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

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Abstract

This research seeks to answer how the Nurcu movement's proselytizing 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 proselytizing strategy is an effective proselytizing 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: Nurcu movement; proselytizing; hegemony; secularism.

INTRODUCTION

Türkiye is one of the influential countries in the Middle East. This country has considerable power, apart from internal factors such as the economy and security, and external factors has a strategic position. It close to Europe, Asia, and the Middle East makes Turkey a favorable geopolitical power. These advantages require Turkey become active in responding to regional and international issues to gain a good image in state affairs.

The history of Turkey gave it a label as an influential country. Previously, this country was a caliphate with a royal system called the Ottoman Empire. After the collapse of the Abbasid Empire in Baghdad, the Ottoman Empire was the second symbol of the rise of Muslims. This

kingdom is the largest and most enduring empire compared to the Shafavid Empire in Persia and the Mughal Empire in India.[1]

According to Hudson in Esposito, Islam is a religion that hinders political development because the rise of Islam makes it clear that the incompatibility between the desires of Muslims and political developments would not have been possible without Islam and the science of the development of the Western. [2] It is undeniable that the Ottoman Empire has given a strong Islamic influence on the Turkish people for six centuries. However, the Ottoman Empire finally collapsed. [3] This is due to several reasons, one of which is the different views on Islam and the increasingly modern world from several parties.

After Ottoman Empire collapsed, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk was taken over Turkey. He Changed Turkey into a secular state. Precisely in 1913, Türkiye become a country that was oriented towards Western civilization. In the same year, Turkish government institutions began to be hit by a wave of secularization at the suggestion of the Turkish Organization of Unity and Progress. The first was to limit the role of "Shaykh al -Islam" as the clerical institution responsible for all matters related to Muslims. [4] Exactly November 1, 1922, the Turkish Supreme Representative Assembly politically chose Abdul Majid to become a "puppet caliph." Then Türkiye abolished the sultanate system, but still retains the caliphate system.[5]

On March 3, 1924, the Assembly of the Supreme National Representative abolished the caliphate system at the urging of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. Then, Turkey pledged itself as a secular state with Ataturk as president.[6] He thinks that being like a Western country is the best way to make Turkey rise. It is because of the progress of Western civilization. Islam in the political sphere is a sign of the decline, so secularization is the key to bringing Turkey toward modern Western civilization.[7]

Ataturk's secularism is about military power that oversees and supports various policies. The continuity of Ataturk's policies depended on military might. If military strength is weakened, then its policies will be directly proportional to its military situation. [8] Over time, Ataturk's secularism is considered no longer suitable for Turkey with all its increasingly complex problems. In 1980 when the wave of democracy began to spread and Turkey's wish to join the European Union made the Turkish people increasingly convinced that Secularism was not able to lead them to Western civilization as expected. [9]

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[1] Badri Yatim, *Sejarah Peradaban Islam (*Jakarta: PT. Raja Grafindo Persada, 2006), 13

[2] John L. Espasito, (ed), *Islam and Development (Contemporary Issues in the Middle East) (*New York: Syacuse University Press, 1982), 384.

[3] Sukran Vahide, *Biografi Intelektual Bediuzzaman Said Nursi: Transformasi Dinasti Usmani Menjadi Republik Turki (*Jakarta: Anatolia Prenada Media Group, 2007),71.

[4] Ibid., 76.

[5] Ibid.,77.

[6] Muhammad Iqbal dan Amin Husein Nasution, *Pemikiran Politik Islam dari Masa Klasik hingga Indonesia Kontemporer (*Surabaya: Kencana, 2010), 111.

[7] Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1953), 465.

[8] Metin Heper, "Islam, Modernity, and Democracy in Contemporary Turkey: The Case of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan" (Researchgate, Bliket University, 2003), 10.

[9] Ahmad Junaidi, "Kebijakan Politik Recep Tayyip Erdogan dan Islamisme Turki Kontemporer,"*Undergraduate Thesis* (Yogyakarta, 2016), 3.

In the process of running the secular system until Turkey's situation is unstable towards the end of the secular system, making various parties try to enter the government system to secure Turkey's position. At that time, Turkey was controlled by two groups, namely the secular group with Ataturk as the leader and the Islamic group initiated by Necmettin Erbakan. [10] There is another group that has made a major contribution to the Turkish people to restore the rise of Turkey with its Islamization, namely the Nurcu movement.

The Nurcu movement is one of the Islamist movements in Turkey. It is the oldest Islamic movement in the history of Modern Turkey led by Said Nursi. [11] This movement began to appear in 1930, to be precise since the beginning of Secularism in Turkey began to develop. Secularism received resistance from various parties because it abandoned Turkey's Islamic identity. [12] Ataturk's secularism was met with ideological and cultural resistance. The resistance was ideologically led by Shaykh Said al -Kurdi and Said Nursi through cultural means.

