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الإسلام السياسي والعلمانية (تركيا انموذجاً)

Political Islam and Secularism (Turkey as a Model)

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Abstract: The study explores the intersection of "political Islam" and secularism, with a particular focus on Turkey as a model. Influenced by its historical legacy and cultural diversity, Turkey's social and political landscape provides a compelling case study for understanding the complex dynamics between political Islam and secularism. This introduction highlights the importance of studying this topic, defines the problem of the study, summarizes the purpose of the study, describes the approach taken, and gives an overview of the structure of the study.

The study adopts an interdisciplinary approach, incorporating elements from political science, history, sociology, and cultural studies. Uses qualitative study methods such as archival analysis, in-depth interviews, and literature review to collect and analyze data. By combining these approaches, the study seeks to provide a comprehensive understanding of the interaction between political Islam and secularism in Turkey.

The study is divided into sections covering the concept of

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political Islam, the meaning of secularism, Turkey’s unique position between secularism and political Islam, and a synthesis of the main findings and ideas. Through its analysis, the study contributes to broader discussions about the compatibility of religious and secular ideologies in diverse societies, offering implications for both Turkey and other societies grappling with the challenges posed by political Islam and secularism.

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الخلاصة : تبحث الدراسة في التقاطع بين "الإسلام السياسي" والعلمانية، مع التركيز بشكل خاص على تركيا كنموذج. إن المشهد الاجتماعي والسياسي في تركيا، المتأثر بتراثها التاريخي وتنوعها الثقافي، يوفر دراسة حالة مقنعة لفهم الديناميكيات المعقدة بين الإسلام السياسي والعلمانية. تبرز هذه المقدمة أهمية دراسة هذا الموضوع، وتحدد مشكلة الدراسة، وتلخص الغرض من الدراسة، وتصف المنهج المتبع، وتعطي لمحة عامة عن هيكل الدراسة.

تتبنى الدراسة منهجًا متعدد التخصصات، يتضمن عناصر من العلوم السياسية والتاريخ وعلم الاجتماع والدراسات الثقافية. يستخدم أساليب الدراسة النوعية مثل التحليل الأرشيفي والمقابلات المتعمقة ومراجعة الأدبيات لجمع البيانات وتحليلها. ومن خلال الجمع بين هذه المقاربات، تسعى الدراسة إلى تقديم فهم شامل للتفاعل بين الإسلام السياسي والعلمانية في تركيا.

وتنقسم الدراسة إلى أقسام تغطي مفهوم الإسلام السياسي، ومعنى العلمانية، وموقع تركيا الفريد بين العلمانية والإسلام السياسي، وتوليفًا لأهم النتائج والأفكار. ومن خلال تحليلها، تساهم الدراسة في مناقشات أوسع حول مدى توافق الأيديولوجيات الدينية والعلمانية في المجتمعات المتنوعة، مما يعرض آثارًا لكل من تركيا والمجتمعات الأخرى التي تتصارع مع التحديات التي يفرضها الإسلام السياسي والعلمانية.

1. Introduction

The intersection of “Political Islam” and secularism has been a subject of significant scholarly and public interest, with Turkey serving as a compelling model for exploration. Turkey's unique socio-political landscape, influenced by its historical legacy and cultural diversity, offers an intriguing case study to understand the complex dynamics between political Islam and secularism. This introduction sets the stage for investigating the importance of studying this topic,

identifying the study problem, outlining the purpose of the study, describing the study approach, and providing an overview of the study structure.

1.1. The Importance of Studying: The study of political Islam and secularism is of utmost importance in our contemporary world, as societies across the globe grapple with the challenges of reconciling religious and secular ideologies. Turkey, with its predominantly Muslim population and a legacy of secular governance, provides a rich context to explore the relationship between political Islam and secularism. By examining Turkey as a model, we can gain valuable insights into the dynamics of power, identity, democracy, and the role of religion in the political sphere.

