

## **Sociological Analysis of the Clash of Civilizations and Turkish modernization**

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**Abstract:** The Theory of Clash of Civilizations is based on the idea that the principles of enlightenment belong to "Western values" and from then on, the fundamental source of the struggle on Earth will be determined by cultural reasons, not by ideological or economic factors. By the end of the twentieth century, it has been stated that religion has risen globally in the world and a global decentralization process has begun. According to this approach, the poor countries of the world, the Islamic Territories and the periphery are going to rise to the extent that they give up the principles of Enlightenment and start to return to their traditional cultures. However, Enlightenment is not the "system of values" specific to the West, but the whole social principles in the universal quality. There is no sociological opposition between enlightenment principles and traditional cultures. This study seeks to question the validity of the sociological bases of the Theory of Civilization Conflict. In addition, Turkish modernization will be summarized by the point of view of this theory.

**Key Words:** Clash of Civilizations, Enlightenment, Samuel P. Huntington and Turkish Modernization

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### **I. Introduction: A Brief Look at the Theory of Clash of Civilizations**

The Theory of Clash of Civilizations is a political and sociological approach to social sciences that was created by the American political scientist Samuel Huntington and published in 1993 in the journal *Foreign Affairs*. Samuel Huntington was born in New York City on April 18, 1927, and died on December 24, 2008, in the state of Massachusetts, USA. Huntington served as Professor of Political Science at Harvard University for a long time, coordinator of the US National Security Council and Security Planning Division from 1977 to 1978, and president of the American Political Science Association in 1986-1987. In this theory of Huntington, the Cold War between Russia and the United States resolves the new world order created by the end. According to Huntington, ideological conflicts between the collapse of Russia and the societies were the end. Differences among societies have now begun to manifest themselves in cultures. The source of the struggle in the New World will be cultural, not ideological and economic (Kızılcelik, 2002: 204-205). Many similar theories can be found in the history of sociology. One of them is *The end of History* written by Fukuyama (2006). Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, conflicts in the global world are now fed from local cultural elements such as nationalism and religious elements.. ideological conflict is on the back plan. The concept of class has left its place culturally. Idealist commentaries have been preferred to materialist readings. In the same way, some opinions of Bell (1988), Wallerstein (2004) and Hobsbawm (2007) may indirectly be the basis of the thesis.

According to Huntington, "The following years after the Cold War witnessed striking changes in the identities of peoples and their symbols. Global policy has begun to be reshaped in the direction of cultural lines" (Huntington, 2011: 15). "A society based on civilization emerges: the societies that share cultural affinities cooperate with each other, the efforts of societies to outsource civilizations are failing, and the countries are clustered around the core or leading states of their own civilizations" (Huntington, 2011: 23).

The most important differences among the peoples of the post-Cold War world are cultural, not ideological, political or economic. The peoples and the nations are trying to answer the most basic question facing human beings. Who are we? This question is also answered in a traditional way, where people find the things that are most meaningful to them or what they are. The peoples define themselves with their ancestors, with their religion, language, history, cultural values, traditions and institutions (Huntington, 2011: 24-25).

The most important state groupings are no longer the triple bloc of the Cold War, but seven or eight basic civilizations of the world. Especially non-Western societies in East Asia multiply their economic wealth and thus create the basis for military power and political influence. As their power and their confidence grows, non-Western societies increasingly reject their values imposed upon them by the West, suggesting their own cultural values (Huntington, 2011: 25).

The balance of power between civilizations is changing: in terms of relative efficiency, the West is in retreat; Asian civilizations are expanding and spreading their economic, military and political power. Islam has entered into a demographic explosion that has created instability for Muslim countries and their neighbors. In general, non-Western civilizations re-define the value of their own culture. After the Cold War, other symbols of cultural identity, including flags, crosses, crescents and even headscarf, must be considered in the world. Because culture is important and cultural identity is most meaningful for many people (Huntington, 2011: 22-23). Thus, "the most common, important and dangerous disputes in this new world will be among peoples of different cultural assets, not between social classes" (Huntington, 2011: 26). In other words, cultural similarities and differences shape states' states of action, their interests and conflicts. There is a serious critique of Marxism in here.

