multi party system; this period started in 1946 and continued until 1990 when the Islamist parties gained strenght directly in political field. However, there were two military coups during this period. The last period started with taking part of Islamic parties in Turkish politics and at the present time, it continues with government of Ak Party.

These periods were the breaking in framework of political life of democratic election in Turkey, but the democracy does not institutionalize with only superficial political discussion in power domain; it has different aspects such as bureaucratic, cultural, economical and social condation. The basic phenomena of democracy in Turkey can be divided two parts in this respect. The first is superficial political discussion in power domain, conflict of potency and the masses participated indirectly with voting to these discussions. The second part is fundamental changes in social life together these discussions. As a matter of fact, these phenomenas support each other. These periods are the historical breakings in the foundation of political life in terms of democratic choice in Turkey. Nevertheless, the democracy is not institutionalized just with politic argument in power domains; the argument has also bureaucratic, cultural, economic, social domains. The foundation phenomenon of Turkey democracy can be separated in two forms. The first is the argument in political power sphere, conflicts in terms of competence and the masses who participate indirectly because of voting these conflicts. The second is the changeover in variables of social life with these arguments. As a matter of fact, these phenomenons support each other.

The changes in base can be summarized under the title of these. The war period and last period of Ottoman witnessed the forced migration in the present boundaries of Republic. The result of these migrations changed the population of citizen and economic agents of Turkey; it means that the economy and trade of citizen which had been under the control of foreign corporations, started to control with management of local businessmen and entrepreneurs with national economy policy during foundation of Republic.

Until 1950, 85% of population had been living in countryside and they had problem in terms of occupation. Because of living under the control of feudal system of agricultural estate, they were not active role in political life. The migration of 1950 had accelerated in 1960. At the present time, 70% of population lives in cities and have an active role in the political life of Turkey.

Another important change in Turkey was occurred in education and schooling and as a result of this cultural shift was manifested. This change also undermines the feudal and religious congregation and organization; social society as meaning of public organization started to gain a seat. All of these have effects on the democratic perception of people.

1. Democratic Process and Power Elites during Ottoman Empire and Years of War

For Turkey, transition to a multi party-system was done during the last years of Ottoman Empire under the Ottoman Sultan and during this period, there was a democratic competition between ‘Freedom and Entente Party’(Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası) and ‘Committee of Union and Progress’(İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti). Freedom and Entente Party advocated decentralization, liberalism, freedom and Ottomanism based upon consensus of component of Ottoman and it was established according to consensus of many minor parties and social groups supporting these ideas in 1911 and was effective for a length of time at parliament of Ottoman¹.

Committee of Union and Progress advocated nationalist, bureaucratic, a disciplinary and solidarist modernism, however, the constructor of this party was the groups of insurgent organised among enlightened of Ottoman, bureaucrat and soldier and they internalized tradition of the French Revolution as an ideology. They maintained the problems of Turkey by means of logic of French Jacobins and in the beginning, non-moslems were in the party but during the years of war, Non-Moslems put away party to Muslims and Turks because of anti Non-Moslem. As a result of this, Muslim Turks took part conscientiously in Party or Union². Even though, chairman of Union and Progress were impressed deeply from ideology of

¹ Birinci Ali, *Hürriyet ve İtilaf Fırkası*, Dergâh Yay. İstanbul 1990

² Semiz Yaşar, “İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti ve Türkçülük Politikası” *Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Selçuk Üniv. Yayınları

Turkist and Turkish Nationalism, Ottomanism, Turkism, and later union of Islam were used synchronously for the disenthral of the state³

The competition between these two parties stretching about ten years and during this time, Ottoman Empire dispersed absolutely and the new parliament was established at Ankara, has the control over the management of Ottoman. The political agents of this period comprised of delegates of Ottoman Parliament, who were chosen especially from Arab countries and Anatolia and in terms of identity of tribe, rich people, landed proprietor and religious and also power. The delegates from rural areas had these properties meanwhile, the delegates from Istanbul center of Ottoman and near abroad comprised of enlightened, journalist, bureaucrat and soldier. According to these two political parties, the notables of Ottoman were on a collision course between each other, nevertheless centre of family was attentive to be authority.