1.2. The Study Problem: The central problem addressed in this study is the complex relationship between political Islam and secularism within the Turkish context. Turkey has witnessed the emergence and transformation of political movements rooted in Islam, alongside a strong commitment to secularism enshrined in its founding principles. This study aims to analyze the tensions, negotiations, and interactions between political Islam and secularism in Turkey, examining their impact on governance, societal dynamics, and the quest for a balanced, inclusive political system.

1.3. Objective of the Study: The objective of this study is to delve into the intricate relationship between political Islam and secularism in Turkey and provide a comprehensive understanding of its implications for the nation's political landscape. By examining historical developments, ideological shifts, policy decisions, and societal responses, the study aims to shed light on the complexities and challenges faced by Turkey as it navigates the coexistence of political Islam and secularism. Additionally, the study seeks to contribute to broader discussions on the compatibility of religious and secular ideologies in diverse societies.

Study Approach: This study adopts a multidisciplinary approach, incorporating elements of political science, history, sociology, and cultural studies. It employs a qualitative study methodology, utilizing archival analysis, in-depth interviews, and scholarly literature review to gather and analyze data. By combining these study methods, the study aims to provide a nuanced and comprehensive understanding of the interplay between political Islam and secularism in Turkey.

1.4. Study Structure: This study is divided into several key sections. The first section provides an overview of the Concept of Political Islam. The Second section focuses on the What is meant by Secularism. The fourth section Turkey Between Secularism and Political Islam Turkey Between Secularism and Political Islam Finally, the study concludes with a synthesis of findings, key insights, and implications for both Turkey and other societies grappling with the challenges of political Islam and secularism.

2. The Concept of Political Islam

The study of any concept necessarily entails dealing with it in two basic respects, which are the linguistic derivation of the term under study and the idiomatic meaning that includes the totality of perceptions and theoretical trends that dealt with the concept.

The term fundamentalism is a term born in the catholic or protestant world, which means (origin) or foundation, and most studies on fundamentalism, especially in encyclopedias and dictionaries, agreed on the previous definition that it is the literal translation of the term.

Its first use within the Christian framework meant reaffirming what it imagines to be firm and authentic beliefs such as the sanctity of the bible, belief in miracles, the immaculate conception, and the bodily resurrection of Christ, and then this term was applied to Islamic religious movements or what is known as “political

Islam" or "religious fundamentalism." And by it, he means the group that refers phenomena to a single origin, which is the sacred text, and refuses to adapt the belief to the new conditions of modern life, and political Islam is a media and academic term that has been used to employ non-political movements that believe in Islam as a policy of governance.(1)

"Political Islam" can be defined as a set of political ideas and goals stemming from Islamic law that is used by a group of fundamentalists or Muslims who believe in Islam not only as a religious term, but as a political, social, legal and economic system suitable for building a state institution.(2)

This indicates that Islam is not one, but rather multiple, and to differentiate between these movements we say that political Islam, which is associated with traditional and radical Islamic political groups, and popular Islam in which worship is close to the norm, and is very much characterized by the traditions and heritage of local groups, and official Islam, for which the state apparatus is in great demand. And summoning him to confer on the state an element of its legitimacy, as it turns into a political ideological tool from the tools of that apparatus in the religious field.(3)

Thus, it is not possible to talk about the political Islam movement as a single unit, as the pluralism in vision, perceptions, strategies, and organizations obliges us to talk about "political Islam movements" and not the "political Islam movement," despite the confusion and confusion that the political character of Islam gives to Islam, which divides it as a religion. Thus, we would like to limit the concept to the Islamic movements that accepted to enter and participate in the arena of legitimate

(1) Nadhim Abdulwahed Al-Jassoor, Encyclopedia of Political Science, Dar Majdalawi, Amman, 2009, p.60.

(2) Dekmejian R. Hrair, The Anatomy of Islamic Revival: Legitimacy Crisis (Ethnic Conflict and the Search for Islamic Alternatives), The Middle East Journal, Number: 1, 1980, p.9.

