

# Intellectual Discourse

---

Volume 26

Number 2

2018



**International Islamic University Malaysia**  
<http://journals.iium.edu.my/intdiscourse/index.php/islam>



# CONTENTS

## ***Editorial***

*Ishtiaq Hossain* 513

## ***Special Articles***

Politics of Forced Migration and Refugees: Dynamics of  
International Conspiracy?  
*Md. Moniruzzaman* 519

Roots of Discrimination Against Rohingya Minorities:  
Society, Ethnicity and International Relations  
*AKM Ahsan Ullah and Diotima Chatteraj* 541

Exploring Ways to Provide Education in Conflict Zones:  
Implementation and Challenges  
*Kamal J. I. Badrasawi, Iman Osman Ahmed and Iyad M. Eid* 567

Political Settlement Analysis of the Blight of Internally  
Displaced Persons in the Muslim World: Lessons  
from Nigeria  
*Ibrahim O. Salawu and Aluko Opeyemi Idowu* 595

## ***Research Articles***

Women's Work Empowerment through "Re-upcycle"  
Initiatives for Women-at-home  
*Rohaiza Rokis* 617

The Islamization of the Malaysian Media: A Complex  
Interaction of Religion, Class and Commercialization  
*Shafizan Mohamed and  
Tengku Siti Aisha Tengku Mohd Azzman* 635

Rise of Central Conservatism in Political Leadership:  
Erbakan's National Outlook Movement and the 1997  
Military Coup in Turkey  
*Suleyman Temiz* 659

Language Policy and Practices in Indonesian Higher Education Institutions <i>Maskanah Mohammad Lotfie and Hartono</i>	683
A Novel Critique on ‘The Scientific Miracle of Qur’an Philosophy’: An Inter-Civilization Debate <i>Rahmah Bt Ahmad H. Osman and Naseeb Ahmed Siddiqui</i>	705
Duties and Decision-Making Guidelines for Shari‘ah Committee: An Overview of AAOIFI <i>Muhammad Nabil Fikri Bin Mhd Zain and Muhammad Amanullah</i>	729
Waqf Institutions in Malaysia: Appreciation of Wasatiyyah Approach in Internal Control as a Part of Good Governance <i>Nor Razinah Binti Mohd. Zain, Rusni Hassan and Nazifah Mustaffha</i>	749
Muslim Jurists’ Debate on Non-Muslim Religious Festivals and Its Effect on Muslims in the United States <i>Ali Ahmed Zahir</i>	765
Archaeological Analysis of Arabic-Malay Translation Works of Abdullah Basmeih <i>Azman Ariffin, Kasyfullah Abd Kadir and Idris Mansor</i>	785
<i>Takyif Fiqhī</i> and its Application to Modern Contracts: A Case Study of the Central Provident Fund Nomination in Singapore <i>Mohamed El Tahir El Mesawi and Mohammad Rizhan bin Leman</i>	807
Revisiting English as a Foreign Language (EFL) Vs. English Lingua Franca (ELF): The Case for Pronunciation <i>Wafa Zoghbor</i>	829
“How did we Choose?” Understanding the Northern Female Voting Behaviour in Malaysia in the 14th General Election <i>Ummu Atiyah Ahmad Zakuan, Mohd Azizuddin Mohd Sani, Norehan Abdullah, and Zaireeni Azmi</i>	859

- Unintended Consequences? The Commodification of Ideas  
in Tertiary Education and their Effects on Muslim Students  
*Anke Iman Bouzenita, and Bronwyn Wood* 883
- Ultra Petita and the Threat to Constitutional Justice:  
The Indonesian Experience  
*Muhammad Siddiq Armia* 903
- Methods of Qur'ānic Memorisation (Ḥifẓ):  
Implications for Learning Performance  
*Mariam Adawiah Dzulkifli, and Abdul Kabir Hussain Solihu* 931
- Book Reviews**
- Saudi Arabia in Transition: Insights on Social, Political,  
Economic and Religious Change by Bernard Haykel, Thomas  
Hegghammer and Stephane Lacroix (Eds.). New York, USA:  
Cambridge University Press, 2015, pp. 351,  
ISBN: 978-0-521-18509-7  
*Syaza Farhana Shukri* 949
- 'Arab Spring': Faktor dan Impak ('Arab Spring': Factors  
and Impact). Edited by Wan Kamal Mujani & Siti Nurulizah  
Musa. Bangi: Penerbit Fakulti Pengajian Islam,  
Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia. 2015, pp. 164.  
ISBN 978-967-5478-91-8.  
*Mohd Irwan Syazli Saidin* 952
- Faith in an Age of Terror. Edited by Quek Tze Ming and  
Philip E. Satterthwaite. Singapore: Genesis Books,  
Singapore, 2018, pp.150.  
ISBN: 978-981-48-0707-4  
*Rabi'ah Aminudin* 956
- Karl Marx: Greatness and Illusion. By Gareth Stedman Jones.  
London: Penguin Books, 2017, pp. 768. Paper Back.  
ISBN 978-0-141-02480-6  
*Zahid Zamri* 959

***Research Note***

“O People of the Book”: An Exegetical Analysis  
of the Ahl al-Kitāb in Qur’ānic Discourse

*Jonathan Alexander Hoffman*

965

***Conference Report***

International Conference on Religion, Culture and Governance in the  
Contemporary World (ICRCG2018) 3-4 October 2018  
(Wednesday-Thursday) 23-24 Muharram 1440.

*Atiqur Rahman Mujahid*

979

# Rise of Central Conservatism in Political Leadership: Erbakan’s National Outlook Movement and the 1997 Military Coup in Turkey

Suleyman Temiz\*

**Abstract:** In democratic countries such as Turkey, political parties are established around charismatic leaders and these leaders stay at the centre of the party, from naming the party to the arrangement of deputy candidates. National Outlook, a movement which prevailed in Turkish politics for forty years, won its biggest victory and formed a coalition government in 1995 with the True Path Party, under the leadership of Tansu Ciller. Having secularized its legal system in the early years of the Republic, successive regimes in Turkey aggressively westernized all aspects of life. However, during the multiparty period, the style of radical secularism in Turkey was opposed by conservative groups and it has been criticized since then. The relationship between civil society and the military has always been problematic in Turkey, as the Turkish Army has always been suspicious of conservative governments on the issue of secularism. On several occasions the military has intervened in politics in order to prevent Islam from impinging on the Republic’s secular identity, and it expected to continue in its role as the champion of secularism when the Justice and Development Party (AKP) came to power in November 2002. For the Turkish military, the National Outlook Movement is more dangerous than Kurdish separatist terrorism, being labelled *irtica*. The paper provides insights into the Turkish political context for the decision and analyses the roles of key actors in Turkish politics, such as Government and Army, during the 28 February 1997 process, their motivations and the policy processes in the country.