Even though, political elites of this period had above properties, in the base in other words, in social structure, education and economic field, critical changes were seen. In concurrence with Balkan wars, Anatolia came up against migration wave and financial life of Ottoman came to a stopping point because of economic warfare, also the population, especially population of men in Anatolia decreased.

The last period of Ottoman and years of war was witness to forced migration of people in today's border of Republic. Muslims living in the geography of Caucasus and Balkan immigrated to Anatolia in this period and the years of establishing of Republic. On the other hand, non- Moslems migrated to western countries, as a result of this population of cities changed severely⁴.

The populating of immigrants from Balkan and Caucasus and Non-moslems migrating to western countries ve immigration of the rich caused serious problems. In the consequence of this immigration, the birth place of many power elites of Ottoman stayed out of border of Turkey.

The movement of migration in Turkey can be seperated two; one of them is migration and population movement because of war and the other is migration in transition period of urbanization and industrial society. There

³ Hanioglu Şükrü, "İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti" İslam Ansiklopedisi, Diyanet Başkanlığı Yay. İstanbul 2001 c.23

⁴ Çetin Nurten, "1914 Osmanlı Yunan Nüfus Mübadelesi" Selçuk Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi, Sayı 24, Konya 2010, Ahmet Halaçoğlu, Balkan Harbi Sırasında Rumeli'den Türk Göçleri (1912–1913), TTK, Ankara, 1995, Tülay Alim Baran, "Balkan Savaşı'ndan Sonra İzmir'de Rumların Göç Hazırlığı", Çağdaş Türkiye Araştırmaları Dergisi, C 2, S 6–7, (1996–1997

were many Non- Moslems and Arabian among the last Ottoman parliment, bureaucrats and power elites of other areas, but after the establishment of rebuplic, in the parliment of Rebuplic, there were almost Non-moslems. The entire representative and power elites started to include only Muslims and a few Non-moslems.

During the years of dispersement of Ottoman, critical change was seen in bourgeoisie. There are many factors affecting entrepreneur, industrialist and Merchant in Turkey; in this article two factors are discussed. The first is capital-owning class and enterpreneur class running away autogenously from countries where the war and conflict is seen. As a result of this escape, the poverty of country, unemployment rate and increase of prices are on the increase. Sections having capital transfer their fund to the safe countries.

Most part of sections of Merchant and industrialist of Ottoman were Non- Moslems; minorities had the control over production, finance and trade market⁵. The war years caused to prejudice of Muslims and Non-moslems handed over their economic conditions to imperialist counties fighting with Ottoman Empire. This condition increased the hate between national elements and industrialist and mercantile class, for this reason during the last 50 years of Ottoman, the migration of Non-Moslems industrialist and mercantile class to western countries was on the increase. The migration of Non-moslems from Turkey continued during the years of second war and afterwards this migration was repeated at crises between Turkey and Greece.

The other important factor is the control of economic life under western companies because of public debts, capitulations and concessions of trade. These companies managed the production of tobacco, cotton, mineral and wares and disallowed Moslems to produce and trade in these areas. Consequently, only 10 % of consumed cotton products in Turkey were local and the rest was foreign production. All of porcelian and equipments of home was imported and 20 % of consumed soap was local and Muslim production⁶. As a result of this, a Muslim and local capital-owning class was not available in the last years of Ottoman Empire.

Dating from the years of war and collapse of Ottoman, unionist started to follow a nationalization policy for bourgeois. The main problem of republic of Turkey establishing on the main frame of Ottoman army,bureaucracy, capital city and central geography was capitulations, debt of Ottoman and not having a local entrepreneur class. In this respect,

⁵ Duman M. Zeki, "Türkiye'de Burjuva Sınıfının Sosyal Profili", Sosyo Ekonomi, 2007

⁶ Tezel Yahya, Cumhuriyet Döneminin İktisadi Tarihi, Yurt Yayınları, Ankara 1986

constituent of republic organized national economy congress⁷. In these congresses, national Muslim constituents were encouraged to participate the life of industry and trade, in other words, national economy policy started to become a part.

