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## Da'wa Strategy of the Nurcu Movement as a Counterhegemony to the Secularism in Turkey

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### Abstract

This research aims to answer how the Nurcu movement's da'wa strategy as a counterhegemony of secularism in Turkey with the perspective of hegemony theory and authority conflict theory. Research questions were answered by using literature studies, with a close historical and sociological analysis of the preaching strategy undertaken by the Nurcu movement in Turkey through research by other relevant sources. The study results show that the Nurcu Movement's da'wa strategy is an effective da'wa strategy to counter Attaturk's secular hegemony in Turkey. This is because the Nurcu movement implemented a "position war" and a "maneuver war" to carry out resistance to secularism in Turkey. In addition, Nursi and his followers can change the situation with the necessary understanding of religion and are able to turn conflict into consensus. The Nurcu movement preached culturally and persuasively with the civilizational dialogue method. In addition, this movement utilizes the fields of education, journalists, media, and economics to utilize its da'wa.

**Keywords:** Da'wa; Hegemony; Nurcu Movement; Secularism

### INTRODUCTION

Turkey is one of the influential countries in the Middle East. This country has considerable strength, apart from internal factors such as the economy and security, but also because of external factors, namely the position of the country. Turkey's position close to Europe, Asia, and the Middle East makes Turkey have a favorable geopolitical power. This advantage requires

Turkey to be active in responding to regional and international issues in order to get a good image in state affairs.

The label as an influential country, cannot be separated from the history of Turkey's journey to the present day. Previously, this country was a caliphate country with a kingdom system called the Ottoman Turkish kingdom. After the collapse of the Abbasid Empire in Baghdad, the Ottoman Empire was a second symbol of the rise of Muslims. This kingdom is considered to be the largest and most enduring kingdom compared to the Shafawi kingdom in Persia and the Mughal kingdom in India (Yatim, 2006).

Hudson in Esposito states that Islam is a teaching that hinders political development, because the rise of Islam makes it clear that the incompatibility between the wishes of Muslims and political development would not have been possible without Islam and the science of western development (Esposito, 1982). It is undeniable that the Ottoman Empire has given a strong Islamic influence to Turkish society during its six centuries in power (Vahide, 2007). However, the work of the Ottoman Turks finally came to an end. This is due to several things, one of which is the difference in views on Islam and the increasingly modern world from several parties.

After the Ottoman Empire collapsed, Turkey was taken over by Mustafa Kemal Attaturk. He no longer applies the Islamic Kingdom system as before, but turns Turkey into a secular state. Precisely in 1913, Turkey began to become a country based on western civilization. In the same year, Turkish government institutions began to be exposed to a wave of secularization at the suggestion of the Organization of Turkish Unity and Progress. The first thing that is done is to limit the role of "Shaykh al-Islam" as an institution of scholars who are responsible for everything related to Muslims (Vahide, 2007). On November 1, 1922, the Turkish Supreme Council of Representatives politically elected Abdul Majid to become a "puppet caliph". Since then Turkey abolished the sultanate system, but still maintained the caliphate system (Vahide, 2007).

On March 3, 1924, the National Supreme Representative Assembly abolished the caliphate system at the insistence of Mustafa Kemal Attaturk. Since then, Turkey has pledged itself as a secular state with Attaturk as president (Iqbal & Nasution, 2010). The progress of western civilization had made Attaturk consider that being like a western country was the best way to make Turkey rise like a western country. Involving Islam in the political realm is a sign of Islamic decline, so secularization is the key to bringing Turkey to a modern western civilization (Berkes, 1953).

The key to an Attaturk-style secular state is a military force that oversees and supports the various policies taken. The permanence of Attaturk's policy depends on military strength. If the military power weakens, then its policy will be directly proportional to its military situation (Heper, 2003). As time goes by, Attaturk's secularism is no longer suitable for Turkey with all its increasingly complex problems. In 1980, when the wave of democracy began to spread and Turkey wanted to join the European Union, the Turkish people were increasingly convinced that Secularism was not capable of ushering them in western civilization as expected (Junaidi, 2011).