---

\* Lecturer, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Department of Political Science and International Relations, Iğdır, Turkey. E-mail: [suleyman.teemiz1@gmail.com](mailto:suleyman.teemiz1@gmail.com)

**Keywords:** National Outlook, Erbakan, Erdoğan. Political Leadership, Turkey.

**Abstrak:** Di negara yang mengamalkan sistem demokrasi seperti Turki, parti politik yang ditubuhkan adalah berpaksi kepada pemimpin yang berkarisma. Pemimpin inilah yang membuat segala keputusan penting parti dari penamaan parti kepada pemilihan calon timbalan yang bersesuaian. Gerakan Pandangan Nasional, merupakan gerakan dengan jayanya berada di dalam sistem politik Turki selama empat puluh tahun. Gerakan ini telah menang besar dalam pilihanraya pada tahun 1995 dan membentuk pakatan kerajaan dengan ‘True Path Party’ dibawah kepimpinan Tansu Giller. Sistem undang-undang Turki telah disekularkan semasa tahun-tahun awal Turki menjadi negara republik. Regim yang memerintah Turki seterusnya telah cuba secara agresif memupuk budaya barat ke dalam setiap aspek kehidupan. Walaubagaimanapun, budaya sekularisme yang radikal telah ditentang dan dikritik oleh kumpulan konservatif. Disamping itu, hubungan antara pihak konservatif dan pihak tentera sentiasa bermasalah di Turki. Pihak tentera sentiasa curiga dengan kerajaan konservatif dalam isu sekularisme. Ini boleh dilihat apabila pihak tentera cuba campur tangan di dalam politik untuk menghalang Islam menyekat identiti sekular Republik Turki. Selain itu, pihak tentera juga meneruskan peranannya sebagai juara sekularisme apabila Parti Keadilan dan Pembangunan (AKP) mengambil alih kuasa pada bulan November 2002. Bagi pihak tentera Turki, Gerakan Pandangan Nasional adalah sangat berbahaya berbanding keganasan puak pemisah Kurdish dan dilabel sebagai irtica. Kajian ini adalah untuk memberi konteks sistem politik Turki disamping menganalisis segala keputusan dan peranan pemimpin di dalam politik Turki terutamanya pihak kerajaan dan pihak tentera pada 28 February 1997 dari segi motivasi dan membentuk dasar negara.

**Katakunci:** Gerakan Pandangan Nasional, Erbakan, Erdoğan. Kepimpinan Politik, Turki

## Introduction

The topic of leadership, including motives behind its appearance and its definition, is quite complex, questionable and debatable. There are thousands of potential definitions of leadership. (Elgie & Rhodes, 1996: 565) Bass counted 221 scholarly definitions. (Bass, 2008: 22) Furthermore, there is no universally acknowledged conceptual understanding of leadership. (Fiedler & House, 1988: 129)

According to Locke, a leader is someone who has the authority to tell a group of people what to do. In the simplest sense, a leader is somebody whom people follow. A leader is one who gets others to take



action towards a common goal, purpose and target. (Locke, 1999: 3) Leadership is an agent of human interactions in which some individuals exert, or attempt to exert, a determining influence upon others. (Tucker, 1981: 16; Avolio & Gardner, 2005: 315-338) Leaders are people who exercise control over the behavior of others so as to move them towards the desired direction. (Edinger, 1993: 3-20) Leadership is an influence on relationships between leaders and followers who intend real changes that reflect their mutual purposes. (Rost, 1991: 27) As noted by George and Brief, "leaders who feel excited, enthusiastic and energetic themselves are likely to similarly energize their followers, as are leaders who feel distressed and hostile likely to negatively activate their followers". (George & Brief, 1992: 10)

Leadership is a relationship between those who aspire to lead and those who choose to follow. According to Perry, leaders are not born, but they are made; they are grown. The capabilities that are needed by leaders - the behaviors, skills, mindsets, and attitudes – can be learned; the character qualities of leaders can be shaped within an organization's culture. This puts to rest the most common myth that leaders are born. Both the excellent capabilities and the proven character needed in public service leaders can be "grown" within the organization itself. (Perry, Hondeghem & Wise, 2010: 682)

Conversely, Stogdill claims that a person does not become a leader by virtue of the possession of some combination of traits. (Stogdill, 1948: 39) Abraham Zaleznik hypothesizes that there are two kinds of leaders: once-born and twice-born. The once-born transition from home and family to independence is relatively easy. Twice-born generally suffer as they grow up, feel different, even isolated, and so develop an elaborate inner life. As they grow older, they become truly independent, relying wholly on their own beliefs and ideas. According to him, leaders who are twice born are inner-directed, self-assured, and, as a result, truly charismatic. (Bennis & Bennis, 2010: 124)

Once-born have been invented by their circumstances, as in the case of Erdal Inonu and Adnan Menderes, who come from wealthy and celebrated families, while twice-born have invented themselves, as in the case of Necmettin Erbakan, Suleyman Demirel, Turgut Ozal and Recep Tayyip Erdogan, who come from ordinary families but who are extraordinarily talented individuals. When we look at the Turkish

politics we can claim that National Outlook Movement members, especially at the beginning, came from the latter, as they were people who were oppressed due to their beliefs by a militantly secular system.

Leo Tolstoy pinpointed personality factors that leaders exhibit, (Kirsner & Richards, 2008: 50) while House defines general leadership by giving purpose, meaning and guidance to collectivists by articulating a collective vision that appeals to ideological values, motives and self-perceptions of followers. (House, 1995: 25) Blondel's interpretation is more vague. According to him, political leadership is defined as the power exercised by one or a few individuals to direct members of a nation towards actions. (Blondel, 1987: 3) In this context, a political leader is a leader who correlates with audiences, organising and preparing them to be ready for action. We can easily interpret that political leadership is born from the relationship between directed-managed relationships.

The relationship based on consent between those directed-managed, is generally accepted by the people all the time in the past and future. Directed people do their duty willingly and intentionally most of the time. Especially in democratic countries, political actors who want to manage the country announce their nomination willingly before elections, and some political actors who want to affect the political system establish connections with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) for their support abroad.