Previously there were several studies regarding the Nurcu Movement. First, research by Akhmad Rizqon Khamami entitled "Kontribusi Gerakan Nurcu Dalam Kebangkitan Islam Di Turki" in 2015. This research reveals the contribution of the Nurcu Movement to Islamization in Turkey by using a historical approach. The second research is Muhammad Faiz entitled "Risalah Nur Dan Gerakan Tarekat Di Turki: Peran Said Nursi Pada Awal Pemerintahan Republik" in 2017. This research focuses on the role of the Risalah Nur when the tareka and Sufism teachings were disbanded or banned by the Turkish government in 1925. The treatise on Nur can be used as a role model for Islamic education, where the contents of the manuscript show that the treatise contains the basic values of the Qur'an.

This research is different from the two studies above. It is because this research will describe how the Nurcu Da'wa Movement in Turkey in a review of the theory of hegemony by Antonio Gramsci. [13] This theory emphasizes four concepts. First, the concept of hegemony. This concept explains the effort 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. [14] Second, the concept of consensus. It is the voluntary acceptance of socio-political rules and aspects of other rules. [15] According to Gramsci, the concept of hegemony is the same as conformity. It means an adjustment that arises from the behavior of an individual or community's acceptance of everything outlined by the authorities. Adjustment is related to the concept of legitimacy. [16] 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 and culture. [17] Fourth is the intellectuals. It relates to the hegemony and the existence of intellectuals. They are considered the dominant class that exercises control through moral and intellectual leadership. Intellectuals are divided into two categories, namely traditional intellectuals who emerged from

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[10] Mathew Andrews, "Building Institutional Trust in Germany: Relative Success of the Gülen and Milli Gorus", *Turkish Studies* 12, no. 3 (September 2011): 511.

[11] Akhmad Rizqon Khamami, "Paradigma Dakwah Islam Fethullah Gulen di Abad Kontemporer," *Jurnal Studi Keislaman* 12, no. 2 (2018): 358-383.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Nur Syam, *Model Analisis Teori Sosial* (Surabaya: ITS Press, 2010), 295.

[14] Dominic Strinati dalan Nur Syam, *Model Analisis Teori Sosial* (Surabaya: ITS Press, 2010), 311.

[15] Nur Syam, *Model Analisis Teori Sosial,* 313.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid, 315.

earlier modes and organic intellectuals, which means born from capitalistic modes of production.[18]

There are three basic assumptions of hegemony theory. First, hegemony is exercised by those in power to conquer society as well as blockade the revolution persuasively. Second, hegemony can only be stopped with a counter-hegemony. Third, a strategic alliance between civil elements is needed in society to effectively fight against hegemony. According to Gramsci in Nur Syam states that counter-hegemony can be done in two ways, namely "position war" and "maneuver war".[19] Positional war is a war that is carried out by raising the critical awareness of society. While the war of maneuvers is a war that uses a strategy of movement or hit-and-run. The two are interrelated, meaning a positional war that continues to be carried out by civil society will create a revolutionary crisis that will culminate in a war of maneuvers. The theory was chosen because it was used to describe how the Nurcu missionary movement could be a counter-hegemony when Türkiye became a secular state. The theory of hegemony will be used to analyze the Nurcu da'wah movement and why it can be considered as a counter-hegemony.

RESEARCH METHODS

This research is a type of qualitative descriptive research. The research method used in this study is a historical and sociological analysis of the Nurcu Movement in Turkey through the works of other related researchers. In addition, a literature-based method or literature study, namely by reviewing some of the literature ranging from books, scientific journals, theses, -e - books, news, and the internet related to the Nurcu da'wah movement as a counter-hegemony Secularism in Türkiye in a review of hegemony theory. The subject of this research is the Nurcu Movement. The object under study is the Nurcu missionary movement as a counter-hegemony Secularism in Türkiye.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

History of Secularism in Turkey

Every country has a variety of ethnicities, nations, races, languages, and religions, as well as Turkey. Although for six centuries, it became the strongest Islamic Empire, it did not make all the people of Turkey Muslim. The character of the Turkish people which leads to pluralism makes Türkiye choose a secular character. It means that the Turkish sultanate system changed to the Republic of Türkiye. According to Sirry, the Islamic world is not homogeneous because every country has fundamental differences even though most of its people are Muslims, meaning that religious commonality does not mean social commonality and political traditions.[20]

The main reason for changing the state system in Turkey to become secular was Turkey's decline in world politics, precisely in the 19-20 centuries.[21] According to history, in 1453 Constinople was successfully conquered by the Ottoman Turks under the leadership of Sultan Muhammad II. This event became the beginning of the golden age of the Ottoman Empire until the 18th century. The Ottoman Empire controlled the territory of Northern Hungary in the West Iran in the East, from Ukraine in the North to the Indian Ocean in the South.[22] This kingdom

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[18] Ibid

[19] Ibid

[20] Mun'im A. Sirry, *Membendung Militansi Agama Iman dan Politik dalam Masyarakat Modern* (Jakarta:Erlangga, 2001), 22

[21] Isputaningsih, "Sejarah Islam: Kasus Sekularisme Turki," *Jurna Universitas Sriwijaya (*2009): 15.