The great political ideologies of the twentieth century include liberalism, socialism, anarchism, corporatism, nationalism, fascism, social democracy. All of these political ideologies are the products of Western civilization. However, the West has not been able to produce a basic religion. The great religions of the world are all products of non-Western civilizations. As we move out of the Western world, the ideology typical of Western civilization has declined, and ideologies have been replaced by religions and identities. Instead of the collision of civilian intellectuals that emerged in the West today, the conflict of religion and culture among civilizations has passed (Huntington, 2011: 66-67).

As a result, The Theory of Clash of Civilizations is a new American conception that contradicts the Marxist arguments that class struggles have ended in contemporary societies, that class struggles are replaced by inter-communal conflicts, and that these conflicts are based on differences in culture and civilization. Conflicts between societies are not in the form of polarization during the Cold War but in the form of conflicts of civilizations. The main source of these conflicts are cultural and cultural differences. This theory shifts attention away from its real contradictions and problems to artificial coordinates at a time when capitalism surrounds the entire globe (Kızılcelik, 2002: 204).

## **II. According to The Theory of Clash of Civilizations, Localization and Revival of Islamic Culture**

Western sovereignty is the end of time. Meanwhile, the weakening of the West and the emergence and rise of other centres of power are causing non-Western cultures to re-emerge and a process of globalization.

"The end of the twentieth century has witnessed the global rise of religion in the world. This revival involves the intensification of religious consciousness and the fundamentalist movements "(Huntington, 2011: 83). There is an increase in the number of believers both in Islam and in Christianity in the world. But the increase in the number of Muslims is excessive. Because Christianity is spreading through change of religion, however, Islam is increasing with both the change of religion and the proliferation of the population. At the end of the twentieth century, 20 percent of the world's population consists of Muslims, which is likely to be 30 percent by 2025 (Huntington, 2011: 85).

Western values and institutions are appealing to people from other cultures; because they are seen as the source of the power and wealth of the West. Culture and ideology can be attractive if it is due to material success and influence. So, if soft power rises above the foundation of hard power, it is a real power. The hard economic and military rise of power strengthens such things as self-confidence, self-esteem and belief in the supremacy of their own culture, or soft power compared to other people, and this soft power also makes them more attractive to other people. The decline in economic and military power has led to the country's self-doubt, its identity crisis, and its attempts to exploit the keys of economic, military and political success in other cultures. Non-Western societies will defend the virtues of their society's values, institutions and cultures as they increase their economic, military and political capacities (Huntington, 2011: 125).

In the 1980s and 1990s, The domestication became a source of poverty in the non-Western world. The rebirth of Islam and the re-Islamization are the basic theme of Muslim societies. In the second half of the twentieth century, economic and social modernization reached a global breadth, causing the global awakening of religion. This religious rebirth manifests itself in almost all societies, in people's daily lives, and in the projects and interests of governments. "Religion is one of the ways in which people become conscious of the social environment surrounding their being and their being. Religions have, above all, been a tool for communities to recognize and promote themselves, as societies encountered other societies and became aware of their differences. The expression of this recognition and promotion effort at the level of religious identity is the product of certain differences and conflicts that arise in inter-communal relations (Sezer, 2011: XIII-XIV).

According to Huntington, "We are witnessing the end of the age of progress under Western sovereignty. Instead, we are entering into an era in which many and different civilizations are in relationship, race, coexistence and harmony. This process of globalization has manifested itself in many parts of the world with the birth of religion. Cultural revitalization of Asian and Muslim countries is largely due to economic and demographic dynamism "(Huntington, 2011: 130). In the second half of the twentieth century, economic and social modernization reached a global breadth, leading to the global awakening of religion. This religious rebirth manifests itself in almost all societies, in people's daily lives, and in the projects and interests of governments.