According to Lord and Maher, (1990: 3-9) one must bear in mind that in incidents of leadership there is both a leader, or leaders, and a follower, or followers, and cognition occurs between both leaders and followers; if there is a leader, there must be a follower. (Drazin, Glynn & Kazanjian, 1999: 286-307) For Schmidt, it is not enough for a leader to create a vision. The real test of a leader is whether he or she can transmit that vision to followers, articulate it to them clearly, and mobilize their support. (Schmidt, 2007: 993) If a leader is perceived as a role model, followers tend to internalize a leader's vision, mission and/or inherent values into their self-concepts. (Shamir, House & Arthur, 1993: 577) Leaders' action or inaction can have multiple effects on other people. (Hollander, 1992: 43) Although leaders are usually directors of activity, all initiatives need not come from them. Followers also have the potential for making significant contributions to successful leadership. Indeed, at

every level in organizations, leaders are called upon to be responsive as are followers. (Hollander, 1992: 44)

Personally or socially, people have needs. Undoubtedly, the ability to solve problems is one of the most important distinguished features of leaders. (Zaccaro, 2014: 14) Leaders must solve social or organizational problems, (Mumford, Zaccaro, Harding, Jacobs & Fleishman, 2000: 12) so there is reason to suspect that cognition would also importantly influence leaders' emergence and performance. (Mumford, Watts & Partlow, 2015: 2)

If leaders do not have the ability to solve problems, people will not follow them. Ability and skills are of value in solving problems, including the problems presented to leaders, only then can these capacities be applied. (Hogarth, 1980: 12) Furthermore, the effectiveness of leadership actions is often defined by the successful implementation of target-linked problem solutions in systems. (Fleishman, Zaccaro & Mumford, 1991: 238; Yukl, 1989: 251-256) General or abstract intelligence is perhaps the individual characteristic that has been most consistently associated with leader emergence and effectiveness. (Bass, Avolio & Pointon, 1990: 6; Bass, 1985: 274) Effective leadership might require some problem-solving ability, just as creative achievement in the arts and sciences might require some persuasiveness. (Mumford & Connelly, 1991: 290) Relationships between followers and leaders occur over time. It is difficult, if not impossible, to consider leadership without time. (Bluedorn & Jaussi, 2008: 657)

### **Political History of the Development of National Outlook**

While processing of development and change of conservatism, it should be mentioned that it began with the establishment of the new Republic of Turkey in the 1920s and later became more powerful during the period of multi-party political life. Aggressive Westernization can be traced to the Tanzimat period (1839-1876), but Ottoman Westernization was always premised on modernization within an Islamic paradigm (even when adopting measures forbidden by Islamic Sharia), while in the Republic of Turkey the traditional civilization of Islam and the Turkish people was openly denounced and berated as backward and obsolete, to be swept away by the new secular Republic of Turkey. Commensurate with the ascendancy of this secular doctrine of Turkish

nationalism, a number of movements emerged, including Kurdish ethnic movements and the conservative political base, which achieved greater representation during the multi-party period.

The central tenet of Kemalism is that religion can be tolerated as a private personal interest at best, although not manifest in any signs of religious or cultural expression (e.g. in clothing), and it must never be allowed to exert any influence or characterization whatsoever in political considerations. This was particularly significant in the case of Turkey because it was formerly the pan-Islamic Ottoman Caliphate; conversely, many other former Ottoman territories dominated by colonial interests maintained a normative Islamic identity (e.g. the Saudi Kingdom of Hejaz, the Hashemite Kingdom of Iraq and the quasi-independent British Protectorate of Egypt). Despite decades of unremitting persecution, Islam continued to survive among the Turkish masses and to face new challenges.

Popular movements against the status quo have thus adopted a socially conservative orientation, in reaction to the militant secularism of the state bureaucracy. After the experience of the Democratic Party in 1950 alternative views were given some space in Turkish public life, including Islamic representatives. Islamist movements, which began in the center-right party tradition and developed with great support, were confronted by policy changes after the 1960 military coup. Necmettin Erbakan's National Order Party (*Milli Nizam Partisi*) was established as the first conservative Islamist party in 1970.

### **National Order Party**

The National Order Party (NOP) transformed from the National Outlook ideology was established on 26 January 1970 under Erbakan's leadership. It was shut down on 20 May 1971 by the military junta authorities after the 1971 Turkish Military Memorandum for violating the Constitution, especially the articles dealing with secular state understanding and Atatürk's Six Arrows. Albeit its life was short, the NOP was immensely significant in Turkish political history for two reasons. Firstly, the key persons that formed the party were the only representatives of the independent political Islamic movement during the next thirty years in the Turkish political history. Despite all criticisms, this movement retained this characteristic. Secondly, for the first time, small- and medium-sized industrialists and merchants played

a significant role in the party base, which was important in subsequent political formulation, such as the Welfare Party.

Under the political leadership of Necmettin Erbakan, the NOP talked about national and spiritual development; it carried an implicitly religious tone and emphasized the exploitative nature of usury, advocating more state regulation of the economic system. Heavy industrial development was also talked about in the Party program. The NOP opposed the European Community, the precursor of the European Union. (LaGro, 2007: 17) After being closed down following the 12 March military coup in 1971, it was re-established as the National Salvation Party with the same ideological system and program. By this time its goals were clearly Islamist in terms of seeking a role for Islam in the state, which provided the justification for such military crack-downs if the secular faction felt their influence was becoming a threat, but the general movement continued to endure under numerous banners. (Cook, 2007: 101)

### **National Salvation Party**

In the course of the National Outlook movement, the second important step was the National Salvation Party (NSP), established in 1972. Erbakan officially joined the party in May 1973 because of his political ban. The party participated in the 1973 elections with Suleyman Arif Emre as its party leader, and gained 11.8% of votes and was granted 48 seats in the Turkish Grand National Assembly.

After his ban was removed, Erbakan was quickly elected as Party President. The Party was successful in the elections and formed a coalition government with the Republican People's Party. As might be expected, this partnership did not last long. Partnership in governance with the Republican People's Party damaged the NSP, which was accused of being a leftist party collaborating with the communists to divide the country. (Besli and Ozay, 2011:19)

Erbakan became the unchanging and unquestionable leader in the eight-year political life of NSP. The party became an important vehicle for transporting the small and medium segments' political wishes to the center and became a representative of national conservatives. Even if it was sometimes exposed to harsh criticisms by its voters, it was a big success merely being able to find a place in the Assembly.

The NSP's biggest contribution to Turkish politics was recruiting its young supporters as future politicians. In 1974 it formed the coalition government with the secularist Republican People's Party of Bulent Ecevit. *Millî Gazete*, launched 12 September 1973, was the party's semi-official daily newspaper. The National Turkish Student Association (*Millî Türk Talebe Birliği*, MTTB) was its youth wing.