[22] Ibid

was able to last a long time because it implemented freedom of religion in a multicultural society. This shows that the caliphate system has a fairly high level of tolerance.

The king will serve as the Sultan as well as the Caliph, which means that apart from being the head of the state, he will also serve as a religious leader. This is one of the factors why Turkey has experienced a decline, while Western civilization has mastered the development of science and technology.[23] Western civilization and Islam experienced a reversed development. If in the Middle Ages, Europe suffered a setback because the king held concurrent positions besides being the head of state as well as being the head of the church. Islam experienced a golden age because many new Muslim scientists mastered science. But in the 20th century, European science and technology experienced rapid development, then Turkish power was threatened. They must think of a new concept to rebuild Turkish civilization.

When world war I happened in 1914-1928, Ottoman Empire suffered a setback due to the defeat of the central party supported by Turkey. Some of Turkey's territories began to separate themselves, and even the allied countries divided Turkey's territory to become a colony. It triggers the younger generation of Türkiye to take a stand. They fought for a Turkish state with its own nationalist identity. The enthusiasm of the young generation of Turkey was welcomed by the bureaucratic and military elites. Finally, they formed a committee to form a multinational and multireligious regime, namely a secular Türkiye. [24]

The secular concept is that religion belongs to God while the state belongs to its inhabitants. Let the state be taken care of by the king and religion is God's business. They are separate things. It is different when viewed from the Qur'an, Surah Al-Imran verse 154 which means: [25]

> Then, after grief, He sent down security for you. As slumber did it overcome a party of you, while (the other) party, who were anxious on their own account, thought wrongly of Allah, the thought of ignorance. They said: Have we any part in the cause? Say (O Muhammad): The cause belongeth wholly to Allah. They hide within themselves (a thought) which they reveal not unto thee, saying: Had we had any part in the cause we should not have been slain here. Say: Even though ye had been in your houses, those appointed to be slain would have gone forth to the places where they were to lie. (All this hath been) in order that Allah might try what is in your breasts and prove what is in your hearts. Allah is Aware of what is hidden in the breasts (of men)."

The verse explains that everything is God's business. Itt means that, religion and state are related and cannot be separated. However, in matters of state, Allah gives His representative on earth based on the principle of deliberation. Was said by An- Na'im who stated that Islam does not distinguish between religion and state affairs, Islam has a relationship with politics. [26]

Turkey as a country with a majority Muslim population does not mean it is a social community and political tradition.[27] The interpretation of the concepts of Islam and secularism is the key that they can harmonize. In a liberal view, religion will not be in tune with secularism

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[23] H.A.R Gibb, *Islam daman Lintasan Sejarah* (Jakarta: Bhatara, 1960), 132.
[24] Ira Lapidus, *Sejarah Sosial Umat Islam* (Jakarta: Rajawali Press, 1999), 83-84.
[25] Al-Qur'an online, dalam http://www.kampungsunnah.co.nr, accessed on March 20, 2020.
[26] Abdullah Ahmed Naim, *Islam dan Negara Sekuler: Menegosiasikan Masa Depan Syariah* (Bandung:Mizan, 2007) 24
[27] Mun'im A. Sirry, *Membendung Militansi Agama Iman dan Politik dalam Masyarakat Modern,* 22.

which demands a liberal disposition and pluralism. Meanwhile, if secularism is interpreted liberally, Islamism and secularism will clash with each other and even tend to be dichotomous.[28]

Turkey under Mustafa Kemal Attaturk is trying to build a Turkey that is oriented towards Western civilization. Ataturk believes that Turkey can progress if it secularizes religious views, laws, and even social relations. [29] The domination of religion over political institutions, the sultan who concurrently serves as the head of state and religious leader is the reason for the decline of Turkish civilization. *Mindset* this is what makes Ataturk believe that Western civilization can lead Turkey to progress.

When carrying out his secularism, Ataturk undertook five reform models, namely state, religion, language, law, and education reforms. *Firstly,* State Reform. The main thing that was done by Ataturk was to change the form of the sultanate into a republic. In 1924, Ataturk abolished the Caliphate institution in Turkey. In 1928, Ataturk removed the article regarding Islam as the state religion, then Islam was no longer included in the Turkish political system. In 1937, the principle of secularism began to be enacted as the basis for the state constitution. [30] Ataturk tried to harmonize Turkish nationalism with Western-style Westernization. Ataturk adopted the thinking of Western civilization that sovereignty is in the hands of the people, not in the hands of the sultan who holds power.