It is supposed that the global religious awakening leads to the destruction of the most prominent, clearest and most powerful religion: Social, economic and cultural modernization that shook the whole world in the second half of the twentieth century. Long-lived identity sources and authority systems have been pushed into great confusion. People have migrated from rural areas to cities, have been disconnected from their roots, have acquired new jobs and new jobs. These people had to deal with a large number of strangers and found themselves in the system of new relations. These people need new sources of identity, new stable forms of community, and new moral principles that will help them find purpose and meaning. Religion can meet these needs if it is in the form of a fundamentalist religious or centralized view (Huntington, 2011: 133). The re-emergence of religion is a reaction to secularism, moral relativism, excessive devotion to one's own will; order, discipline, business ethics, mutual assistance and solidarity. Religious groups meet the social requirements that the state bureaucracy cannot meet. The disruption of order and civil society creates gaps filled with religious and often radical religious movements.

Besides the psychological, emotional and social traumas of modernization, other stimuli of religious awakening include the West's decline and the end of the Cold War. The collapse of communism in the Soviet Union has created an ideological vacuum today in China, which has undergone serious revision and development of this ideology. Meanwhile, people find communism as returning to the real thing because they see the last secular god as a failure, and because of the absence of new secular gods, the remedy is a great passion. Ideology is the religion and secular nationalism is the religious nationalism (Huntington, 2011: 138-139). The revival of non-Western religions is the strongest aspect of being anti-Western in non-Western societies. This religion awakening is not a rejection of modernity. This movement is not against urbanization, industrialization, development, capitalism, know-how and technology, and the organizations they make in society. This is a rejection of the secular, relativist, corrupt cult associated with the West and the West. This is a proud expression of cultural independence from the West; "We will be modern, but you will not be" (Huntington, 2011: 141).

"The Islamist Reawakening is both a product of modernization and an effort to capture it. The underlying causes are those responsible for the tendency to settle in non-Western societies: urbanization, social mobilization, increased levels of education and literacy, intensified communication and media consumption, and increased proliferation of Western and other cultures. These developments remove traditional village and clan ties from the middle and create an alienation and identity crisis. Islamic welfare organizations also meet the psychological needs of Islamic symbols, loyalties and beliefs, and the social, economic and cultural needs of Muslims in the modernization process. Muslims needed Islamic ideas, practices and institutions to return to provide the modernization compass and engine "(Huntington, 2011: 162-163). While this militant staff of the Islamic movement constitutes students and intellectuals, active members of this movement are populated by urban middle-class people. To a certain extent, they come mainly from groups called "traditional" middle class groups: traders, traders, small businesses and property owners, shopkeepers. They played an important role in the Iranian revolution and provided substantial support for fundamentalist movements in Algeria, Turkey and Indonesia. However, to a much greater extent, radical dincers belong to the "modern" sectors of the middle

class. Islamist activists are probably; doctors, lawyers, engineers, scientists, teachers and civil servants (Huntington, 2011: 157-158).

John L. Esposito writes: "The Islamic awakening in personal life is very diverse. Increased interest in the fulfillment of religious duties (multiplication of activities such as going to mosques, prayers, and fasting), the increase of religious publications and regulations, more emphasis on Islamic values and dress codes, the revival of mysticism. This broad-based awakening is accompanied by a greater penetration of Islamic religion into public life: the proliferation of governments, organizations, laws, banks, social welfare services and educational institutions oriented towards Islam. Both governments and opposition movements have turned to Islamic religion in order to increase their authority and their social support. Many administrators and governments, including Turkey and Tunisia, including most secular states, are aware of the potential power of Islamic religion and are both concerned and sensitive to problems related to Islamic religion "(Huntington, 2011: 154).

The power of Rebirth and the appeal of the Islamic movement has led governments to encourage Islamic institutions and practices and to incorporate them into regimes of Islamic symbols and practices. To a large extent, it is to acknowledge and accept the Islamic character of this state and society. For example, for the first time in the early 1990s, Turkey's Kemalist identity and secularism were under serious threat (Huntington, 2011: 211-212).

According to Huntington, the increasingly prominent cultural identity is the result of social economic modernization. Modernization at the individual level leads to the need for more meaningful identities due to displacement and alienation; At the social level, the development of the skills and powers of non-Western societies together with modernization results in revitalization of indigenous identities and cul- ture (Huntington, 2011: 179).