Meanwhile, the Iranian Revolution affected the National Outlook movement and its thought. This influence can be seen in intra-party politics. Sometimes the movement followed radical politics. We can say that the Iranian revolution affected both the rightist and leftist politics. (Yalcin, 137-138)

Following the September 12 coup d'état, politics became difficult and even the founding party of Turkey and Kemalism, the Republican People's Party, was closed down. Erbakan was again banned from politics. After the re-activation of political parties, the NSP changed its name and continued on its way again as Welfare Party in 1983. Some of the voters passed on to the Motherland Party, which was established under Turgut Ozal's political leadership. Despite this, the support from its party base did not diminish.

The Welfare Party (WP) won many districts and provinces in the local elections and in 1991 stood in the general elections in alliance with the Nationalist Working Party and the Reformist Democracy Party. In the end, the Alliance received 16% of the votes. After the separation of deputies of the other parties, 40 deputies remained and represented the National Outlook in the parliament. The alliance had proven to be successful and Welfare Party won many districts and provinces in the local elections. The real milestone for the WP was the 1994 local elections. Surprisingly, the party won major cities such as Istanbul, Ankara and many other key districts, attracting international attention. This unexpected success affected the 1995 general elections. The Party's vote significantly increased, like never before. Erbakan did not miss this opportunity and agreed to an alliance with the True Path Party under the political leadership of Tansu Ciller, and they formed a coalition government.

The government started to be successful. Nevertheless, Erbakan's party was once again accused of being the hub of an anti-secularist movement. The party was closed down through the same tactics as

previously used by the secular state bureaucracy. On 28 February 1997, the party was at a crossroads. Some party members, such as Abdullah Gul, Tayyip Erdogan and Bulent Arinc ventured into a different ideological path with the Virtue Party, which was established in place of the Welfare Party. This separation caused an emergence of new political actors, who proved to be quite effective in the following years. (Güngör, 2002: 36)

### **Erbakan's National Outlook**

The WP successfully garnered 21% of votes in the 1995 General Elections, but it shed serious numbers of votes in the 1999 elections, and it was torn by internal opposition. Erbakan did not pay any attention and ignored requests for change, as the Party's leader for 30 years. Indeed, he humiliated members who demanded change and his own party base. (Yılmaz, 2001: 206)

The Virtue Party was formed as a new party, with the same cadres, mindset and ideology as the traditional WP but with an innovative group advocating radical changes. This group thought that it was not very wise to continue the politics under the same conditions.

The biggest impact of the 28 February event that perhaps that the distinction between reformists and traditionalists for the first time was so obvious. The WP administration wanted to suppress the youth uprising and leaders started to use emotional language to control young members, who were expected to obey and accept unquestioningly. Following this, young members of the party started to strongly critique the 30-year unquestionable authority of Erbakan and his demand for utter obedience. (Besli & Ozay, 2011:17)

The 28 February coup freed those of the NO ideological affiliation from their institutionalized support for the WP and Erbakan, leading to a cascade of parties that were often closed down but which collectively signaled to the moribund secular bureaucracy that there was a serious groundswell of opposition to the decrepitude and stagnation of repression since the 27 May 1960 military coup, including the old parties and their personnel. PM Ozal's liberal policy, especially on economic, influenced by NO policies laid the foundation for certain social and political structures that were foundational in the rupture of the young members within the party.

## **Reformist Wing and Separation from the National Outlook**

Reformists members of the Virtue Party accused Erbakan of being silent of the 28 February process. Erbakan argued with Erdogan at a group meeting and he had come from Istanbul and attended the group meeting as Mayor of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. Erdogan was quoted saying to his party leader: “Do not sign National Security Council resolutions, do you not see, they want to murder your own child with your own hands”. Erdogan added that “after 30 years our political fight, if you send such a decision to the parliament, it will be the end of our movement. My hodja, it will be the end for you too”. (Besli and Ozay, 2011:18) However, Erbakan did not listen to anyone and he did not take these objections and warnings into consideration.

Had Erbakan forwarded the said decisions to the General Assembly, they would not have been approved, but things did not progress as Erbakan expected. First, the coalition partner abandoned them. The TPP did not want to continue with the Virtue Party. As Erdogan said, Erbakan had lost most of his supporters immediately after these decisions. As a leader of the NO movement and the Party, he could not continue with his current failing leadership charisma. The vast majority of NO supporters did not yield to this unconditional surrender.(Özalp, 2011: 32)

The general congress of the Virtue Party was held on 14 May 2000. Recep Tayyip Erdogan, who had a strong position in the party, was banned from politics by a court decision. Instead of Erdogan, Abdullah Gul was the head of the innovative wing. It seemed a good opportunity for the young members. If they managed to get any seat in the party management, they could apply their policies. On the day of Election of the party’s presidency, the traditionalists won 633 against 527 votes and the reformist wing started to become more vocal against the management cadres of the party. Within a month, the Virtue Party was closed by the Constitutional Court on 22 June 2001. In the following days, the traditional party members, under the leadership of Recai Kutan, established a new party named as Felicity Party, on 20 July 2001, and they continued their traditional policy. (Karpat, 2012: 243)

The Innovative wing of the party lost the party’s presidency election with a margin in the party convention; however, it was a clear Pyrrhic victory for Recai Kutan and the traditionalists. They seemed to have won, but in fact, many things had been lost. After this election, it was



apparent that, for the reformists, it was impossible to get administrator positions in the party. However, these events produced quite positive outcomes for the innovationists. According to Poyraz, as a result, all these developments affected the emergence of the AKP and led to no interruptions to the government's three-term rule. (Poyraz, 2010: 328-329)

While traditionalists had chosen to continue their way as the Felicity Party, reformists started a process to establish their own party. Also, there was a serious need for a representative party in the society, especially for the Islamic segment. From the very beginning, tariqats and conservative communities kept their distance from the NO; nevertheless, they sometimes supported them, and sometimes criticized them harshly. After the separation, they started to support the innovationist wing of NO. It was observed that the Islamic sects were very receptive towards the reformists, but they were careful about their general attitudes towards politics, which was why they did not support them openly. (Cevik, 2015: 120) It was an important development that the Innovative movement was especially supported by Islamic communities while they were a part of the WP and later on during the debate within the Virtue Party. Reformists, even though they were supported by the Islamic communities, had no operational power in party management, thus the Innovative Group was consistently encouraged to establish a new party by the said communities. (Cevik, 2015: 120) The Islamic communities accepted the opinion that, under the leadership and control of Erdogan, any Islamic development would not be allowed by the state bureaucracy and army and it could even be harmful to the Muslims. Therefore, they realized that they needed a new and more centralized political movement to support. (Güngör, 2002: 37)

Reformists announced that they would follow a peaceful policy, away from tension with states bureaucracy, but with a strong posture. They said that defending this understanding and promised that they would keep away from constant tension. They gave positive signs to the military and they made effort to choose candidates from army members and retired soldiers. In contrast, traditionalist Recai Kutan and his supporters continued their 30-year NO policy.