In the process of running the secular system until the situation in Turkey is unstable towards the end of the secular system, various parties are trying to enter the government system to secure Turkey's position. At that time, Turkey was controlled by two groups, namely the secular group with Attaturk as the leader and the Islamic group initiated by Necmettin Erbakan (Andrews, 2011). However, in addition to these two groups, there is another group that has made a great contribution to the Turkish people to restore the revival of Turkey with its Islamization, namely the Nurcu movement.

The Nurcu movement is one of the Islamist movements in Turkey. This movement is one of the oldest Islamic movements in the history of Modern Turkey led by Said Nursi (Khamami,

2018). This movement began to emerge in 1930, precisely since the beginning of Secularism in Turkey began to develop. Secularism has received resistance from various parties because it has stripped Turkey of its Islamic identity (Khamami, 2018). Attaturk's secularism has received ideological and cultural resistance. The resistance was ideologically led by Shaykh Said al-Kurdi and Said Nursi through culture.

Previously, there were several studies on the Nurcu Movement. *First*, a research by Akhmad Rizqon Khamami entitled "The Contribution of the Nurcu Movement in the Awakening of Islam in Turkey" in 2015. This research reveals the contribution of the Nurcu Movement to Islamization in Turkey using a historical approach. The second research is Muhammad Faiz's work entitled "Risalah Nur and the Tarekat Movement in Turkey: Said Nursi's Role at the Beginning of the Republican Government" in 2017. This research focuses on the role of Risalah Nur when the order and Sufism teachings were dissolved or banned by the Turkish government in 1925. Nur's treatise can be used as one of the *role models* of Islamic education, where the content of the manuscript shows that Nur's treatise contains the basic values of the Qur'an.

This study is different from the two studies above. This is because this research will describe how the Nurcu da'wa movement in Turkey is in the review of hegemonic theory. The theory of hegemony was initiated by Antonio Gramsci (Syam, 2010). This theory emphasizes in four concepts. *First*, the concept of hegemony. This concept describes the attempt to maintain power by the ruling party or the capitalist class. According to Strinati, what is meant by rulers is not only the state government, but all dominant groups in society, it's just that hegemony is usually in the cultural area (Syam, 2010). *Second*, the concept of consensus is the voluntary acceptance of socio-political rules and other aspects of rules (Syam, 2010). According to Gramsci, the concept of hegemony is the same as conformity. This means an adjustment that arises from the behavior of individual or community acceptance of everything outlined by the ruler. Adjustment is related to the concept of legitimacy (Syam, 2010). *Third*, *civil society* is considered a superstructure that shows the relationship between culture and ideology. Hegemony has a deep and long-term effect because it leads to a level of consciousness such as ideology, culture and the like (Syam, 2010). *The fourth* is the intellectuals. This is related to the hegemony and existence of intellectuals. They are considered to be the dominant class that exercises control through moral and intellectual leadership. Intellectuals are divided into two categories, namely traditional intellectuals who emerged from earlier fashions and organic intellectuals which means born from capitalistic modes of production (Syam, 2010).

There are three basic assumptions of hegemony theory. *First*, hegemony is carried out by the authorities to conquer society while at the same time blocking the revolution persuasively. *Second*, hegemony can only be stopped by *counterhegemony*. *Third*, strategic alliances between elements of *civil society* are needed to effectively resist hegemony. According to Gramsci, Nur Syam stated that *counterhegemony* can be carried out in two ways, namely "position wars" and "maneuver wars" (Syam, 2010). A position war is a war that is carried out by arousing the critical awareness of the community. Meanwhile, maneuver warfare is a war that uses a movement strategy or *hit and run*. The two are interrelated, meaning that the position war that civil society continues to wage will create a revolutionary crisis that becomes the culmination of a maneuver war.

The theory was chosen because it was considered to be able to be used to describe how the Nurcu da'wa movement was able to become a *Counterhegemony* when Turkey became a secular country. The theory of hegemony will be used to analyze why Nurcu's da'wa movement can be considered as *counterhegemony*. This research is included in the type of qualitative descriptive research. The research method used in this study is in the form of historical and sociological

analysis of the Nurcu Movement in Turkey through the work of other related researchers. In addition, with a literature-based method or literature study, namely by reviewing several literatures ranging from books, scientific journals, theses, *e-book*, news and internet related to the Nurcu da'wa movement as *Counterhegemony Secularism in Turkey* in a review of hegemonic theory. The subject of this study is the Nurcu Movement. The object of study is the Nurcu da'wa movement as *Counterhegemony Secularism in Turkey*.