Secondly, Religious Reform. After abolishing the sultanate system, Ataturk no longer provided a place for religious figures to enter the political, cultural, and even social spheres. Ataturk 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. Ataturk was never against Islam but only tried to adapt it to the cultural system in Turkey. The Qur'an must be translated into Turkish so that people can understand its meaning. [31]

Ataturk formed a committee to modernize Islam. This committee is tasked with changing the atmosphere and form of mosques like churches in Europe. The mosque must always be clean, provided with facilities in the form of benches and a place to store coats, and musical instruments, replace Arabic language and script into Turkish, enter the mosque using clean shoes, and the text of the sermon must be based on the philosophy of western civilization, not on Islamic thought. Ataturk's policy, which received opposition, was to change the call to prayer into Turkish. However, this can be thwarted by ulama. [32] Ataturk thought that Turkey could become a developed nation like Western civilization if it was able to eliminate the influence of Islam.[33]

Ataturk's secularism is a form of coercion from the government, not secularization which is a consequence of the modernization process like European countries. [34] Turner described that Ataturk was trying to "westernize" Turkey, meaning Turkey had to become a European country in all respects. In 1925, Ataturk banned all types of clothing indicating religious identity. The government prefers to use suits and hats became the hallmark of the Turkish.

Thirdly, language reform. On November 3, 1928, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey decided that the Arabic script should be replaced with the Latin script.[35] This language reform aims to purify the Turkish language. Ataturk visited many places to teachthe new Turkish script firsthand. This language change shows that Ataturk wanted to get rid of the shackles of Arabic

[28] Ibid.

[29] Erwin.J.J Rosenthal, *Islam in Modern National State* (Cambridge: University Press, 1965), 38.

[30] Harun Nasution, *Pembaharuan dalam Islam: Sejarah Pemikiran dan Gerakan*(Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1975), 153.

[31] Maryam Jameelah, *Islam dan Modernisme* (Surabaya: Usaha Nasional, 1965), 153.

[32] Mukti Ali, *Islam dan Sekularimse di Turki Modern* (Jakarta, Djambatan, 1994), 89-90.

[33] Maryam Jameelah, *Islam dan Modernisme,* 165.

[34] Bryan S.Turner, *Atatürk's Republic of Culture* (New York: The Office of the Ambassador for Cultural Affairs Republic of Turkey, 1984), 318.

[35] Isputaningsih, "Sejarah Islam: Kasus Sekularisme Turki," 20.

and Persian from Turkey. Despite the controversy, this language reform has made many contributions to Turkey in terms of Western-style science and technology.

Fourth, legal reform. On February 17, 1926, the Grand National Assembly decided to adopt the Swiss Civil Code to replace the Sharia law in Turkey. Furthermore, the law was enacted on October 4, 1926, regarding the prohibition of polygamy and the implementation of monogamy, providing equal rights between men and women to decide marriages and divorce. The equality of rights causes inheritance law based on Islam to be abolished. The law frees interfaith marriages.[36]

On January 1, 1935, the government added a new rule in the form of using family names for Turks. In the same year, the Hijri calendar system was changed to the Gregorian calendar system. The holiday that was originally Friday was changed to Sunday. Ataturk tried to make the Turkish people able to think, behave, and even dress like Europeans. [37]

Fifth is education reform. On February 7, 1924, Ataturk sounded a decree regarding the obligation to release all religious elements from schools and the Ministry of Education took full responsibility. It means that Islamic bodies' forms of supervision of schools are abolished. [38] Ataturk wants education in Turkey to be under Western-style modernization and free from Islamic law. Education is no longer only focused on learning the Islamic religion but also on the science of Western civilization.

The Dynamics of Islamism Versus Secularism According to Hegemony Theory

According to Harun Nasution, Ataturk's rationale for secularism is the concepts of Westernism, Islamism, and Nationalism. [39] It 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 must join this civilization. If our bodies are in the East, our minds are 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 nations are there that desire to become a part of civilization, but do not tend toward the West?[40]

Ataturk also thinks that holding on to obsolete traditions is a mistake. Therefore, there is a need for renewal towards an advanced civilized country. The three concepts above have become ideologies in Turkey. When Türkiye was in a transitional period, this ideology was considered a reformer.

Firstly, westernism is a concept coined by Tuefik Fikret and Abdullah Cevdet. [41] The Westernist group believes that Western countries have become developed countries because they think rationally. It is oriented to science and technology. The setback occurred in Turkey because this country does not implement Islamic law as it should. It is proven by Türkiye which cannot keep up with the times. The concepts promoted by adherents of this ideology include using the

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[36] Ibid

[37] Maryam Jameelah, *Islam dan Modernisme,* 168.