Reformists were searching for a new identity while establishing a new party; they claimed that they depended on their past and defined

themselves as conservative democrats. Traditionalists blamed reformists for treason to their belief. These blames by the old members, actually, facilitated reformists' allegations of change. If they were just another party which defended the traditional NO politics, they would not have jettisoned its policies so easily. (Özalp, 2011: 58)

There is no doubt that these public sections made serious contributions to the success of the AKP, the political wing that the reformists managed to establish in a short time, by 14 August 2001. According to Hale and Ozbudun, the AKP emphasized that they were different from NO as a conservative democratic party; they were on the verge of starting a new period. (Hale and Ozbudun, 2009: 28)

The AKP accepted democracy as its basic and universal principle. The members also accepted the ideas of the constitution and human rights and promised to show tolerance and respect cultural diversity. They announced that they accepted the national will, mind, knowledge and science as ethical guiding ideas and pledged to respect different religions and beliefs. (Silverstein, 2011: 51) At the same time, the party emphasized that cultural differences were not a weakness but the proof of power of national unity. (Karpat, 2012: 246)

### **Political Transformation**

The 1999 General Election results showed that Turkey entered a new era. In this election the Republican People's Party's won 8.7% of the votes and they could not enter the General Assembly. It was evident that old fashioned politics were no longer popular. The Motherland Party and True Path Party barely passed the 10% threshold. The Virtue Party, the direct descendent of the WP (closed due to a court decision) successfully gained 15.5% votes and sent to the General Assembly 111 deputies, but its success was short-lived as it was shut down by a court's decision declaring that it was the blatant continuation of the Welfare Party. The real surprise in this election was National Movement Party, which increased its votes to around 10% and became the most powerful party of the center-right. (Karpat, 2012: 12-158)

Erbakan's insufficiency to manage the 28 February process was not a barrier to increasing victory for the NO movement due to popular dissatisfaction with the system. The Virtue Party and other opposition groups benefited from "reaction votes" rather than their active appeal,

enabling Erbakan's party to stumble on with his traditional political views. Illegally shut down and victimized parties had rapport with a victimized society, whose voters thus supported victimized and excluded politicians. Victimized supporters of the party promoted Erbakan's political leadership and his charismatic *mujahid* leadership personality. (Gulerce, 2012: 347)

Militarist interference in politics on 28 February was not like the other coups Turkish society had seen before. If we compared it to the previous coups, we can say that it was more complicated and sophisticated. During the time, the media was manipulated, public perceptions were canalized, and the justice system was abused carelessly and blatantly by the secular bureaucracy. (Altınay, 2004: 2) The main reason for this was that the 12 September 1980 Constitution was established in three different steps. First, the justice system was used as the protection element for the secular system. Secondly, bureaucracy and civil servants were used as implementers. Finally, military power gave the ultimate sovereignty to the secular faction, enabling them to trump any democratic counter-measures that might overcome their legislative and political barricades. (Birand, 2012: 56)

According to Gulerce, Turkey was accustomed to military coups occurring in general once in every ten years, as in 1960, 1971 and 1980 – in each case society was punished and corrected by the secular army and bureaucracy. However, there was a delay after the 1980 military coup. In this incidence, especially after 1993, a well-known secular journalist, Ugur Mumcu, was murdered, after which violence erupted in Madimak, a small province in Sivas. This and other unknown murders caused chaos in nation and these developments created a foundation for a coup. These events were precursors to the said coup, but the status quo did not give the secular front permission to act. Finally, another military coup handled the situation a postmodern way. (Gülerce, 2012: 346-347)

After a historic meeting the National Security Council sent a list of 20 demands to the Ministerial Cabinet demanding serious action, including:

1. The space created by the removal of Article 163 must be filled with new laws to be adopted. (Article 163 had outlawed politically motivated religious activity and prohibited the

- establishment of religious organizations or political parties aimed at creating an Islamic republic).
2. 2. Ataturk's Six Arrows and secular principles must be applied carefully.
  3. 3. The Dervish Convent, which was against Kemalist principles, must be disbanded.
  4. 4. The government's education policies must be compliant with the law.
  5. 5. Movements against the secular and democratic state of Turkey must be stopped.
  6. 6. Primary education must be for eight years.
  7. 7. Imam Hatip schools, which were unnecessary, must be transformed into vocational high schools.
  8. 8. Radio and television broadcasting against secularism should be prevented. Religious issues, such as mosque building, should not be used advantageously in politics.
  9. 9. National Outlook's economic support to municipalities must be prevented.
  10. 10. Qur'an courses must be organized and administered by the Education Ministry.
  11. 11. The dress code law must be applied carefully and without concession.

The 28 February coup was a significant psychological operation perpetrated against the Turkish people by the secular faction in the state and in the media. Any who criticized the secular system's policy were described as dangerous, and the mask of enlightened toleration slipped to reveal the Islamophobia of the secularists, manifest in increasing aggression and a clampdown on any journalists or intellectuals who questioned this situation. In this process, the military never used weapons and did not need to kill anybody, because the media made an incredible effort to rally and cajole people into support for the secular republic, prostrating to the state bureaucracy and Kemalist jingoism. (Meriç, 2014: 28)

The 28 February coup triggered the biggest ideological transformation in the democratic history of Turkey, manifesting one of the worst discriminatory regimes in the nation's history. According to some conservative scholars, the main secular bureaucracy wanted to polarize citizens and incite a civil war. Victims of the 28 February coup,

especially politicians, turned this disadvantage to advantage by using people's accumulated feeling of anger and to seek revenge from the secular system.

There are two different economic capitals in Turkey, Istanbul and Anatolia; the latter has less capacity and control over the country. In this regard, Anatolian capital found a chance for expansion after the 28 February coup because conservative politicians wanted a new and controlled capital and they did not want to see any other coups like 28 February. (Ustaoglu, 2014: 12) If we look at the long-term effects of the coup, we have to highlight that the extension of active victimization expanded the base of support for political opposition, with middle-class conservatives beginning to shape the political, economic and social arenas. (Cizre, 2008: 127)

At the end of the 28 February coup, a process of attrition was started by the media and that can be seen more clearly today. In order to justify the post-modern coup, two actors were found by the media and disputing news started to occupy the agenda; they were Fadime Sahin and Muslum Gunduz, the so-called heads of the Aczmeni sect. This scenario made a huge impact when the police and media swooped on their house to arrest the paid for their beliefs and Islamic principles. The case was used to denounce Islam, with Fadime Sahin visiting all news and TV channels to explain how she had been "tricked", attempting to conflate Islam with treachery and misogyny. This was a very sensitive matter for the Turkish community. In the following years, it came to be understood that this was a psychological operation against the Welfare Party and Necmettin Erbakan's political views, and the secular media establishment had some success in smearing Islam. Contemporaneously, secularists became haughty in their oppression of the stirring Muslim masses, and Sukran Taylan, head of the secularist Modern Life Support Organization, said that "nothing happens in this country without our permission".