According to Sezer (2011:IV), In the 19th century, the West explains its superiority in relation to the industrial events in front of the communities it has encountered during the expansionism, and today it gives an explanation based on the religion event when it wants to recognize the non-Western societies and to determine their differences. The main reason why the West claims that the East is different from itself is that it tries to justify the exploitation East. So there will be no need to feel embarrassed or disturbed by colonialism. This is a difference that gives it a superiority (Sezer, 2006: 56). The West has now made the religion an instrument of fundamental differentiation in order to benefit properly from its emerging conditions in its favor and to strengthen its supremacy. The fact that Eastern societies can not bring a new world order alternative to the Western world dominance and supremacy and can not comply with the existing conditions plays an important role in this (Sezer, 2011: XIX).

As a result, "Islam is being taken as a support for a new politics with different interpretations in itself and organized defence against the West. While different and narrow interpretations of Islam are integrated with tendencies such as ethnic nationalism, sectarianism, sectarianism and tribalism, Islamic countries are being closed down as they erode their understanding of ummah. The process is developing on the whole axis of the Islamic world to be completely ruled out, dismissed and expropriated "(Sezer, 2011: XXI).

### **III. A Brief View of the Turkish Modernization Movement**

In accordance with the theory of cultural conflict, Huntington has devoted much of his book " The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order" to the critique of the Turkish modernization movement and Kemalism. According to Huntington, Turkish enlightenment is a movement against the traditional Islamic culture of Turkey. According to Huntington, "Modern civilization is Western civilization, or Western civilization is modern civilization. This is a totally false statement. Western civilization emerged in the eighth and nineteenth centuries and won different characteristics in the following years. Western civilization has not been modernized until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have arrived "(Huntington, 2011: 91).

There are basic features that distinguish Western civilization from other civilizations. The most important of these is Protestantism (Huntington, 2011: 92). We see that Huntington is influenced here by Weber. At Weber, capitalism is said to be a coincidence, especially in the societies where Protestantism is dominant. According to Weber, "capitalism was the product of a one-time historical phenomenon, the Confucian Protestantism, and its cultural significance depended on these ideal origins; the result was a motivational structure, in which some individuals actually acted privately and directed rational social action "(Swingewood, 1998: 183). "Capitalism is a rationalizing attitude towards the spiritual life, not paying attention to the debt and

the repayment of the loans, diligence, diligence, moderation, not being idle because it means time and money, behavioral patterns. The spirit of capitalism is a social ethic; the attitude is a structure of attitudes and behaviors closely related to Protestantism "(Swingewood, 1998: 187).

Other characteristics are the Western values of rationalism, the separation of religious and secular authorities, namely secularism, people's sovereignty, rule of law, human rights. The union of these factors is a distinguishing characteristic of the West. These show us what the West is, not modernity in the West (Huntington, 2011: 92-96). The theory of conflicts of civilizations that is important for Turkey is the approach of this theory to the principles of the 18th century Enlightenment. As it is known, the Movement of the Enlightenment is a revolutionary movement that emerges and develops in Europe in the 18th century and aims at promoting the principles of rationalism, secularism, nation state, full independence, democracy, equality, human rights it is a historical period that brings the day. In this direction, Enlightenment is separated from the understanding of the Middle Ages society by certain lines. According to Enlightenment, religious and personal authorities must be demolished and people's sovereignty should be established in their place. Social relations should be conducted according to the identity of citizenship, not ethnic or religious identities. The basic element that unifies a society is the identity of citizenship. Religious identities are not social and political orientations as they were in the Middle Ages; personal beliefs of individuals and should remain behind the identity of citizenship (Kızılçelik, 1996: 2-8).

According to Huntington, only Western culture constitutes a suitable basis for the development of democratic institutions, so democracy is hardly appropriate for non-Western societies. Democracy has a relatively narrow base, both by time and space; it has not yet been proven that it is a form of natural government for the peoples outside these narrow boundaries. For this reason, there is no reason to assume that the attempt to develop and use democratic institutions is the best way for most of these peoples (Huntington, 2011b: 319).