[38] Ziya Gokalp, *Turkism Nationalism and Western Civilization* (London: Niyazi Berkes, 1959), 225.

[39] Harun Nasution, *Pembaharuan dalam Islam*, 149.

[40] Alev Cinar, *Modernity, Islam, and Secularism in Turkey: Bodies, Places, and Time* (Minneapolis-London: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 5.

[41] Muhammad Muhtarom Ilyas, "Tiga Aliran Pembaharuan Westernisme, Islamisme dan Nasionalisme," *Jurnal Sosial Humaniora* 7, no. 2 (2014): 267.

economic system of capitalism and liberalism, separating religion from the state, and providing a modern educational curriculum that emphasizes the world not the hereafter.[42]

Secondly, Islamism in Turkey is promoted by Mehmed Akif and Muza Kazim. Adherents of Islamism think that Turkey's decline was not due to Islamic law, but rather that the Ottoman Empire did not apply Islamic law properly. The idea promoted by adherents of this ideology is that the country's economy should be based on Islamic law. Adherents of this ideology state that they do not reject Western civilization, but only that which is physical and material. [43]

Thirdly, nationalism in Turkey is promoted by Ziya Gokalp and Yusuf Accura. This group believes that Türkiye's decline is due to Türkiye's inability to accept change. This group acts as a mediator between Westernization and Islamization groups. They agree that there is a separation between religion and the state, suggesting the separation of the law of worship and muamalah. The nationalist group emphasizes the application of secular morality. [44]

These three ideological bases were adopted by Ataturk 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 two forces emerged during the transitional period when the Ottoman Empire collapsed, namely Secular and Islamist. In the process, the Westernist group won the battle, so a secular Turkish state emerged. Then, increasingly made the Islamist group think of a strategy to continue to revive Islam in Turkey.

The emergence of many ideologies in Türkiye shows that the situation was not stable. The people must choose whose side they will serve. Even though Ataturk eventually took over Turkey, the ideological differences did not die. This is common in a country because there will always be an opposition party. However, one can still tell which ones are in power and which are not, because social status or who is in power determines the direction of the country.

According to hegemony theory, *the power* owned by Ataturk is very large. Under the four concepts of hegemony that have been described above, *the first* is the concept of hegemony. According to Gramsci, hegemony is carried out to maintain power by conquering society. Political power in the social area carries out the leadership process by controlling a group by instilling ideology. During the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, even though three ideologies developed at that time, the winner was still Secularism. Ataturk spread this ideology and turned Turkey towards Western civilization, breaking away from religion. To maintain the existence of a secular ideology, he used the military as a weapon to perpetuate his power. All reforms carried out were by coercion, then over time in the form of cultural, ideological, religious, educational, and even economic hegemony.

The second concept is consensus, namely the acceptance of the minority against the majority. It usually happens based on the inability to resist or surrender to domination. As happened with Turkey during the transition period to agree that Turkey will change its identity to become a secular state. Based on the approval of the Grand National Assembly of Türkiye, this country changed its identity. The Grand National Assembly is a government institution formed by Ataturk after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. [45] That is the consensus that occurs through Ataturk's power as the owner of power.

The third concept is society or *civil society.* Gramsci considers that *civil society* is the superstructure, namely the link between ideology and the economy. Ataturk instilled secular ideology in the Turkish and replaced the economic system with capitalism. The economy is

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[42] Taufiqurrahman, *Sejarah Sosial Masyarakat Islam* (Surabaya: Pustaka Islamika, 2009), 156.

[43] Anis Bachtiar, "Islamisme, Westernisme dan Nasionalisme:Tinjauan Sosiologis Tiga Aliran Pembaharuan di Turki," *Jurnal Pemikiran Keislaman* 14, no. 1 (2005): 1-12.

[44] Muhammad Muhtarom Ilyas, "Tiga Aliran Pembaharuan Westernisme, Islamisme dan Nasionalisme," 270.

[45] Harun Nasution, *Pembaharuan dalam Islam: Sejarah Pemikiran dan Gerakan,* 147.

indeed a powerful key to winning the hearts of the people. When the country's economy develops and can prosper the people, then 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 promises as if Turkey would be like a European country, Attaturk was doing was given the opportunity and even attention from the public.

The fourth concept is the intellectual group. According to Gramsci, intellectual groups are divided into two, namely organic intellectual groups which include officials and the upper class, and traditional intellectuals such as clergy and lower class. Intellectual groups have a role to spread government ideology to society. Likewise, with what happened with Ataturk. He took advantage of the military and government institutions formed to perpetuate his power. This proved to be quite effective considering that the Kemalist ideology still exists in Turkey.