## RESEARCH METHODS

The research approach is to use a qualitative approach, with literature studies (Mukhtazar, 2020). Literature research emphasizes theoretical studies, references, and scientific literature. both in books, journals, and online media. Thus, the primary data in this study are books, journals, and online media that discuss about the secularism in Turkey and Nurcu Movement. The data analysis technique used in this study is a qualitative data analysis technique from Miles and Hubberman with Data Reduction, Data Presentation, and Drawing Conclusions or verification (Butarbutar, 2022). In this study, the researcher measured the validity of the data (data validity) using source triangulation and time triangulation. The goal is to increase the theoretical, methodological, or interpretive power of qualitative research.

## ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

### *History of Secularist in Turkey*

Basically, every country has a variety of ethnicities, nations, races, languages and religions, as well as Turkey. Although for six centuries it has been the strongest Islamic Kingdom, it has not made all Turkish people Muslim. The character of the Turkish people that leads to pluralism makes Turkey choose a secular character. This means that the Turkish sultanate system has changed to the Republic of Turkey. In accordance with what Sirry said, the Islamic world is not homogeneous because each country has fundamental differences even though the majority of its people are Muslims, meaning that religious communiqué does not mean social communality and political traditions (Sirry, 2001).

The main reason for the change of the state system in Turkey to secular was Turkey's decline in world politics precisely in the 19th-20th centuries (Ispitaningsih, 2014). In its history, in 1453 Constantinople was conquered by the Ottoman Turks under the leadership of Sultan Muhammad II. This event became the beginning of the golden age of Ottoman Turkey until the 18th century. The Ottoman Empire controlled the territory of Northern Hungary in the West to Iran in the East, from Ukraine in the North to the Indian Ocean in the South (Ispitaningsih, 2014). This kingdom was able to last for a long time because it implemented the freedom to embrace religion during a multicultural society. This shows that the caliphate system has a high level of tolerance.

The leader of the kingdom will serve as the Sultan as well as the Caliph, which means that in addition to being the leader of the state, he will also serve as a religious leader. This is one of the factors why Turkey has regressed, while western civilization has mastered the development of science and technology (Gibb, 1960). Western civilization and Islam have undergone a reversal of development. If in the Middle Ages, Europe experienced a decline because the king concurrently held the position of head of state and the head of the church. Islam experienced a golden age because many new Muslim scientists mastered science. However, in the 20th century, the development of science and technology in Europe experienced rapid development, so that Turkish power was threatened. That is, they had to think of a new concept to rebuild Turkish civilization.

When World War I in 1914-1918 occurred, the Ottoman Empire suffered a setback due to the defeat of the central party supported by Turkey. Some Turkish territories began to secede, even allied countries divided Turkish territory to become a colonial state. This triggered the young generation of Turkey to take a stand. They are fighting for the Turkish state with its own nationalist identity. The enthusiasm of Turkey's young generation is welcomed by the bureaucratic and military elites. Finally, they formed a commitment to form a multinational and multireligious regime, namely a secular Turkey (Lapidus, 1999).

The secular concept that is usually used is that religion belongs to God while the state belongs to its inhabitants. Let the country be taken care of by the king and religion is God's business. The two are two separate things. Different from the Qur'an, Surah al-Imran verse 154 which means (Sunnah, 2020):

*Then after you have mourned, Allah has sent you peace (in the form of) drowsiness which covers one of you, while the other is worried by themselves; they think that what is not right towards Allah is like the presumption of ignorance. They said: "Is there anything for us (the right to intervene) in this matter?" Say, "Indeed, all this is in the hands of Allah." They hide in their hearts what they have not explained to you; They said: "If there is anything for us (the right to intervene) in this matter, surely we will not be killed here". Say: "If you were in your house, surely those who were destined to be killed would go out (also) to the place where they were killed". And Allah (did so) to test what is in your chest and to cleanse what is in your heart. Allah knows the heart.*

The verse explains that everything is God's business. This means that in Islam, religion and state are related and inseparable. However, it needs to be understood that in state affairs, Allah gives His representative on earth based on the principle of deliberation. In accordance with what An-Na'im said that Islam does not distinguish between religious and state affairs, Islam has a connection with politics (Naim, 2007).