However, its increasingly reactionary and oppressive actions revealed that the secular elite was in fact losing its grip on the monopoly of power, becoming more aggressive and intolerant. The best example of this was when Merve Kavakci, an MP of the Virtue Party, entered the General Assembly wearing a headscarf. It was the first time the General Assembly had witnessed such a scene. Ecevit's secular Democratic

Left Party deputies stood up and started to jeer, saying “get out, get out...”. Ecevit spoke at the Assembly and he said that “this building is not the place to challenge the State”. His words were the hierarchical proof of the distance between secular elite that worked itself into a rabid frenzy at the prospect of a woman putting a cloth on her head and a long-suffering public seeking new opportunities and socio-economic development. (Islam, 2012: 378)

In order to understand the reasons for the success of the AKP we have to carefully read and interpret the effects of the 28 February on the people and society. The next election had more importance for the future of the country. After two years both segments of the society mixed with each other and the coup’s effects cooled down while other figures started to influence the election. Specifically, the PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan was captured, which seriously affected the election (the PKK is generally considered a terrorist organization by Turkey, other NATO members and the EU) as a major counter-terrorism issue for the Turkish state. When this subject was highlighted in the state agenda, the coalition called for an election, and despite not having much to do with the effort to capture Ocalan, the Democratic Left Party and Nationalist Movement Party were the main beneficiaries of the election, becoming the two biggest parties at the Assembly. Opposition leaders thanked the National Intelligence Service and openly announced that it was not the success of the coalition. Erbakan’s party votes were shared with the National Movement Party and they promised voters that they would solve the headscarf problem, because their nationalist targets and their worldview were sensitive about that. The leader of the nationalist movement, Bahçeli, vowed to stand against seculars who do not tolerate the headscarf, like a real man. It was classic populism and it worked in securing a high percentage of votes.

One of the main reasons for the loss of Erbakan’s popularity was his grating humbleness when the army or other politicians insulted his aims or targets; undoubtedly such behaviors was neither accepted nor welcomed by the opposition base in general, which signaled weakness and emboldened secular aggression against the WP and other conservative parties. It is proof that remarkable percentage of the nation could not accept or forget the 28 February and voters turned to National Movement Party because the party started to explain what society wants. In the 2002 elections, the NMP could not win any place

in the General Assembly and the main reason was their unskilled and unqualified politics. They did not keep their words, "to be real men". As a result, voters withdrew their support and punished them by not sending them to the General Assembly.

In this regard, it can be said that the real litmus test for the decisions and processes arising from 28 February was the 2002 elections, when the people exacted their revenge for economic and social corruption and secular bureaucracy. It was an unseen political event in Turkish history whereby voters punished all pre-2002 Assembly parties, while the party which was banned by the 28 February process became a powerful single ruling party with an overwhelming majority, and a person sent to prison for reading a poem, Erdogan, after establishing his new party, rode to power on a surge of popularity and optimism. (Kasaba, 2008: 259)

According to Aktay, the real lesson of the process was that being right is useless without a consistent and effective political stance. The WP did not demonstrate consistency and public opinion favored the Nationalist Movement Party. The 28 February process was really effective and some symptoms which belong to that process can still be seen today. 28 February was a military coup without blood and violence, but it massively formative in modern Turkish politics, whereby capturing the national psyche became more important than military control of the levers of power. There were many political parties but no leader was qualified to manage the nation. During the process, the nation did not fight for an imported ideology or belief; on the contrary, they were forced to fight for their own values. (Aktay, 2011: 41-44)

The second most important issue is the role, authority and position of the Chief of the General Staff and the Turkish Army's custom of prohibiting civilian governments from being elected on any ideological grounds, as manifest in three military coups and the post-modern coup of 28 February 1997 over the 82 years since the establishment of the state. (Sarıbrahimoğlu, 2005: 73) The 28 February coup was distinguished by the mobilization of an army of civilian allies who willingly alerted the army over 'fundamentalism' by evoking the effects of the press as well as many NGOs. The Turkish army carried out the said coups based on Article 35 of the Internal Service Law. The issue with Article 35 is that the authority to appoint the duty of conservation and surveillance is designated to the Turkish Army as opposed to a civil political power.

According to some soldiers in the Turkish military, what they had done would be continue for one thousand years; it only lasted only four. The outcomes of 28 February process were fully opposite of what was intended by the secular wing.

This event caused the awakening of the general public, particularly center-right conservatives. The said process made an impact in such a chaotic situation that the people rallied to Erdogan based on his reputation as a selfless and ethically consistent politician serving the people, who was persecuted by an evil system on this account. Undoubtedly his imprisonment was an important reason for the rise of his leadership charisma. The establishment of the AKP under Erdogan's leadership brought together the center-right votes that had been dispersed before the 2002 election. (Rahimi, 2015: 52) This was the clearest answer to the administrative tutelage by the public to purge old politicians from the General Assembly. In the victory of Erdogan, the masses, who were eliminated from public space during coup process, broke the chains imposed by the secular-Kemalist and state doors opened for conservatives.

## **Conclusion**

The two dynamics behind the post-modern coup of 28 February 1997 is: The first is that the status quo in the military, the judiciary, the bureaucracy, the capital, the media, and the financial world see a growing Islamization tendency as a threat to their future, in terms of positions and tangible assets. The second is that the Western bloc - after the communism - sees the increasing tendency of Islamization as a threat since 1991 and adopts this threat as a new area of struggle. Strong political leadership is always one of the most important agents that trigger effective growth and rise as a nation. This is a valid phenomenon as in the past. But, unfortunately, strong political leaders cannot always succeed. An example of this is the February 28 period. The secular military administration gave an ultimatum to the conservative Erbakan administration and this resulted in the resignation of the government. In this case Turkey dragged back into chaos. The period of weak coalition began and this situation continued until the AK Party.

Democracy in Turkey, usually revolve around an effective political leaders. The leader represents the entire party. Therefore, opposition structures that want to destroy the political movement often try to



neutralize the person who represents the movement and the party. However, of course, this was not the only reason why the Army's generals intervened in the process of February 28 as they wished. The secular front, which had been growing and progressing from the early years of the Republic, had been very firmly rooted in the Army. This paved the way for the Turkish Governments, which had difficulty in social chaos and weak coalitions, to be neutralized by coups.