(3) Ahmed Al-Mosalli, et al., Encyclopedia of Islamic Movements in The Arab World, Iran and Turkey, First Edition, Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, 2005, p.156.

political action on the grounds of accepting dealing with the existing political systems through its rules.(1)

The emergence of the phenomenon of the so-called political Islam came as a reaction opposite to the anti-Islamic ideas that spread during the Islamic incursion into the European continent, where the latter generated ideas and convictions that they are more open and civilized than the Muslim, which led to the absence of a real dialogue between civilizations, and some movements of political Islam sought to the exercise of power and the establishment of an Islamic political system that traces its origins back to the society established by the prophet (may god bless him and grant him peace) in medina and the revival of the rightly guided caliphate, through an Islamic political party that has the right to use all possible and permissible means in this struggle, and many sources confirm it is a purely political struggle, not a religious one.(2)

The circumstances of the emergence of political Islam movements are similar, but they differ in their degrees of development, methods of work, and their internal relations with other social and political forces. There are also many entrances to the history and evaluation of the development of these movements, but they all converge in considering that these movements are an expression and response to social reality with different leaderships and aspects of focus in thought and action. In addition to the historical, social and psychological development of the society and the country in which these movements appear, and from here we see that fundamentalist thought, which is described as fundamentalism, which also means

(1) Muhammad Jamal Al-Barout, The State of Renaissance and Modernity: Critical Reviews, Second Edition, Dar Horan, Damascus, 2004, p.261.

(2) Hisham Jaafar and Ahmed Abdullah, Islamists and The Political Question, Second Edition, The Arab Future Books Series, Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, 2004, pp.235-236.

in its meaning referring to the text and its interpretation, has been known in the western worlds.[1]

At all we can conclusions highlight the complexity and diversity within political Islam, emphasizing the multidimensional nature of its goals, strategies, and interpretations. Understanding these aspects is crucial for studying and analyzing the role of political Islam within various societies. So Political Islam refers to a set of political ideas and goals rooted in Islamic law. It encompasses movements and groups that view Islam not only as a religious belief but also as a comprehensive political, social, legal, and economic system suitable for governance and the Political Islam is associated with traditional and radical Islamic political groups that aim to establish an Islamic state based on their interpretation of Islamic principles.

Islam is not a monolithic entity, and there is a diversity of perspectives, strategies, and organizations within political Islam. Therefore, it is more accurate to talk about "political Islam movements" rather than a single unified movement and Political Islam emerged partly as a reaction to anti-Islamic ideas that spread during the Islamic incursion into Europe. It sought to assert the Islamic civilization's values and challenge the perception of Muslims as less civilized.

The term “fundamentalism,” which originally emerged within the Christian framework, has been applied to Islamic movements as well. However, the term "fundamentalism" in the Islamic context refers to a group that adheres strictly to the sacred texts and resists adapting their beliefs to modern life. Finally, the struggle of political Islam is primarily political rather than religious, as it aims to

[1] Hassan Ibrahim Hassan, Islam Between the Problem and The Solution, Intellectual Debates Under the Slogan Islam Is the Solution, First Edition, Al-Naya for Studies and Publishing, 2010, p.165.

gain political power and establish Islamic governance. This struggle is often carried out through legitimate political actions and the use of permissible means.

3. What is meant by Secularism?

The concept of secularism arose in France, in particular, to become a political idea born of the separation of the church from the state. As a result of the separation, the church should not exercise any temporal or political authority. The authority of the state or civil authority, that is, the secularization of church property, and it was considered in France in the eighteenth century that it was an illegal confiscation, this is from the point of view of the church, but from the point of view of a group of French thinkers defending rationality and material enlightenment, and they are "philosophers," so the word meant "confiscation the legitimacy of church property in favor of the state "[(1)].

The semantic field for this term was expanded by John Holyoke, who defined secularism as: "belief in the possibility of reforming a person's uncleanness through material methods without addressing the issue of faith, whether by acceptance or rejection." That is, separating religion and public beliefs from political and public life, and adopting objective methods. And not forcing everyone to embrace any belief or religion so that the latter remains an individual choice. From that moment on, the meaning of secularism began to tend towards more ambiguity and ambiguity, and it also turned into the most important terminology in political discourse at all.[(2)]

Secularism was mentioned in the oxford dictionary: "as a concept that considers the need for ethics and education to be based on a non-religious basis." As for the encyclopedia Britannica under the same article, it is: "a social

(1) Hassiba Mustafa, The Philosophical Lexicon, First Edition, Usama Publishing House, Amman, Jordan, 2009, p.344.