As you can see, " The Theory of Clash of Civilizations " is based on the theory that Enlightenment is a Western value. Whereas the Enlightenment emerged in the West, it is a system of values of universal quality in sociological sense. It is the progressive nature of humanity that makes enlightenment universal. The progressive evaluation of an innovation can be measured by its value to humanity and its benefits. Innovations emerging in a historical process cannot be evaluated as progressive if they do not value mankind and benefit it. In this respect, Enlightenment is mediated by bringing the human mind to the foreground of events of nature and society and organizing social relations according to "citizenship identity", a more inclusive concept than ethnic and religious features. It is also turning to all humanity because of its progressive nature.

Since 1920, Mustafa Kemal's country is a classical divided country that has entered into the struggle to modernization, Westernization and become part of the West. Because Turkey's leaders rejected non-Western cultures and institutions of their societies, they instead tried to modernization and westernization their societies in order to become a part of the West (Huntington, 2011: 197). Mustafa Kemal Atatürk created a new Turkey from the remains of the Ottoman Empire and made great struggles to modernize the country that is to westernize it. Atatürk rejected the Islamic past of the country and brought Turkey into a fragmented country (Huntington, 2011: 98).

The elites of Turkey supported this overwhelming majority of the change of identity, and the public, whether reluctant or not, gave their consent. While the problem was hanging on balance, anti-Western sensitivities among the people revived the Islamic revival in Turkey, and they began to flaunt the secularist, pro-Western tendencies of the Turkish elite. The obstacles to Turkey being fully European, the limitations of the ability of the former Soviet Republics to play a leadership role among the Turkic Republics and the rise of Islamic tendencies that erode Atatürk's heritage seem to guarantee that Turkey will continue to be a divided country (Huntington, 2011: 214).

According to Huntington, in order to get Turkey out of a divided state, it must be the core state of Islam. Turkey has the necessary tribe to become the core state of Islam, the population, the national unity of a medium level economic development, military talent and tradition. Come to think of it, Atatürk's definition of Turkey as a secular society clearly prevented the Turkish Republic from taking over this role from the Ottoman Empire. As long as Turkey defines itself as a secular country, there is no possibility of undermining Islam's leadership (Huntington, 2011: 263).

In secularism and democracy, Turkey, which has experienced the good and bad aspects of the West, may have won the leadership of Islam. But he has to reject Atatürk's legacy to do that. At the same time, a leader in the Atatürk caliber of such a move requires a leader who has gathered itself the political and religious legitimacy necessary to make Turkey a divided country from a divided country and become a core state (Huntington, 2011: 264).

According to Huntington, "non-Western societies can be modernized and many non-Western countries have modernized without abandoning their Western culture, their institutions and practices, and all Western values (Huntington, 2011: 105).

#### **IV. Conclusion**

The Theory of Conflicts of Civilizations came into the agenda of the social sciences at the end of the 20th century. It is based on the theoretical approach that the principles of the universe are not universal and the assumption that the Islamic countries will develop to the extent that they reject the Enlightenment, which is regarded as a Western value. The principles which is conceptualized by Huntington as "Western" are secularism, democracy and the rule of law. Huntington considers these principles not merely of all mankind, but of "values unique to the West". Huntington considers these principles not merely of all mankind, but of "values unique to the West". So Huntington's view is that societies that embrace the principles of the Enlightenment are societies that abandon their traditional culture and try to imitate the West. However, the Turkish modernization movement has adopted Enlightenment as a universal value and regarded innovations such as secularism, nation state, and people's sovereignty as social necessity in order to sustain its existence. The socialization of these innovations is not the abandonment of traditional Islamic cultures. Contrary to Huntington's theoretical approach, the Turkish modernization movement does not destroy traditional culture; and to organize as a nation-state with the right to sovereignty over it. In accordance with this aim, the Turkish revolution has put its citizenship identity before ethnic and religious identities. Religious identities are left to the conscience of individuals. If the Turkish modernization movement had an aim to escape the traditional culture and import Western values as Huntington stated, the prohibition of religious worship peculiar to Muslims, the abolition of religious festivals and the opening of schools for spreading Christianity were necessary. All this shows that the sociological bases of "The Theory of Conflicts of Civilizations" are open to debate.

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