One of the most serious breakpoints in the process leading to the separation of National Outlook was the February 28 coup. (Temiz, 2018, p.60-66) With this military memorandum, management had to return the task. Although the Welfare Party won the 1995 elections as the first party, its mandate to form the government was given to the Motherland Party, which was the second party. This shows that the February 28 plan, actually began much earlier than the establishment of the Erbakan government. At the same time, the propaganda that is frequently encountered in the media against Erbakan and his administration, before the election also reveals the situation. In the 1990s, the National Outlook line with the government, the political-religious relations in Turkey has started to be questioned again. The February 28 intervention was the third military coup experienced by Erbakan. In the process of February 28, 1997, National Outlook tradition damaged with a big wound. This process has brought a serious question about how religion should be related to politics. This situation has created a suitable ground for new options. After this process, members of the National Outlook have lived an internal feud. Innovators wing of the party emerged from traditionalists by the break-up. This compartmentation has resulted in the independence of the innovative movement and the establishment of the AK Party, on 14 August 2001.

The overthrow of the Welfare Party-led coalition government with the February 28 intervention is extremely important, in particular after the closure of the Party by a decision of the Constitutional Court. This is very critical, because, Turkey's Islamist comprehension has undergone a change after this incident. After this event, we can say that political Islam shifted to a conservative direction. After the closure of the Welfare Party, the newly established Virtue Party began to deal with internal conflicts and weak leadership issues. In this way, the charismatic leadership of Necmettin Erbakan has ended.

Political leadership system in this way is manifest in Turkey. In 1950's Democrat Party under the leadership of Menderes has ended by the military coup and seperated from the Republican People's Party. After coup, in 1960's, Justice Party under the leadership of Demirel, seperated from the Democrat Party. Lastly, after Frbruary 28 coup, Justice and Development Party has separated from the Welfare party. While the forty years of political fight, the National Outlook Movement continued to grow over the years, and finally, with a part separated from itself, took over the administration.

## References

- Aktay, Y. *Karizma Zamanları*. (2011) İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları.
- Altınay, A. (2004) *The myth of the military-nation: Militarism, gender, and education in Turkey*. Springer.
- Avolio, B. J., & Gardner, W. L. (2005) Authentic leadership development: Getting to the root of positive forms of leadership. *The leadership quarterly*, 16(3).
- Bass, B. M. (1985) *Leadership and performance beyond expectations*. Collier Macmillan.
- Bass, B. M. (2008) *The Bass handbook of leadership. Theory, research and managerial applications*, 4.
- Bass, B. M., Avolio, B. J., & Pointon, J. (1990) *The implications of transactional and transformational leadership for individual, team, and organizational development*.
- Bennis, W., & Bennis, W. G. (2010) *On becoming a leader*. ReadHowYouWant. Com Pubishment.
- Besli, H., & Özbay, Ö. (2010). *Bir Liderin Doğuşu: Recep Tayyip Erdoğan*. Meydan Yayıncılık.
- Birand, M. A., & Yıldız, R. *Son darbe: 28 Şubat*. (2012) Doğan Kitap.
- Blondel, J. *Political leadership: Towards a general analysis*. (1987) Sage.
- Bluedorn, A. C., & Jaussi, K. S. (2008). Leaders, followers, and time. *Leadership Quarterly*, 19, 654–668.
- Cevik, N. *Muslimism in Turkey and Beyond: Religion in the Modern World*. (Springer. 2015).
- Cizre, Ü. (Ed.). (2008) *Secular and Islamic politics in Turkey: The making of the Justice and Development Party*. (Routledge).
- Cook, S. A. *Ruling but not governing: The military and political development in Egypt, Algeria, and Turkey*. (2007) JHU Press.

- Drazin, R., Glynn, M. A., & Kazanjian, R. K. (1999) Multilevel theorizing about creativity in organizations: A sense making perspective. *Academy of Management Review*, 24(2).
- Edinger, L. (1993) A preface to studies in political leadership. *Innovative Leadership in International Politics*, Albany.
- Elgie, R., & Rhodes, R. A. W. (1996) Political leadership in liberal democracies. *Public Administration-Abingdon*, 74(3).
- Fiedler, F. E., & House, R. J. (1988) Leadership: A report of progress.
- Fleishman, E. A., Zaccaro, S. J., & Mumford, M. D. (1991) Individual differences and leadership: An overview. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 2(4).
- George, J. M., & Brief, A. P. (1992) Feeling good-doing good: a conceptual analysis of the mood at work-organizational spontaneity relationship. *Psychological bulletin*, 112(2).
- Gülerce, Hüseyin 28 Subat Süreklilik ve Kopuş "Bin Yılın Sonu", Ed: Abdurrahman Babacan, Cilt:I-Ne Oldu? (2012) Pınar Yayınları, İstanbul.
- Güngör, Nasuhi (2002) *Yenilikçi Hareket "Yeni Dünya Düzeni Ekseninde Bir Değerlendirme"*, İstanbul, Anka Yayınları.
- Hale, W., & Ozbudun, E. Islamism, democracy and liberalism in Turkey: The case of the AKP. (2009) Routledge.
- Hogarth, H. (1980) Learning from experience and suboptimal rules in decision making. *Cognitive processes in choice and behavior*. Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Hollander, E. P. (1992) Leadership, followership, self, and others. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 3(1), 43-54.
- House, R. J. (1995) *Leadership in the twenty-first century: A speculative inquiry*. Reginald H. Jones Center, Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania.
- <http://www.ensonhaber.com/mesut-yilmaz-erbakan-dik-dursaydi-28-subat-olmazdi-2011-01-27.html>
- İslam, Merve (2012) 28 Subat Süreklilik ve Kopuş "Bin Yılın Sonu". Ed: Abdurrahman Babacan, İstanbul, Pınar Yayınları.
- Karpat, K. (2012) Kısa Türkiye Tarihi 1800-2012. İstanbul, Timaş Yayınları.
- Kasaba, R. (2008) *The Cambridge History of Turkey* (Vol. 4). Cambridge University Press.
- Kirsner, D., & Richards, M. (2008) Special issue on psychoanalysis and political leadership I. *International Journal of Applied Psychoanalytic Studies*, 5(3).
- LaGro, E. (Ed.). (2007) *Turkey and the European Union: prospects for a difficult encounter*. Springer.