(2) Abdulwahhab Al-Masiri, Aziz Al-Adhma, Secularism Under the Microscope, First Edition, Dar Al-Fikr, Damascus, 2000, p.15.

movement that aims to distance people from caring about worldly life," The hereafter during the middle ages".(1)

With definition lists, the concept began to move to other areas of life, such as teaching and education, and not only to politics. Then it turned into an anti-religious trend, and it was mentioned in the new third international dictionary as a trend in life or in any special matter based on the principle of religion or religious considerations that should not be it interferes in the government, or the intentional exclusion of these considerations is "the purely religious political in the government" (2).

Peter Berger defines secularism as: "the process by which sectors of society and culture were removed from under the sovereignty of religious and symbolic institutions for Christianity.(3)

Although the term secularism was produced by the western experience, it moved to the Arabic and Islamic dictionary, sparking controversy about its contents and dimensions, and this is due to how it is translated into Arabic, which is a natural difference according to thought, practice, and influence on the environment that produced this concept, as it is "the way of life that excludes any religious influence or guidance on the organization of society and human relations within society and the values that this relationship contains and is based on, and therefore my life approach is materialistic and is the result of the growth of materialistic, irreligious philosophies".(4)

(1) Anaam Ahmed Qaddouh,, Secularism In Islam, First Edition, Dar Al-Seerah, Beirut, 1995, p.12.
(2) Dekmejian R. Hrair. Islam in Revolution: Fundamentalism in the Arab World. Second edition, Syracuse, New York, Syracuse University Press, 1995, p.89.
(3) Abdulhadi Abdulrahman, The Throne of The Holy: Religion in Culture and Culture in Religion, First Edition, Dar Al-Tali'ah, Beirut, 2000, p.27.
(4) Fouad Zakaria, Political Islam: Intellectual Foundations and Practical Objectives, Movem for Publishing, National Foundation for Printing Arts, Algeria, 1995, p.276.

And “secularism does not mean atheism, but rather freedom of choice, and taking a philosophical stance in front of the problem of knowledge”[1], and “secularism did not cancel faith, but perhaps its strength and freed it from the problems and the element of imposition, and stuck it from the superstitious dimensions that accompanied it in the past”. we find that a min focused on the ideological and spiritual side, but it is known that secularism is against all beliefs and the spiritual side of man.

Some thinkers also focused on the political aspect, as “most of what you aspire to is the emergence of a new intellectual who has excluded religious thought and discourse from the field of public life, without this separation being based on the intention to exclude religion or emanating from a hostile stance towards religion or atheism. Rather, this individual excluded a universalism that imposed itself on the recent past of our societies, in which the monopoly on culture and knowledge was transformed from the religious institution into a secular institution that is the state and its cultural apparatus and organizational pattern”.[2]

Overall, we can underscore the multifaceted nature of secularism, its historical origins, and the ongoing debates and interpretations surrounding its meaning and implications. Secularism's impact extends beyond politics, influencing education, ethics, and the relationship between religion and society.

Secularism originated as a political idea in France, stemming from the separation of the church and state. It emphasized the idea that the church should not exercise temporal or political authority, and church property was secularized.

[1] Gudrun Krämer, Political Islam: In Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World. Volume: 6, Edited by: Richard C. Martin, New York, Macmillan, 2004, p.536.
[2] Hyper Bellafield, Muslims in The Secular State of Law: About the Right of Muslims to Participate in Shaping Society), Arab Future Magazine, Number: 273, November/2001, p.77.

The definition of secularism has evolved over time. It has been described as the separation of religion and public life, the adoption of objective methods, and the belief in the possibility of reforming society without addressing matters of faith.