Turkey as a country with a majority Muslim population does not mean that it is a social community and political tradition (Sirry, 2001). The interpretation of the concepts of Islam and secularism is the key to whether the two are able to synchronize with each other. If religion is viewed from a liberal point of view, then religion will not be able to keep pace with secularism that demands liberal dispositions and pluralism. Meanwhile, if secularism is interpreted liberally, then Islamism and secularism will clash with each other and even tend to be dichotomous (Sirry, 2001).

Turkey under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Attaturk tried to build a Turkey based on western civilization. Attaturk thinks that Turkey can progress if it secularizes religious views, laws and even social relations (Rosenthal, 1965). The dominance of religion over political institutions, the sultan who is also the head of state and religious leader is the reason for the decline of Turkish civilization. *This mindset* made Attaturk believe that western civilization was able to lead Turkey to progress.

In carrying out his secularism movement, Attaturk carried out five reform models, namely state reform, religion, language, law, and education. *First*, State Reform. The main thing that Attaturk did was to change the form of the sultanate state into a republic. Just in 1924 Attaturk abolished the institution of the Caliphate in Turkey. In 1928, Attaturk abolished the article on Islam as the state religion so that Islam was no longer included in the Turkish political system. Right in 1937, the principle of secularism began to be enforced as the basis of the country's constitution (Nasution, 1975). Broadly speaking, Attaturk tried to harmonize Turkish nationalism with westernization. Attaturk adopted the idea of western civilization that sovereignty is in the hands of the people, not in the hands of the sultan who holds power.

*After* abolishing the sultanate system, Attaturk no longer provided a place for religious figures to enter the political, cultural, and even social realms. Attaturk gave a new concept of

religious nationalism. He said that religion is a social institution that must be equated with the cultural system of society. Broadly speaking, Attaturk has never opposed Islam, but only tried to adapt to the cultural system in Turkey. In fact, the Qur'an must be translated into Turkish so that the people are able to understand its meaning (Jameelah, 1965).

Attaturk formed a committee to modernize Islam. This committee is tasked with changing the atmosphere and shape of the mosque like the church in Europe. Mosques must always be clean, provided with facilities in the form of benches and cloaks, musical instruments, replacing Arabic language and writing into Turkish, entering mosques wearing clean shoes, and the text of the sermon broadcast must be based on the philosophy of western civilization, not about Islamic thought. Attaturk's policy that received opposition was to change the call to prayer into Turkish. However, this can be thwarted by the scholars (Ali, 2000). Attaturk thinks that Turkey can become a developed nation like western civilization, if it is able to completely eliminate the influence of Islam (Jameelah, 1965).

According to Turner, Attaturk's secularism is a form of coercion from the government, not secularization which is a consequence of the modernization process like European countries (B. S. Turner, 1984). Turner described that Attaturk was trying to "tie in" Turkey, meaning that Turkey should become a European country in every way. In 1925, Attaturk banned all kinds of clothing that showed religious identity. The government prefers to use suits for its people. Until coats and hats have become a characteristic of the Turkish people.

*Third*, language reform. On November 3, 1928, the National Assembly of Turkey decided that Arabic should be replaced with Latin (Isputaningsih, 2014). This language reform aims to purify the Turkish language. Attaturk visited many places to teach the people the new Turkish script firsthand. This language change shows that Attaturk really wanted to remove the shackles of Arabic and Persian from Turkey. Despite the controversy, this language reform has contributed a lot to Turkey in terms of western-style science and technology.

*Fourth*, legal reform. On February 17, 1926, the National Assembly decided to adopt the Swiss Civil Code to replace the Sharia Law in Turkey. Furthermore, the law was enacted from October 4, 1926 regarding the prohibition of polygamy and the implementation of monogamy, providing equal rights between men and women to decide on marriage and divorce. This equality of rights caused the inheritance law based on Islam to be abolished. Not only that, the law exempts interfaith marriage (Isputaningsih, 2014).

On January 1, 1935, the government added a new rule in the form of the use of surnames for Turks. In that year the Hijri Calendar system was changed to the Christian Calendar system. The holiday, which was originally Friday, was changed to Sunday. Attaturk seeks to make the Turkish people able to think, behave and even dress like Europeans (Jameelah, 1965).