The result of this policy, as an example, there were many changes in Bursa, second big city of Ottoman: there was a critical change in the identity of structure of capital in terms of identity of ethnic and religious. The entrepreneurship of Muslim-Turkish in the all areas of production and trade was encouraged and supported to constitute new company and business. Factories, shops, benches, field, vineyard, garden, tools and equipment remained from Non-moslems passed into Muslim hands or were rented to Muslims. In the condition of insufficient capital, co-ops having the collective capital were organized. By this way, for the Turkicized of capital which is one of goals of approach of national economy was done and a new Muslim rich and entrepreneur class took the place of non-moslems.⁸

The education system of Ottoman caused the differentiation of elites and this condition, especially during the years of establishment of republic, caused the change of power elites. Before the establishment of republic, four types of school and education were and the types of school were; public school, school of minorities which were supported by western countries in terms of financial and they addressed to Non-moslems and the other type of school is Ottoman training guidelines.

Many of the school of minorities were not supported from Christians having the status of citizen; they were supported and administered directly foundation of missionary centred in Europe and the USA⁹. However, not only non-moslems students went to these schools, but also students of rich, wealthy, educated and bureaucrat of Ottoman Palace notables. During the recent years of Ottoman, many of the bureaucrat and educated persons who were effective in the areas of press, art, trade, technology, finance and law graduated from these schools. The school of minorities contributed the active participation of non-moslems into the power elites of Ottoman.

The second group of school was Ottoman training guidelines which were established to educate bureaucrat, engineer, doctor and officer for the government of Ottoman. Previously, these schools were established to educate bureaucrat and administrator of the state overtaken in guilds of janissaries. These two kinds of schools competed each other in terms of

⁷ Zafer Toprak, *Milli İktisat-Milli Burjuvazi*, İstanbul, 1995,

⁸ Akkuş Turgay, "Bir İktisadi Piyasa Projesi: Milli İktisat ve Bursa, Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi, 2008

⁹ Aydın Mithat, "Amerikan Protestan Misyonerlerinin Ermeniler Arasındaki Faaliyetleri.." *Tarih Araştırmaları ve Uygulamaları Merkezi Dergisi*, Ankara 2006,

modernisation. Berri Hümayun, Bahrı Hümayun, Mektebi Tıbbiyyi Şahana, school of civil and Darul Funun were the modern schools of Ottoman and in the beginning these schools provided training for only higher education¹⁰. Afterwards, for these schools, İdadi, Rüştiye and Sultani were established and these schools were also western styles in terms of education. Later on, Darul Muallim schools were established to educate teachers for these schools.

These schools had the role of educated power elites and replaced with guild of janissaries and special school in Ottoman palace in terms of education role. These schools broke the mold of educated bureaucrat and administrator of state; the guild of janissaries and special school in Ottoman palace replaced with western style public schools.

The third group of schools was madrasah and religious schools of Ottoman and the almost education of these schools focused on religious education after the establishing of modern schools¹¹. All of these institutions going on education depending upon politeness of ‘şer’iyye and evkaf’ were old building and continued old customs in the condition of semiofficial. In addition, the role of people graduated from these schools decreased in the course of time; they only worked in the department of religious and law. However, when the state structure became westernized, the official bureaucracy enlarged and as a result of this, the needs were met by the foreign schools and official public schools. This condition caused that new power elites came from persons educated from western style.

The fourth type of education institutions was the institution based on circumcision and discipline of occupation organized in a discipline and continued the custom of Islamic monastery and zawiya. Also, these institutions did not gain an official identification and did not give a diploma and certificate. They had the aim of development of occupation formation of many artisan and craftsman; these institutions were not an ordinary school and they were interested in invocation, circumcision, social solidarity, collaboration, cooperation and vocational education.