History and the Nurcu Movement

The Nurcu movement was founded by a Kurdish man named Said Nursi. He was born in Anatolia in 1876. His mother's name is Nuriyah and his father's name is Molla Mirza. He is the fourth child of seven siblings. Nursi's family was respected because they were close to the Naqshabandiyah order. In addition, his father is also a religious leader in the area where he lives, Bitlis. [46]

Nursi was a smart person because he had an extraordinary memory. This ability enabled Nursi to study at various madrassas in his neighborhood. He just needs six months to complete the studies that people usually must complete for fifteen or even twenty years. He also mastered four languages namely Arabic, Persian, Kurdish, and Turkish. This language ability made Nursi a person who always won debates. At his young age, Nursi even attended meetings with religious leaders in his area. [47]

Nursi's strengths were heard by Governor Bitlis, namely Hasan Pasa. Hasan Pasa invited Bediuzzaman to come to his house. Nursi welcomed him with pleasure. He lived in Hasan Pasa's house for two years. Time is spent reading books in Hasan Pasa's private library. Since then, he began to study modern and Western thought. In 1894, Nursi moved to Van and became close to the Governor of Van, Tahsin Pasa. Good relations with Tahsin Pasa made Nursi have many networks among the Kurdish scholars' in Van.[48] When World War I happened, Nursi became a prisoner of war in Siberia because he was captured. While in captivity Nursi was restless. He does not get inner satisfaction from the world of politics.[49]

Nursi was close to Mustafa Kemal. He had helped Türkiye against the invaders. When Ataturk took over Turkey, Nursi attended a parliament session. However, his experience did not same with his expectations, because the Turkish Parliament chose to be apathetic towards religion. Then, Nursi realized that his thoughts and Ataturk were very different. Anxiety in his mind is mounting about the world of politics. This made Nursi read the book *Futu>h} al-Ghayb* by Shaykh Abd al-Qadir al-Jaylani. [50] His reading increasingly convinced him that the Qur'an was the most appropriate source of law. He finally decided to study the Qur'an by moving to Van.

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[46] Said Nursi, *Sirah Dhatiyah* (Kairo: Syarikat Sozler,2011), 212.
[47] Serif Mardin, The Naksibendi Order in Turkish History, in Ricard Tapper (Eds*,), Islam In Modern Turkey: Religion, Politics, and Literature in a Secular State* (pp, 122–125) (New York: Martin's Press,1991), 153.
[48] Sukran Vahide, *Biografi Intelektual Bediuzzaman Said Nursi: Transformasi Dinasti Usmani Menjadi Republik Turki,* 128.
[49] Akhmad Rizqon Khamami, "Paradigma Dakwah Islam Fethullah Gulen di Abad Kontemporer", *Jurnal Studi Keislaman,* 360
[50]Ibid

Nursi's perspective made this movement have two phases in its development. The first phase, namely *Old Said* is the phase when Said Nursi becomes an activist who believes that social change in society can change 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 can accept the flow of modernity without losing their Islamic identity. Since then, Nursi has been determined to create a new generation of Muslims who have good morals through da'wa. [51]

Nurcu's change of thought to *New Said* did not mean that he made Said Nursi stay away from politics because he was still involved in cultural politics. [52] This is evidenced by Nurcu 's support for *Democratic Party* (DP) blatantly when Turkey imposed a multiparty system. Nurcu avoided practical politics for several reasons. *First,* Nursi felt that Muslims were experiencing a weakness of faith, therefore he had to place Islam properly and properly even though Turkey did not apply Islamic law. *Second,* spirituality cannot 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 the truth of Islam as a guide, so pure preaching is needed without political elements.[53]

Nursi believed that democracy was the most appropriate form of government compared to other forms of government. He considers that democracy is a reflection of the spirit of Islam. He does not reject Western civilization as a whole, because he still accepts Western civilization which is under Islam. He argues that Muslims need modernization to follow the progress of Western civilization but under Islamic teachings. Nursi drew a line between material and spiritual aspects. Material aspects include the Constitution, science, and technology. Spiritual aspects include behavior, religion, morals, and ethics.

Nurcu Da'wah Movement as a Counter-Secular Hegemony

Since the beginning of his determination to da'wa, Nursi has thirteen students with his work, Risale Nur. Nurcu's first missionary movement was carried out by Nursi secretly. Through the works he wrote in 1925-1934 in Turkish and handwritten, he spread his message. The main targets of his covert da'wa were the lower classes such as farmers, small traders, craftsmen, and commoners. [54] In 1960, Said Nursi died so his da'wa movement was continued by his students. After the death of Said Nursi, this movement is growing. The movement carried out by Nurcu's students has never deviated from its main goal, which is to prepare a young generation of Muslims who are strong in facing Western civilization.