*Fifth*, education reform. On February 7, 1924, Attaturk issued a decree on the necessity of removing all religious elements from schools and the Ministry of Education was fully responsible. This means that the form of supervision of Islamic bodies over schools is abolished (Gokalp, 1959). Attaturk wants education in Turkey to be in accordance with Western-style modernization and free from Islamic law. Education no longer only focuses on learning Islam but also the science of western civilization.

### *The Dynamics of Islamism versus Secularism in a Review of Hegemonic Theory*

According to Harun Nasution, the basis of Mustafa Kemal Attaturk's Secularism is the concepts of Westernism, Islamism, and Nationalism (Nasution, 1975). This is like what Attaturk said about his interest in western civilization.

*There are a variety of countries, but there is only one civilization. For a nation to advance, it is necessary that it join this civilization. If our bodies are in the East, our mental is oriented toward the*

*West. We want to modernize our country. All our efforts are directed toward the building of a modern, therefore Western, state in Turkey. What nation is there that desires to become a part of civilization, but does not tend toward the West?* (Cinar, 2005).

Attaturk also thinks that holding on to an outdated tradition is a mistake. Therefore, there needs to be reform to become a developed civilized country. The three concepts that are the basis of Attaturk's thinking above have become ideologies in Turkey. When Turkey was in a period of transition, the ideology was considered a reformer.

*First*, westernism is a concept initiated by Tüfekî Fikret and Abdullah Cevdet (Ilyas, 2014). This westernist group thinks that western countries become developed countries because they think rationally. That is, it is based on science and technology. The setback that occurred in Turkey is because this country does not implement Islamic law as it should. It is proven by Turkey which cannot keep up with the times. The concepts carried by the adherents of this ideology include using the economic system of capitalism and liberalism, separating religion from the state, and providing a modern educational curriculum that emphasizes the worldly and not the hereafter (Taufiqurrahman, 2009).

*Second*, Islamism in Turkey was promoted by Mehmed Akif and Muza Kazim. Islamists think that Turkey's decline is not due to Islamic law, but the Ottoman Empire which did not implement Islamic law properly. The idea carried by adherents of this ideology is that the country's economy should be based on Islamic law. Adherents of this ideology stated that they did not reject western civilization as a whole, but only the physical and material ones (Bachtiar, 2005).

*Third*, nationalism in Turkey was promoted by Ziya Gökalp and Yusuf Akkura. The group argues that Turkey's decline is due to Turkey's inability to accept change. This group acts as an intermediary between westernization and Islamization groups. They agreed that there was a separation between religion and the state, proposing the separation of worship and muamalah law. Broadly speaking, this nationalist group emphasizes the application of secular morality (Ilyas, 2014).

These three ideological bases were adopted by Attaturk in his policy of choosing to turn Turkey into a secular state based on Westernism and Nationalism. This triggered a major upheaval in Turkey so that two forces emerged during the transition period when the Ottoman caliphate collapsed, namely Secular and Islamist. In the process, the westernist group won the battle, so that a secular Turkish state emerged. The victory further made Islamist groups think about strategies to continue to revive Islam in Turkey.

The emergence of many ideologies in Turkey shows that the situation at that time was unstable. The people must choose on whose side they will serve. Although Attaturk eventually took over Turkey, the existing ideological differences did not die. This is common in a country, because there will always be opposition. However, it is still possible to know which ones are in power and which are not, because social status or who is in the seat of power determines the direction of the state.

If viewed from the perspective of hegemony, the *power* possessed by Attaturk is enormous. In accordance with the four hegemonic concepts that have been explained above, *the first* is the concept of hegemony. According to Gramsci, hegemony is carried out to maintain power by conquering society. Power politics in the social sphere that carries out the leadership process by controlling a group of people by instilling ideology. During the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Attaturk, although three ideologies developed at that time, the winner was still Secularism. Attaturk spread the ideology and transformed Turkey towards a western civilization, separating itself from religion. To maintain the existence of secular ideology, he used the military as a

weapon to perpetuate his power. All reforms carried out are by coercion, then over time in the form of cultural hegemony, ideology, religion, education, and even economy.