Secularism expanded beyond politics to encompass areas such as education and ethics. It became associated with an anti-religious trend and the intentional exclusion of religious considerations from government.

Secularism is not synonymous with atheism but emphasizes freedom of choice and a philosophical approach to understanding the world. It does not seek to eliminate faith but rather to separate it from imposed dogma and superstitious dimensions.

Some thinkers focus on the political aspect of secularism, highlighting the emergence of a new intellectual who excludes religious thought from public life. This exclusion is not necessarily hostile towards religion or atheism but challenges the monopoly of religious institutions on culture and knowledge, which has been replaced by a secular institution such as the state.

4. Turkey Between Secularism and Political Islam

There is difficulty in understanding the specificity of the Turkish case with regard to secularism, as well as the problems it poses in guiding the relationship between what is political and what is religious. This Islamic differentiation is due historically to the collapse of the ottoman central authority at the organizational level.[(1)]

The transformation of Turkish Islam in the Kamalist republic to a degree that has no importance and is not interested in it after it was for centuries the center of the Islamic world, not to say its sacred sanctuary. This was not just the separation

[(1)] Muhammad Zahed Gul, The Turkish Renaissance Experience: How Did the Justice And Development Party Lead Turkey to Progress? Nama'a Center For Research and Studies, Beirut, 2013, p.99.

between religion and the state, but rather the subjugation of the first to the second, and thus the Kamalist experience can be considered a primitive model of secularism in contemporary Islam. The extremist with the most abstract and strict secularism is the reason why we describe it as exceptional. (1)

The Turks lost everything at the end of World War i: their empire, their homeland, and their religion, and suddenly there was a rise towards the state – the homeland, and there was initially no pressing circumstance pushing the Turks towards the path of secularism. The extension of the ottoman empire, the sharia applied for several centuries, and the alphabet used a thousand years ago, so as not to mention other elements of permanence, it did not open the way for the perception of such a rupture, and without our aim to attribute everything to a historical figure, it may be appropriate here to draw attention to the role that Mustafa Kamal played through a voluntary policy, where he by developing a strategy aimed at the cultural rupture, it does not seem to be related to the dissolution of Christianity as a result of French secularism. Rather, the matter here means in the first place a dissolution of Islam, and thus we shift from a state in which Islam is sacred at the top of the state to another in which Islam is nationalized, domesticated and controlled politically. Secularism represents the shift from spiritual domination, where spiritual values dominate, at least in appearance, to theoretical control.(2)

Absolute secularism can be seen on all levels, on the political level represented in the abolition of the sultanate and the caliphate and the proclamation of the establishment of the republic and the abolition of the religion of states, and on the social level the replacement of western laws with Islamic sharia, the abolition of

(1) Shukran Wahida, Islam in Modern Turkey: Badiuzzaman Nursi, Translated By: Muhammad Fadel, 2005, p.91.

(2) Martin Kramer, Political Islam, The Washington Papers VIII, 73, Beverly Hills, CA., Sage, 1980, p.87.

polygamy, and respect for women's rights, and on the cultural level, the shock was general, the use of alcohol, the change in the alphabet, the calendar and the music, in the name of western modernity the obsessive imposition of a secular, almost tyrannical mass acculturation that was introduced early in the long list of Kamalist reforms in the 1920s and 1930s violently swept away the centuries-old theocratic tradition, and this is a unique case religion, as a political force, is completely dismantled. Thus, the Turkish model is characterized by its strong rejection of any religious authority that could be a competitor to the political system.(1)

The first sign of Turkish secularism is its extremism, absolute secularism, militant secularism, which willingly moves away from religion, if we do not say that it does not give it any respect. There is no shadow of appeasement or compatibility with Islam, not even the desire for peaceful coexistence.(2)

Turkish secularism is not only determined by the policy of separating religion from the state, but rather there is a desire to extend the hegemony of what is political over what is religious, and the truth is that the issue is not the exclusion of Islam through an organized anti-religious policy, but for a believer who is aware of the inclusive nature of faith, it is clear that the will to repay a religion of this magnitude as just a simple set of beliefs separated from the real world can only be seen as an anti-religious policy, and this explains in large part the many ethno-religious revolutions that took place in the first ten years of the republic.(3)