Because of having different types of schools, education institutions were deprived of educating power elites and function of appropriation to all the society. In addition to this, the existence of different types of schools caused the serious cultural oppositeness. Scholars were alienated both society and each other. Students and teachers became distant to values of daily life, neighborhood and the practice of unofficial cultural values and

¹⁰ Akyüz Yahya, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi*, Pegem Yayınları, Ankara 2009

¹¹ Başkan Gülsun Atanur, “Türkiye’de Yüksek Öğretimin Gelişimi”, Gazi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi, Ankara 2001

they did not believe to belong to the same society and country because of their education.

2. The Democracy and Elites of Founder of Republic of Turkey

Republican People's Party, constituent party of republic, was established with combined of many associations which were organized and established to be against occupation in Anatolia and Thrace, in the leadership of Mustafa Kemal. The constituent assembly of republic got together in the first time at 1920 and later, public party which was changed as Republic People's Party, was established with decision of this parliament at 1923.

This party was the example of representative of new power elites of country and the properties of these people showed that a great majority of elites was civil and military bureaucrat of Ottoman. In addition, chieftain who crusaded to liberty war and clergymen took part among the elites of party. Moreover, during the last years of Ottoman, journalist and highbrow who supported nationalism, westernism, national sovereignty and independence had a part in the elites of party. These elites were organized to found a state under the influence of republic, electoral system, industrialisation, development and national unity.

The elites of constituent of Republic and member of Republican People's Party were born in the today's border of Turkey, among these, Balkan-origin, Caucasus-origin and Turkmenistan-origins were common. These elites including army officer, bureaucrat and highbrow came into existence to manage the multinational empire. The homelands of a great major of these persons were off-limits of today's border of Turkey and this property of these elites prevented them to come to power based on origin of family and relatives.

For this reason, these people behaved depending upon principles of rule of law, bureaucracy and technocracy. As a matter of fact, in the Ottoman, absolute advantage of rule of law and bureaucracy were in the existence. These elites educating with experience of bureaucracy and rule of law also conserved the tradition of special school in Ottoman Palace and this consideration caused to look up the state authority.

However, power elites sometimes had the problem of conflict of position and situation by virtue of their social reality. In Turkey, power elites competed with each other to hold more power and for this reason, they constituted different parties and social formations during the years of establishing of Republic and the last period of Ottoman. The competition among elites forced to take support of public and this condition caused that elites had to convince public to their dissertations. By this way, the

difference in terms of status let loose. The active participation of public in the administration was opened; in other words, the desire of prolongation for competition and hegemony prompted to community. There are political sociologist and historians having curious determination about this issue¹².

Because of signified reasons, a contrariety in Republican People's Party became evident, but Mustafa Kemal defecated the contrariety by using his power of leadership. This contrariety was a political independent party under the name of Progressive Republican Party(Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası) in 1924 after the establishment of republic. Excepting of Mustafa Kemal and İsmet İnönü who were the leadership of establishment of Republic being in the troop basis, most of others took part among the founders of party. Hoewer, the contrariety in the party and opposition to special aims about revolutions of M.Kemal were the reason of closing the party¹³. By this way, many of the power elites of estalishment of Republic defecated.

Thereafter, single party regime was passed but in 1930, Atatürk started a trying for the passing of multi-party sytem. For this reason, Free Republican Party(Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası) was established and the years of establishing this party, many of revolutions were finished and the public gave importance to Free Republican Party¹⁴. The interesting of public to the party obligated to struggle with elites staff of revolution and the elites in power worried about the probability of wining election of this party. This party repealed itself to prevent domestic disturbance in the country and after this last trying, the country was ruled with a rod of iron by the staff of single party regime. Turkey became introverted completely during periof of the world financial crisis, Second World War, the icrease of Nazism and socialism in the Europe.