The second concept is consensus, namely the acceptance of minorities to the majority. This usually occurs based on an inability to resist or surrender to domination. As happened with Turkey in the transition period to agree that Turkey will change its identity to a secular state. Based on the approval of the Turkish National Assembly, the country changed its identity. The National Supreme Assembly is a government institution formed by Attaturk after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire (Nasution, 1975). That is, the consensus that occurs through Attaturk's power as the owner of power.

The third concept is society or *civil society*. Gramsci considers that *civil society* is a superstructure, namely the link between ideology and economics. Attaturk instilled a secular ideology in the Turkish people and changed the economic system to a capitalist. The economy is indeed a powerful key to winning the hearts of the people. When the country's economy develops and can prosper the people, trust in the government will increase. During the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic, Turkey's economy was very unstable. Therefore, by instilling a new ideology with the promise that Turkey will be like a European country, what Attaturk did will get an opportunity and even attention from the public.

The fourth concept is the intellectual group. According to Gramsci, the intellectual group is divided into two, namely the organic intellectual group which includes officials and the upper class, and the traditional intellectuals such as the clergy and the lower class. Intellectual groups have a role to spread the government's ideology to the community. Likewise what happened with Attaturk. He used the military and government institutions formed to perpetuate his power. This has proven to be quite effective considering that until now the Kemalis ideology still exists in Turkey.

### *History of Nurcu Movement*

The Nurcu movement was founded by a Kurdish named Said Nursi. He was born in Anatolia in 1876. Her mother is named Nuriyah and her father is named Molla Mirza. He was the fourth of seven children. Nursi's family is a respected person because it is close to the Naqshabandiyah order. In addition, his father is also a religious leader in the area where he lives, Bitlis (Nursi, 2011).

Nursi is an intelligent figure because she has an extraordinary memory. This ability makes Nursi able to study in various madrasas in the environment where she lives. It only took him six months to complete a lesson that people usually should have completed for fifteen or even twenty years. He also mastered four languages, namely Arabic, Persian, Kurdish and Turkish. Her language skills make Nursi a person who always wins debates. At her young age, Nursi has even attended meetings with religious leaders in her area (Mardin, 1991).

Nursi's advantages were heard by the Governor of Bitlis, namely Hasan Pasa. Hasan Pasa invited Nursi to come to his house. Nursi welcomed him with joy. He lived in Hasan Pasa's house for two years. His time was spent reading books in Hasan Pasa's personal library. From then on he began to study modern and western thought. Right in 1894, Nursi moved to Van and was close to the Governor of Van, Tahsin Pasa. Good relations with Tahsin Pasa made Nursi have many networks among Kurdish clerics in Van (Vahide, 2007). When World War I broke out, Nursi became a prisoner of war in Siberia because she was captured. During her time as a prisoner, Nursi was anxious. He does not get inner satisfaction from the world of politics (Khamami, 2018).

Nursi is a person close to Mustafa Kemal. He had helped Turkey fight the invaders. When Attaturk took over Turkey, Nursi had attended a parliamentary session. But his experience was not in line with his expectations, as the Turkish Parliament chose to be apathetic towards



religion. Since then, Nursi has realized that her thoughts and Attaturk's thoughts are much different. The anxiety in his mind is getting more and more intense about the world of politics. This made Nursi read the book *Futub Al-Ghayb* by Shaykh Abdul Qodir Al-Jailani (Khamami, 2015). His reading further convinced him that the Qur'an was the most appropriate source of law. He finally decided to delve into the Qur'an by migrating to Van.

The change in the direction of Said Nursi's perspective makes this movement have two phases in its development. The first phase, *Old Said*, is the phase when Said Nursi became an activist who believed that social change in society could be changed through political channels. The second phase, namely *New Said*, is the phase when Said Nursi believes that social change in society can occur by preparing a generation of Muslims who are able to accept the flow of modernity without losing Islamic identity. Since then, Nursi has been determined to create a new generation of Muslims who have good morals through da'wa (C. Turner, n.d.).