Contemporary Islamic societies are attracted by imported and traditional modernity that is still alive, and one of the results of this is that modernization

(1) Noureddine Muhammad, Turkey the Confused Republic (Approaches to Religion, Politics, and Foreign Relations), Center for Strategic Studies, Research and Documentation, Beirut, 1998, p.57.
(2) Nasr, S. H., Traditional Islam in the Modern World. London & New York: Kegan Paul International, 1994, p.22.
(3) KA El Fadl, Islam and the Challenge of Democratic Commitment, Fordham Int'l LJ., 2003, p.22.

movements often express themselves through cultural duality, and in the Turkish case a bicultural society arose following the end of compulsory western policies in the twenties and thirties of the twentieth century.(1)

The adoption of western culture meant only the middle and affluent classes, while tradition prevailed in the rest of the people, especially the rural world after half a century. And more and more dynamic, and to touch the real dimensions of the phenomenon, it may be appropriate to study a follow-up of the concessions that took place.(2)

The return to Islam coincided with the beginnings of the transition towards democracy, and it is not a priori possible to claim that democracy is a source of Islamism, but it is clear that the democratic game facilitated in turkey, as in other places, the awakening of Islamic ideas that remained absent until that time.(3)

We also see that with the announcement of political change and the introduction of partisan competition in the system in the aftermath of World War II, the first signs of liberalism appeared in everything that is religious, which became an area for real bidding among political formations.

Rural migration and dense urbanization were catalysts, as Islam became more and more organized in the city, and the public debate that was inaugurated at that time has not been interrupted since then, and some transformations affecting the symbols of Kamalism have been recorded in all fields: education, journalism, public morals, in fact, this did not affect the nature of the institutions, the secular

(1) Ali Hosni Bakri, Turkey (State and Society, Geo-Political and Geo-Strategic Elements: Regional Model and Global Advancement), Al-Dar Al-Arabiya Publishers, Beirut, 2010, p.56.
(2) Lewis, B., The Muslim Discovery of Europe, London: Phoenix Press, 2000, p.65.
(3) Aqil Mahfouz Suhail, Syria and Turkey: Current Reality and Future Possibilities, Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, 2009, p.59.

spirit of the state and the western orientation of the country, but rather the place that should be allocated to Islam.(1)

We can distinguish between three levels in the relations between religion and the human environment: the private, the social, and the political. Kamalism reduced Islam to the private sphere after it gained its right to exist on the social and educational level.(2)

Indeed, there is another obstacle that is more daunting in the long run, and more severe in the case of turkey in the face of the rise of Islam, which is the transcendence of the industrial development of religion. Secular, as well as some abandonment of social control due to family disintegration and the tendency towards individualism cannot be overlooked.(3)

The results of industrialization have also led to the prolongation of the Kamalist project on a social basis, in other words: the Kamalist success was not only determined by pursuing an uncompromising policy from above, but also by transgression expressed in the form of the economic development that took place, and its consequent results. High school. (4)

The development of the press resulting from the liberalization of the broadcasting and television media sector is also a new given, the results of which are not of a nature that can be reassured in such circles, even if it tries to benefit in turn the captivating attraction that the small screen exerts on ordinary people and

(1) Hassan Al-Obeidi, Internal Political Developments in Turkey (1946-1960), Faculty of Arts, University of Mosul, 1987.
(2)Adams, C. C., Islam and Modernism in Egypt. London & New York: Routledge, 2000, p.58.
(3) Roy, O. (2004). Globalized Islam: The Search for a new Ummah. London: Hurst
(4) Ayubi, N., Political Islam. Religion and Politics in the Arab World. London & New York: Routledge, 1991, p.32.

the impossibility of observing free and foreign channels - not it is possible to ban satellite dishes - a great danger in transmitting the Islamist message.(1)

Likewise, on the external level, the possibility of turkey's integration into the western world will never be in favor of Islam, as the west remains a civilization with a reference, while this reference has become rivaled in recent years by a Turkish-Islamic thesis in circles with a traditional orientation.(2)

And if the precise definition of secularism “the absence of religious rules and values in public life” applies well to the Turkish case, this does not mean that religion as a social phenomenon has turned into an insignificant quantity.