The opposition in the party, contention among staff of bureaucratic had effect on the power elites. The groups' recommender their opponent took the new elites for the staff of excluding. Public party tried to close blank power domain with new staff coming from Anatolia during the period of potency. On the other hand, the public of Anatolia started to slowly take up the potency when they sent their children to modern schools and becamng urbanized and this caused the entering of new categories into the staff of power.

¹² Hepar Metin, Türkiye'de Devlet Geleneği, Doğu Batı Yayınları, Ankara 2006, Karpat Kemal, Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Elitler ve Din, Timaş Yayınları, İstanbul 2009

¹³ Erich Jan Zürcher, *Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası (1924-1925)*, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul 2003

¹⁴ Tunçay Mete, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek Parti Yönetiminin Kurulması, Tarih Vakfı Yurt yay. İstanbul 2000

Republic combined schools for central administration with the education reforms; foreign schools, Madrasah, Islamic monastery and zawiya were closed formally and the education in these was prohibited. The law of combining of education (Tevhidi Tedrisat) obliged public to take education with the same program. The constituent party of Turkey Republic tried to adopt westernization, secularism, populism, statism and nationalism to rising generation.

However, the education program of republic was brought into force because of financial problems, low literacy rate, deficiency of teachers, being separated from society in terms of ideologic and alphabet revolution. A long time, old public schools of Ottoman were connected directly to government of republic and these schools started to give education in new program and alphabet and new schools were not opened. Relatively schooling rate run into and because of closing the alternative education, there was a serious gap in the education.

The years of establishing state, Turkey adopted a policy based on the collaboration of bureaucracy and artificial bourgeois and economy depending on clientelism. CHP recognised with policy of statist implemented rigorously this policy. Many industrial investments came to fruition but CHP was not successful to continue the practice of this program because of inadequate financial resource. The world economic crisis in 1928 and second world war overslaughed the project of local and national bourgeois, also there was a big gap in the area of entrepreneurship because of leaving the country of Alien Corporation and minority.

3. Passing to Multi Party System and Replacing of Elites

Turkey did not participate to the Second World War and continued a balance policy between the parts of war. Turkey collaborated with USA and allies to be against the threatening of socialism and soviet after the war and participated to NATO and passed the regime of laissez- faire democracy.

In the first election, DP came into power with 50 % of voting rate and after this election, DP won all of the election and remained in power during ten years. After 1957 an under tension process started to be seen between the government party and the opposition party. The conversion of effort superiority of DP in terms of vote to an absolute power caused serious quarrel and in 1960, 27 May military coup accrued after these conditions. As a result, a free environment and discussions in the country replaced to oppressive regime.

Democratic Party came from the staff of CHP and after the establishing in 1946, it participated the first general election in 1950. Before the election, for the voting according to the democratic rules, essential legal

regulation was done and the rule of secret vote- explicit census was determined.

A year later, again the multi party system started. The justice party was established in 1961 instead of Democratic Party and in the first election, took 34 % of vote and in the leadership of CHP a coalition government was established. After the coup, AP took 50% of vote and came into power solitary and multi party system came to life after this period. Two important blocs which were effective in the establishment of republic broke up with new ideologies during this period. When these governments were formed, sometimes Islamic parties with left party, sometimes rightist, liberalist and nationalist parties formed a hung parliament.

Marxist thought increasing after 1970 and nationalism, Islamic and liberty thought against to Marxist, caused the increasing of student upheavals, the withdrawing of political party and forming a bloc. All of these resulted in strengthening of unofficial organization of thoughts and fanaticism among youngs. A long time, election of president did not come true because of conflicts among political parties and it caused a serious power vacuum. Military and civil bureaucracy acting independent from political power, passed over drifting into a state of chaos of the government of country and in the hometrach, in 1980 military coup was done.