Twenty years after Said Nursi left, this movement experienced considerable development. In the same year, Turgut Ozal took advantage of the rapidly growing Islamic movement to banish the ideology of communism from Turkey. [55] Followers are no longer just the lower class, but the upper class such as intellectuals, students, and business people also join. When viewed from a *state-centered approach, the development of the* Nurcu movement was so rapid because Mustafa Kemal Ataturk never actually abolished Islam, but only carried out the nationalization

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[51] Colin Turner, (t,th), "I Seek Refuge in God from Satan and Politics," A Nursian Perspective on the Role of Religion in State and Society", Bediuzzaman Said Nursi, t.th, http://www,bediuzzamansaid nursi,org/en/icerik/i-seek-refug, accessed on March 20, 2020.

[52] Akhmad Rizqon Khamami, "Paradigma Dakwah Islam Fethullah Gulen di Abad Kontemporer," *Jurnal Studi Keislaman,* 361.

[53] Ibid., 362.

[54] Sukran Vahide, *Biografi Intelektual Bediuzzaman Said Nursi: Transformasi Dinasti Usmani Menjadi Republik Turki,* 131.

[55] Berna Arslan, "Pious Science: The Gülen Community and the Making of a Conservative Modernity in Turkey," *Dissertation* (Santa Cruz: Universitas California, 2009), 173.

of Islam. It means that Islam has turned into a local Islam typical of Türkiye. [56] However, when viewed from a *society-centered approach* stated that Mustafa Kemal Ataturk had succeeded in turning Turkey into a secular one, but not with the Turkish people.[57]

Since 1950, the Risale-i Nur began to be printed in Latin script and made in large numbers. This book is not sold freely because of strict state regulations. It was distributed among students to regenerate followers of the Nurcu movement.[58] The Turkish people gave a very positive response to the Risale-i Nur. The literacy of the Turkish people is getting higher. Their tradition changed from oral to reading. Therefore, the Nurcu movement is a textual community.[59]

In addition to using literacy, this movement leans on persuasion strategies and reason, not violence. The da'wa method applied is very flexible and gentle, they call it a dialogue of civilizations. [60] They use three concepts in carrying out civilizational dialogue. *First,* the concept of creating mutual respect for another. *Second,* the concept of tolerance is in the form of acceptance of other people's identities. *Third,* the concept of ways to share values. [61]

Nurcu movement uses strategies in the social, journalist, media, education, and economic fields to spread its da'wa. In the social field, the strategy adopted by Nursi's followers is to actively provide services to the community. They use the concept of "faith-based activism."[62] This concept can deliver the Nurcu Movement at the highest level. This is a characteristic of the Nurcu Movement that distinguishes it from other Islamic movement.[63]

In the field of journalism, the Nurcu movement produces print media in the form of magazines and newspapers. In 1964, this movement published several magazines namely *Harekat Zulfikar* and *Bediuzzaman.* In 1968, their magazine was added with the name *Ittihad* in Istanbul and managed to spread into a national scale magazine. In 1966, *Ittihad magazine* no longer produces magazines, but daily newspapers. The name *Ittihad* changed to *Yeni Asya.*[64] The Nurcu movement fragmented into seven group, namely *Kurdish Cemaati, Yeni Nesil, Mehmet Kirkinci, Yeni Asya, Med-Zehra, Mustafa Sungur,* and *Gulen Movement.* [65] *It is to* carry out its goal of spreading Islamic da'wa.

In the media sector, in 1980 the Nurcu movement established TV and radio stations. The *Yeni Nasil* Group founded Moral FM, while *Gulen Movement* established four television channels namely *Mehtap TV, Samanyolu TV, Ebru TV,* and *Yumurcak TV* as well as two

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[56] Ibid.

[57] Serif Mardin, The Naksibendi Order in Turkish History, Dalam Ricard Tapper (Eds*,), Islam In Modern Turkey: Religion, Politics, and Literature in a Secular State*, 150.

[58] Hamid Algar, "Said Nursi and the Risale-i Nur: An Aspect of Islam in Contemporary Turkey", *Islamic Perspective Studies in Honor of Sayyid Abul Ala Mawdudi*, 1979, 313-333.

[59] Hakan Yavuz, The Gülen movement: The Turkish puritans, dalam Hakan Yavuz and John L, Esposito (eds*,), Turkish Islam and the Secular State: the Gülen Movement* (New York: Syracuse University Press,2003), 149.

[60] B. Jill Carroll, *A Dialogue of Civilizations, Gulen's Islamic Ideals and Humanistic Discourse* (New Jersey: The Light, 2007), 152.

[61] Fethullah Gulen, Key Concepts in the Practice of Sufism: Emerald Hills of the Heart (NJ: The Fountain, 2004), 183

[62] Zeynep Akbulut Kuru dan Ahmet T Kuru, "A Political Interpretation of Islam: Said Nursi's Faith-Based Activism in Comparison with Nurcu Movement Contribution, Political Islamism and Sufism, dalam "Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations", 19 (1), 2008, 163.