- Locke, E. A. (1999) *The essence of leadership: The four keys to leading successfully*. Lexington Books.
- Lord, R. G., & Maher, K. J. (1990) *Leadership and information processing: Linking perceptions and performance*. Boston: Unwin-Hyman.
- Meriç, A. M. (2014) *Ustanin İmtihani*, İlmek Yayinlari.
- Mumford, M. D., & Connelly, M. S. (1991) Leaders as creators: Leader performance and problem solving in ill-defined domains. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 2(4).
- Mumford, M. D., Watts, L. L., & Partlow, P. J. (2015) Leader cognition: Approaches and findings. *The Leadership Quarterly*.
- Mumford, M. D., Zaccaro, S. J., Harding, F. D., Jacobs, T. O., & Fleishman, E. A. (2000) Leadership skills for a changing world: Solving complex social problems. *The Leadership Quarterly*, 11(1), 11-35.
- Özalp, Hüseyin, (2011) *AK Asker Bir ABD, AKP ve Cemaat Projesi*, Togan Yayıncılık, İstanbul.
- Perry, J. L., Hondeghem, A., & Wise, L. R. (2010) Revisiting the motivational bases of public service: Twenty years of research and an agenda for the future. *Public administration review*, 70(5).
- Poyraz, F (2010), “Milli Nizam Partisinden AK Parti’ye “İslami Hareketin Partileri ve Değişim””, Uzun, Turgay (Editor.), *İttihat ve Terakki’den Günümüze Siyasal Partiler*, Ankara: Orion Orion Publishing, pp. 311-338.
- Rahimi, S. (2015) *Meaning, madness and political subjectivity: A study of schizophrenia and culture in Turkey*. Routledge.
- Rost, J. C. (1991) *Leadership for the twenty-first century*. Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Sarıbrahimoğlu, L. (2005) Turkish Armed Forces. Democratic Oversight and Reform of the Security Sector in Turkey, 69-117.
- Schmidt, V. A. (2007) Trapped by their ideas: French élites’ discourses of European integration and globalization 1. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 14(7), 992-1009.
- Shamir, B., House, R. J., & Arthur, M. B. (1993) The motivational effects of charismatic leadership: A self-concept based theory. *Organization science*, 4(4).
- Silverstein, B. (2011) *Islam and Modernity in Turkey*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Stogdill, R. M. (1948) Personal factors associated with leadership: A survey of the literature. *The Journal of psychology*, 25(1), 35-71.
- Temiz, S. (2018) Political Leadership And Erdogan: A Review To 27 April E-Memorandum Process. *Journal of Civilization Studies*, 2 (3), 55-79.

- Tucker, A. (1981) *Chairing the academic department: Leadership among peers*. American Council on Education.
- Ustaoglu, M., & İncekara, A. (Eds.). (2014) *Islamic Finance Alternatives for Emerging Economies: Empirical Evidence from Turkey*. Springer.
- Yalçın, Soner. (1999) *Milli Nizam'dan Fazilet'e Hangi Erbakan*, Su Yay. İstanbul.
- Yılmaz, Turan. (2001) Tayyip-Kasımpaşa'dan Siyasetin Ön Saflarına, Ümit Yayıncılık, Ankara.
- Yukl, G. (1989) Managerial leadership: A review of theory and research. *Journal of management*, 15(2).
- Zaccaro, S. J. (2014) Leadership memes: From ancient history and literature to twenty-first century theory and research. *The Oxford handbook of leadership and organizations*, 13-39.

# In This Issue

## *Editorial*

### *Special Articles*

**Md. Moniruzzaman**

Politics of Forced Migration and Refugees: Dynamics of International Conspiracy?

**AKM Ahsan Ullah and Diotima Chatteraj**

Roots of Discrimination Against Rohingya Minorities: Society, Ethnicity and International Relations

**Kamal J. I. Badrasawi, Iman Osman Ahmed and Iyad M. Eid**

Exploring Ways to Provide Education in Conflict Zones: Implementation and Challenges

**Ibrahim O. Salawu and Aluko Opeyemi Idowu**

Political Settlement Analysis of the Blight of Internally Displaced Persons in the Muslim World: Lessons from Nigeria

### *Research Articles*

**Rohaiza Rokis**

Women's Work Empowerment through "Re-upcycle" Initiatives for Women-at-home

**Shafizan Mohamed and Tengku Siti Aisha Tengku Mohd Azzman**

The Islamization of the Malaysian Media: A Complex Interaction of Religion, Class and Commercialization

**Suleyman Temiz**

Rise of Central Conservatism in Political Leadership: Erdogan's National Outlook Movement and the 1997 Military Coup in Turkey

**Maskanah Mohammad Lotfie and Hartono**

Language Policy and Practices in Indonesian Higher Education Institutions

**Rahmah Bt Ahmad H. Osman and Naseeb Ahmed Siddiqui**

A Novel Critique on 'The Scientific Miracle of Qur'an Philosophy': An Inter-Civilization Debate

**Muhammad Nabil Fikri Bin Mhd Zain and Muhammad Amanullah**

Duties and Decision-Making Guidelines for Shari'ah Committee: An Overview of AAOIFI

**Nor Razinah Binti Mohd. Zain, Rusni Hassan and Nazifah Mustaffha**

Waqf Institutions in Malaysia: Appreciation of Wasafiyah Approach in Internal Control as a Part of Good Governance

**Ali Ahmed Zahir**

Muslim Jurists' Debate on Non-Muslim Religious Festivals and Its Effect on Muslims in the United States

**Azman Ariffin, Kasyfullah Abd Kadir and Idris Mansor**

Archaeological Analysis of Arabic-Malay Translation Works of Abdullah Basmeih

**Mohamed El Tahir El Mesawi and Mohammad Rizhan bin Leman**

*Takyif Fiqhī* and its Application to Modern Contracts: A Case Study of the Central Provident Fund Nomination in Singapore

**Wafa Zoghbor**

Revisiting English as a Foreign Language (EFL) Vs. English Lingua Franca (ELF): The Case for Pronunciation

**Ummu Atiyah Ahmad Zakuan, Mohd Azizuddin Mohd Sani, Norehan Abdullah, and Zaireeni Azmi**

"How did we Choose?" Understanding the Northern Female Voting Behaviour in Malaysia in the 14th General Election

**Anke Iman Bouzenita, and Bronwyn Wood**

Unintended Consequences? The Commodification of Ideas in Tertiary Education and their Effects on Muslim Students

**Muhammad Siddiq Armia**

Ultra Petita and the Threat to Constitutional Justice: The Indonesian Experience

**Mariam Adawiah Dzulkifli, and Abdul Kabir Hussain Solihu**

Methods of Qur'anic Memorisation (Ḥifẓ): Implications for Learning Performance

### *Book Reviews*

### *Research Note*

### *Conference Report*

ISSN 0128-4878 (Print)

ISSN 2289-5639 (Online)