After the military coup, all political parties were closed and CHP, establishing party of republic, was in the closing parties. Military, staged a coup, prepared a new constitution and this constitution was hold a referendum in 1982 and it was accepted with 90 % of vote. After this, transition to a multi-party system was seen and in 1983 Motherland Party (ANAP), The People'S Party (Halkçı Parti) and Nationalist and Democracy Party (Milliyetçi Demokrasi) were formed , in first election of 1983 ANAP combining of islamist, nationalist and social democrats , come into power with taking 45 % of vote , by this way multi-party system started again.

After the universal franchise with the attempts of ANAP, political ban of leaders of political parties closed with 1980 coup d'état was overturned. Political agents of priorly of coup resurgenced among Islamist, nationalist and liberalists. After the government of ANAP, old political agents had control over the political environment and this condition was resulted in government of hung parliaments.

During years of government of Democrat Party, internal migration was on the increase and it continued accelerating in 1980 and 2000. In 1935, 6,8 % of population was living outside of birthplaced and this rate rised up to 11% in 1960 and 75 % of population was living in rural areas till

1950¹⁵. These people did not have a regular job and this rural population was not active in political life; they lived under the control of feudal system. The migration wave started in 1950 and got a move in 1960 and today's 70 % of population lives in city center and they take an active role in political life. The population of Turkey rose up to 67 million between years of 1975 and 2000 and during this time, 20 million people immigrated to city center from rural areas, in other words one third of population migrated in the 25 years¹⁶ and this trend still continues.

Migrations and population movements changed the power elites and time honored social status. In Turkey, migration wave correspondingly to the multiple party systems changed the power elites. In the beginning CHP, forming party of republic, continued its existence with founder elites and highbrows, socialist movements in 1960 resulted in participation of new groups in the founder elites of republic. Even though these new elite classes kept to founding principles, in the course of time as the result of new political and ideology discussions, they can digress from founding principles¹⁷. , as an example, the last condition of today's CHP.

After winning election of Democrat Party in 1950, accession to power of craft, Merchant and villager became the main topic of conversation. Democratic Party as a liberty party accessed to power along with urbanization, migration and spreading to world's market; migration changed both power elites and economic elites. This change of Turkey can be seen in the change of administration elites of CHP founder party of Republic as well as in the elites of DP accessing to power representing the opposition parties in that period.

Democratic Party and Justice Party, the main of liberalist and rightwinger parties, implemented statism responsively and public investments and private investments improved collaterally, but after 1980, Anavatan Party, hung parliaments formed the collaboration of right and left parties and AK party encouraged private enterprise system. As the result of this incentives, there was a severely increase in formation of local and national bourgeoisie beginning from the years of foundation years of republic and new elites participated former elites and power rich was manifested from new social classes coming off traditional environments from 1950.

¹⁵ Tümmertekin Erol, Türkiye'de İç Göçler, İstanbul Üniversitesi Coğrafya Enstitüsü Yay. İstanbul 1968

¹⁶ Tuik, Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu, <http://www.tuik.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=temelist> 2015

¹⁷ Türkdoğan Orhan, "Türk Toplum Yapısı ve Etnikleşme" Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Dergisi, sayı 87, İstanbul 2010

With The accessing to power of ANAP, bring values of right-wing and liberalist to the force after the military coup in 1980, new generation who participated to public sphere with the help of migration, industry, urbanization, education and rised up the values of right and left ideologic, started to adopt the values of wealth, trade and achievement of liberty¹⁸. In these years, state monopoly started to be lifted in the production and trade, also privatisation was switched on a new economy model.

Soon after, a new businessman, industrialist and entrepreneur class naming of 'Tiger of Anatolia' was manifested. On the one hand, the state privatizes the public Corporation, otherwise economic enterprice of new generation participating to the public sphere with education and migration route, was encouraged; the government provided credit support. In this way, productive facilities constituting at İstanbul, İzmir, Bursa and Gaziantep, expanded to nationwide, thus 'Tiger of Anatolia' was rised as a new entrepreneur class.

The exchange of actors of Turkey economy changed the power elites as the result of rising of a new upper class. Even though, Military coup sometimes gave the hold of power political elites to the technocrats, these practices did not continued for a long time. Free elections caused the selecting of power elites from the sivil.