[63] Hamid Algar, "Said Nursi and the Risale-i Nur: An Aspect of Islam in Contemporary Turkey", *Islamic Perspective Studies in Honor of Sayyid Abul Ala Mawdudi*, 315.

[64] Ibid., 316.

[65] Hakan Yavuz, The Gülen movement: The Turkish puritans, dalam Hakan Yavuz and John L, Esposito (eds*,), Turkish Islam and the Secular State: the Gülen Movement,* 151.

radios *Burc FM* and *Dunya FM*. [66] The media have built broadcasts a lot about "the color" of Islam that is modern and under the times. They discussed topics such as psychology education, health care, politics, marriage, the environment, child care, and even science and technology.[67]

The fragmentation of the Nurcu movement which focuses on education is *Gulen Movement.* In 1997, this group had built 150 schools and 150 *dershanes* in Türkiye.[68] The school does not only focus on religion but modern civilization science as well. The purpose of building this school is to create a young generation who is reliable and useful for Turkey, able to revive Islam, occupy a strategic position in Turkey, and be able to compete with Kemalist groups.[69]

In the economic, the *Gulen group Movement* return plays an important role. It was able to establish a company that can compete in the global market. They develop the market without contradicting neoliberal principles both on a national and international scale. The most remarkable thing about this group is the commitment of its followers to education. They donate 10 percent to a third of their income to educational institutions, hospitals, and other da'wa activities.[70] The missionary strategy that they apply is very appropriate. Their commitment to returning Turkey to a developed country without eliminating Muslim identity is very strong, so they are carrying out a very mature strategy.

According to the *counter concept hegemony* by Gramsci, the da'wa strategy of the Nurcu movement is one of the *counter forms of hegemony* in Türkiye. According to Gramsci, *counter-hegemony* can be done in two ways, namely war of position and a war of maneuvers. *Firstly,* the positional war is carried out by raising the critical awareness of society. Under what Said Nursi and his thirteen students did from the start. Nursi wrote the Risale-i Nur and distributed it to the Turkish people to build community literacy. Nursi even managed to change the oral tradition into reading. This strategy was welcomed by the community so the spread of Nursi's preaching grew rapidly. Community criticism is built based on the Qur'an. Nursi, who had embraced an Islamic ideology from the start, did not reject Western civilization but rather filtered out those that were under Islamic law. Thus, the people felt that what Nursi conveyed was acceptable to them coupled with the reality that Ataturk'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 specially to increase public awareness. [71] Nurcu's da'wa is disseminated to the community continuously, the more unconsciously the community will be indoctrinated and believe it. Especially, when they provide a lot of assistance to the Turkish people, they are not only known for their proselytizing but also for social movements. Therefore, Islam has never really left the Turkish people.

Secondly, maneuver war is a kind of strategy of movement or *hit and run*. This strategy is carried out by mobilizing the masses when power begins to weaken. In addition to the above strategies, Nurcu's method, namely civilizational dialogue is one way of mobilizing the masses to fight secularism. Nurcu did not use violence in his da'wa, but persuasively. Nurcu's da'wa movement is evidence of resistance against secularism to continue to revive Islam in Turkey. The

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[66] Akhmad Rizqon Khamami, "Paradigma Dakwah Islam Fethullah Gulen di Abad Kontemporer," *Jurnal Studi Keislaman,* 364.

[67] Louis Althusser, *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essay* (London: NL, 1972), 53.

[68] Bekim Agai, "The Gülen Movement's Islamic Ethic of Education," in M, Hakan Yavuz dan John L, Esposito (eds,), *Turkish Islam and the Secular State: the Gülen Movement* (New York: Syracuse University Press,2003), 142

[69] Fahri Caki, "New Social Classes and Movement in the Context of Politico-Economic Development in Contemporary Turkey," *Dissertation* (The Temple University, 2001), 31.

[70] Phyllis E Bernard, "The Hizmet Movement in Business, Trade, and Commerce," in Martin E, Marty (ed,), *Hizmet Means Service* (CA: University of California Press, 2015), 162.

[71] Nur Syam, *Metodologi Analisis Teori Sosial,* 306.

ideology instilled by the authorities 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 da'wa culturally and persuasively which is carried out in education, journalism, the media, and even the economy with the civilizational dialogue method. This strategy is carried out as a form of *counter-hegemony* secularism in Türkiye. According to the *counter-concept* review *hegemony, the* Nurcu movement has waged a war of position and a war of maneuvers. Maneuvering wars were carried out by changing oral culture to reading, building schools, publishing newspapers and magazines, and building TV stations so that the Turkish people adhered to Islamic ideology. Meanwhile, war maneuvers were carried out using civilization methods to mobilize the masses. The Nurcu movement does not reject Western civilization, but instead invites them to filter Western civilization that is under Islamic law and can still be accepted.

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