The change in Nurcu's thinking to *New Said* does not mean that Said Nursi stays away from politics as a whole, because Nurcu still participates in cultural politics (Khamami, 2018). This is evidenced by Nurcu who openly supported *the Democratic Party* (DP) when Turkey implemented a multiparty system. Nurcu avoids practical politics for several reasons. *First*, Nursi feels that Muslims are experiencing a weak faith, therefore Nursi must place Islam properly and as it should even though Turkey does not apply Islamic law. *Second*, spirituality will not be able to meet politics. This is because politics is more inclined to conflict, arrogance, and corruption which is contrary to spirituality regarding the teachings of humanity. *Third*, society needs Islamic truth as a guide, so pure da'wa without political elements is needed (Khamami, 2018).

Nursi thinks that democracy is the most appropriate government compared to other forms of government. This is because he considers that democracy reflects the spirit of Islam. He did not reject western civilization, because he still accepted western civilization in accordance with Islam. He argued that Muslims need modernization to keep up with the progress of western civilization, but in accordance with Islamic teachings. Nursi provides a boundary between the material and spiritual aspects. Material aspects include constitution, science, and technology. Spiritual aspects include behavior, religion, morals, and ethics.

### *Nurcu's Da'wa Movement as a Counterhegemony to Secularism*

Since the beginning of her determination to preach, Nursi has had thirteen students with her work, namely Risalah Nur. The first Nurcu da'wa movement was carried out by Nursi secretly. Through works he wrote in 1925-1934 in Turkish and handwritten, he spread his da'wa. The main target of his hidden da'wa is the lower class such as farmers, small traders, craftsmen, and commoners (Vahide, 2007). In 1960, Said Nursi passed away until his da'wa movement was continued by his students. After Said Nursi's passing, this movement has grown. The movement carried out by Nurcu's students has never deviated from its main goal, which is to prepare a strong young generation of Muslims to face western civilization.

Twenty years after Said Nursi's death, this movement has experienced considerable development. In the same year, Turgut Ozal took advantage of the rapidly growing Islamic movement to expel the ideology of communism from Turkey (Sakallioğlu, 1996). Its followers are no longer only the lower class, but the upper class such as intellectuals, students and businessmen also joined. If viewed from the *state-centered approach*, the development of the Nurcu movement is so rapid because Mustafa Kemal Attaturk actually never abolished Islam, but only nationalized Islam. This means that Islam has changed to local Islam typical of Turkey (Arslan, 2009). However, if viewed from a *society-centered approach*, Mustafa Kemal Attaturk has succeeded in turning Turkey into secular, but not with the Turkish people (Mardin, 1991).

Since 1950, *Risalah Nur* began to be printed in Latin and made in large quantities. However, this book is not sold freely due to strict rules of the country. The writing was disseminated among students for the regeneration of Nurcu movement followers (Zarkasyi., 2012). The Turkish people responded very positively to the *Risalah Nur*. The literacy of the Turkish people is getting higher. Their tradition changed from what was initially oral to reading. Therefore, the Nurcu movement is a textual community (H. Yavuz & Espasito, 2003).

In addition to using literacy, this movement is inclined to persuasion strategies and intellect rather than violence. The da'wa method applied is very flexible and gentle, they call it the dialogue of civilization (Carroll, 2007). They use three concepts in conducting dialogue on civilization. *First*, the concept of creating mutual respect. *Second*, the concept of tolerance is in the form of acceptance of other people's identities. *Third*, the concept of ways to share values with each other (Gulen, 2004).

The Nurcu Movement uses strategies in the social, journalist, media, educational, and economic fields to spread its da'wa. In the social field, the strategy carried out by Nursi's followers is to actively provide services to the community. They use the concept of "faith-based activism" (Kuru & Kuru, 2008). This concept is able to deliver the Nurcu Movement at the highest level. This is a characteristic of the Nurcu Movement that distinguishes it from other Islamic movements (Algar, 1979).

In the field of journalists, the Nurcu movement creates print media in the form of magazines and newspapers. Right in 1964, this movement published several magazines, namely *Harekat Zulfikar* and *Bediuzzaman*. In 1968, their magazine increased under the name *Ittihad* in Istanbul and managed to spread into a national magazine. In 1966, *Ittihad* magazine no longer produced a magazine, but a daily newspaper. *Ittihad's* name was changed to *Yeni Asya* (Algar, 1979). In order to carry out its goal of spreading Islamic da'wa, the Nurcu movement fragmented into seven branches, namely *Kurdoglu Cemaati*, *Yeni Nesil*, *Mehmet Kirkinci*, *Yeni Asya*, *Med-Zehra*, *Mustafa Sungur*, and *Gulen Movement* (M. H. Yavuz & Öztürk, 2019).