After the Second World War and especially, with the coming into power of Democratic Party and begining from 1950, the schooling rate was on the increase; new schools were opened at the all villages and peasantry started to take part in modern society with the help of education of subordinate social class. This process started to shadow forth in politic, bureaucratic, economic structure and public structure of Turkey in the first time in 1970.

With the increse of schooling rate in 1970, political polarization in terms of right and left, Islamist, nationalist, Marxist and groups of liberalist started to exercise control over on the political agents. The elites of former period met the youth of new social classes and these new youth groups did not come from not only the elites of Otoman but also elites of founder of republic in terms of origin; their ancestries came from villager and rural who were foreigner to the government of state, bureaucracy and economy of country.

Hoewer, having said that these students coming from rural areas , were the better part of all students in schools and these people firstly met the values of modernism, education, culture and living styles and broke off

¹⁸ Bali Rifat, Tarzı Hayattan Life Style Yeni Seçkinler, Yeni Mekanlar, Yeni Yaşamlar, İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul 2002

culture of rurals and they were inclined to believe to political views. For this reason, the nationalism, Islamist, socialist and liberality of this youth were ideologic and depended upon imagery.

4. Elites of Political Islamist on the Prosses of Democratization

In Turkey, the first Islamist political movement started with the establishing of National Regularity Party(MLP, Milli Nizam Partisi) in 1970 by Necmettin Erbakan. This party was closed because of secularism and under the name of National Salvation Party(MSP, Milli Selamet Partisi), it was established again 1972 by the joinder of parties of Erbakan and after the participating of election, it started to active parliament. After the election, the competition and conflict between Republican People's Party(CHP, Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi) and Justice Party(AP, Adalet Partisi) became intensified. During this period, CHP identified itself as an identity combining of socialist and Kemalist and had a policy with idea in mind of a social democrat left party. This condition can be conceivable a deviation from the founder values of constructor elites of republic.

On the other hand, in this period, Justice Parti with discourse of being a rightlist, liberalism and conservatism, was opposition for the first time. Nationalist, rightwinger and Islamic groups who did politics with a tacit identity in Justice Party left from the party and National Salvation Party was formed depending upon this process.

Curiously enough, National Salvation Party(MSP) as a Islamic party and Republican People's Party(CHP) as the founder of fanatic secularism and being updated wiht left identity, formed a coalition government. Democracy and free election reconciled Islamic opposition which was kept off, precluded and alienated from the establishing of republic, with the counterparts. One of the important events of democracy of Turkey , the coalition of National Salvation Party and Republican People's Party in terms of opening to Islamic expression and identitiy by political means.

The basic programs of National Salvation Party(MSP) were begining of national industry, industrializing of Turkey like western countries, eliminating the legal barriers of religious education, the increasing of religious high school and giving bureaucratic position to religionist and educated persons. For foreign policy, it supported the islamic unity and against to the being member of the european communityç National Salvation Party had the achievement of these goals during the coalition government; except the aims about religion and religious education of National Salvation Party, the other aims of its corresponded with the policy of CHP in terms of national economy, rising up national bourgeoisie, national sovereignty and anti-imperialist.

The Islamist policy of Erbakan included traditional religious authorities, which kept out from power beginning from the establishment of Republic and remaining from madrasah and Islamic monastery, to public sphere. Religious groups were participated to social Networks of power elites of republic, coincided with each others through military coup and free elections. On the other hand, the basic values of Islamic alienating to modern language and reasoning, was reconstructed with a social and political language. The modest life and religion of Islamic was exorted from original context by modernized with this discourse.

According to the result of 1980 coup d'état, National Salvation Party was closed like the other political parties (Adalet Partisi, Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi, Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi). An important part of the founder staff of Motherland Party (ANAP, Anavatan Partisi) that was constituted after the coup, was comprised of elites of National Salvation Party. Motherland Party which was more religious and conservative than democratic party and justice party, put the Islamic staff of National Salvation into important place of state, however, Motherland Party, right-wing than other liberalist parties, implemented successfully the policy of global consumption habits, privatization, retirement of state from production, evolution of Turk economy to global market and policy of integration of the European community.