The electoral and regional trend and the consequences of economic backwardness or imbalance in development led to the fact that the political erasure of Islam for a long time did not affect the social consolidation of the phenomenon, and did not prevent it from returning to the chess of politics, but it remains difficult until now to accept an Iranian-style Islamism or the Algerian.(3)

The Turkish case of secularism poses challenges in understanding its specificity and navigating the relationship between politics and religion. This differentiation stems from the historical collapse of Ottoman central authority at the organizational level. And Turkish Islam underwent a significant transformation in the Kemalist republic, diminishing its importance and relegating it to a subordinate position. The Kemalist experience can be seen as a primitive model of secularism in contemporary Islam, characterized by extreme and rigid secularism.

The most important to say Mustafa Kemal’s role in promoting cultural rupture and implementing a voluntary policy played a significant part in the dissolution of

(1) Zubaida, S. (2000). ‘Trajectories of Political Islam: Egypt, Iran and Turkey’, Political Quarterly, 71/1, p.63.
(2) Benard, C., Civil Democratic Islam: Partners, Resources, and Strategies, RAND Corporation, 2003, p.87.
(3) Lamchichi, Al-Islamisme Politique, Paris: L’Harmattan, 2001, p.25.

Islam as a dominant force in the state. The shift was from a state where Islam was revered and centralized to one where Islam was nationalized, domesticated, and politically controlled. Secularism represented a transition from spiritual dominance to theoretical control.

Absolute secularism is evident at all levels in Turkey. On the political level, it resulted in the abolition of the sultanate and caliphate, the establishment of the republic, and the elimination of religion as a state matter. On the social level, Western laws replaced Islamic sharia, polygamy was abolished, and women's rights were respected. Culturally, there was a significant shock with the introduction of alcohol, changes in the alphabet, calendar, and music, all in the pursuit of Western modernity. The Kamalist reforms violently dismantled the centuries-old theocratic tradition, making Turkey a unique case where religion as a political force was completely dismantled. And Kemalism reduced Islam to the private sphere while allowing its existence on the social and educational levels. The success of Kemalism was influenced not only by an uncompromising policy from the top but also by economic development and its consequences.

These thinks highlight the extremism of Turkish secularism, the complexities of the relationship between religion and politics, the impact of cultural duality, the challenges faced by secularism in the face of social changes, and the ongoing significance of religion as a social force.

Conclusions:

a. The concept of political Islam refers in its content to a group of political movements with an ideology based on the Islamic religion, which can correspond to the concept of fundamentalism and conservatives.
b. The concept of secularism refers to a set of values aimed at removing religion from areas of life in general, such as politics, culture, and society.
c. Secularism in turkey began violently after the fall of the ottoman empire, by distancing the Islamic religion from everything that was dominated by it as a behavior and as an administration.
d. As a reaction to the secularism announced by Kamal Ataturk since his accession to power and the adoption of Kamalism by those who came after him as an approach, the Turks as a society adhered to their Islamic background in upbringing, education and society.
e. The emergence of political Islam coincided with the political developments that accompanied turkey, with the succession of military coups by officers with Islamic leanings.
f. Turkish democracy allowed more openness towards Islam, which enabled Islamic parties to gain power through elections.
g. The rivalry continues to the point of conflict between secularism and political Islam in turkey in an attempt to weaken each other.
h. The Turkish model is characterized by a strong rejection of any religious authority that could challenge the political system. This absolute secularism and the elimination of religious influence have defined the Turkish approach.
i. Turkish secularism is characterized by extremism and absolute secularism, with a willingness to distance itself from religion without any respect or desire for peaceful coexistence with Islam.
j. The goal of Turkish secularism extends beyond separating religion from the state. There is a desire to establish political hegemony over religion, which led to various ethno-religious revolutions in the early years of the republic.

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