In the field of media, in 1980 the Nurcu movement established TV and Radio stations. *Yeni Nasil's* group founded Moral FM, while *the Gulen Movement* established four television channels, namely *Mehtap TV*, *Samanyolu TV*, *Ebru TV* and *Yumurcak TV* as well as two radios *Burc FM* and *Dunya FM* (Khamami, 2018). The media they built broadcast a lot about the modern and modern colors of Islam. They discussed topics such as psychology education, health care, politics, marriage, the environment, child care and even science and technology (Althusser, 1972).

In the field of education, the fragmentation of the Nurcu movement that focuses on the field of education is *the Gulen Movement*. By 1997, the group had built 150 schools and 150 *dershanes* in Turkey (Agai et al., 2003). The school not only focuses on religion but also the science of modern civilization. The purpose of building this school is to create a reliable and useful young generation for Turkey, able to revive Islam, occupy a strategic position in Turkey and be able to compete with the Kemalist group (Caki, 2001).

In the economic field, the *Gulen Movement* group again has an important role. This group can establish companies that are able to compete in the global market. They develop markets without contradicting neoliberal principles on both national and international scales. The most remarkable thing about this group is the commitment of its followers to the field of education. They donate 10% to a third of their income to educational institutions, hospitals, and other da'wa activities (Bernard & Martin, 2015). Broadly speaking, the da'wa strategy they apply is very appropriate. Their commitment to return Turkey to a developed country without losing their Muslim identity is very strong, so they carry out a very mature strategy.

If viewed from the concept of *counterhegemony* offered by Gramsci, the da'wa strategy of the Nurcu movement is one of the forms of *counterhegemony* in Turkey. According to Gramsci,

*counterhegemony* can be carried out in two ways, namely positional warfare, and maneuver warfare. *First*, the position war is carried out by arousing critical awareness of the community. In accordance with what Said Nursi and thirteen of his students have done since the beginning. Nursi made the Nur Treatise and distributed it to the Turkish people to build public literacy. Even Nursi managed to change the oral tradition to reading. This strategy was welcomed by the community so that the spread of Nursi's da'wa grew rapidly. Public criticism is built based on the Qur'an. Nursi, who has grasped Islamist ideology since the beginning, does not reject western civilization, but filters it in accordance with Islamic law. Thus, the people felt that what Nursi conveyed was acceptable to them coupled with the reality that Attaturk's secularism was very different from western civilization.

In addition to literacy strategies, Islamic ideology is spread through education, journalists, and even the media. Position wars are usually carried out through schools and the media, especially to increase public awareness (Syam, 2010). The more Nurcu's da'wa is spread to the community continuously, the more unconsciously people will be indoctrinated and believe in it. Especially, when they provide a lot of assistance to the Turkish people, they are not only known for their da'wa movement but also socially. Therefore, Islam has never really left the Turkish people.

*Second*, maneuver warfare is a kind of movement strategy or *hit and run*. This strategy is carried out by mobilizing the time when power begins to weaken. In addition to the above strategy, Nurcu's method, namely civilization dialogue, is one way of mobilizing the masses to fight secularism. Nurcu did not use violence in his da'wa, but persuasively. Broadly speaking, the Nurcu da'wa movement is evidence of resistance to secularism to continue to awaken Islam in Turkey. The ideology instilled by the ruler will get resistance by instilling other ideologies as a counterpoint.

## CONCLUSION

The Nurcu da'wa movement is one of the Islamic da'wa movements in Turkey. This movement preaches in a cultural and persuasive way carried out in the fields of education, journalism, media, and even the economy with the method of dialogue of civilizations. This strategy is carried out as a form of *counterhegemony* secularism in Turkey. According to a review of the concept of *counterhegemony*, the Nurcu movement has waged a positional war and a maneuver war. The manipulative war was carried out by changing the oral culture to reading, building schools, publishing newspapers and magazines, and building TV stations so that the Turkish people would adhere to Islamic ideology. Meanwhile, maneuver warfare is carried out by civilization methods to mobilize the masses. The Nurcu Movement does not reject western civilization, but invites to filter western civilization in accordance with Islamic law is still acceptable.

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