The participation of elites of Islamist to power can come true with CHP as statist, secular and left party and with AP and ANAP as liberal parties; these two experiences showed confessedly how the political tradition of Islamist is in Turkey. The western and radical secularistic part of Turkey stigmatized Islamic part as dangerous and threatening and tried to abandon from the system but the experience of party of Erbakan showed the making nonsense of threatening.

After the coup, Islamic staff of National Salvation Party (MSP) participating to the founder staff of ANAP governed the country with power elites about 10 years. A part of staff was politically banned and continued to oppose; the opposition part and an Islamic group in the leadership of N. Erbakan started to take part in the elections under the name of Welfare Party (RP, Refah Partisi) from 1987 and this party was the first in general election of 1995. Previously, participating to the coalition with liberalist, left and secularist party, this time Islamist minister participated to a coalition government as a prime minister with True Path Party (DYP) coming from the tradition of Justice Party (AP). In addition, it won the municipal election of Ankara and İstanbul.

Welfare Party (Refah Partisi) was closed in 1997 because of contrarian action to the secularism but deputies and staff of party continued

the politic Islamic expression in parliament and public by constituting the party of Virtue Party (FP,Fazilet Partisi). The Virtue Party was divided into two parts; reformist wing and traditionalist wing. Abdullah Gül and Recep T.Erdoğan coming from the reformist wing established the party of Ak Party governing the country about 16 years.

AK party governs the country about 14 years and even though the Islamic staff of National Salvation Party established this party, there are significant differences between AK party and previous Islamic parties. These differences can be gathered under the titles of ; the islamic parties of Erbakan supported the statism,national development, industrialisation, they naturalized social justice as a prenciple, they were sensitive to the rights of a labor, they protected the islamic unity, they took considerable steps for consolidation of all muslim countries along with collaboration of trade and industry, they behaved sensitively about national sovereignty and they supported İslam civilization to western civilization.

Ak party basing upon the tradition of islamist, popularized and it gave positive messages to secular and liberalist party and declared that it was a liberal, democratic and conservative party and not being an islamic party. After the coming to the power, it continued the accustomed policies of Turkey. The significant difference between Ak Party and Islamic parties of Erbakan is the areas of economy and the European Union and the relationship with the USA. It follows the style of Özal keeping to the liberal economy policy and it works very hard about the European Union.

Results

The origin of power elites of Turkey come from the military and civil bureaucracy of Ottoman Empire and the landlords of rural areas and religious authorities were participated to these elites by the support of bureaucracy.

These elites coming from bureaucracy were always willing about the free elections, democracy and the participation of public by being conscious and according to founder elites, the public should be participated to the power elites and become effective in public sphere after to educated and modernized.

The founder elites of republic were not homogeneous in terms of ideological and cultural; during the period of single-party sytem, people who had diffirent ideology were under the same party. For this reason, CHP seperated to different parties after transition to a multi-party system.

The urbanization, migration, proliferation of education, practice of rolling economy and delicate markets caused the participation of mass in the elites of CHP, DP, AP and Anap and in the last period parties of Islamic.

The competition and conflict among the power elites of Turkey under the some conditions caused the blocking of system, the increasing of internal conflict and coming up of the chaos in many areas and all these resulted in diffraction in the system. Consequently, power elites changed with the free election.

In Turkey, Islamic parties and social movements were under the control of power because of secularism and usually these parties were closed but these parties and movements started to go into action because of legal order and in the end they came into power. Free election and constitutional order is the main of this contraption.

Two military coups were done in Turkey and two undemocratic military and civil memorandums were done, hoeweever, soon after the military coups, the free elections were done and soldiers left the management to the civils.

AK party came into power with Islamic groups which were alienated for a long time and during this transition, Islamic movements were integrated in secularism, democratic and liberty system.

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