

From the Discourse of Nation to Islamic Ummah: Analysis of the Balcony Speech of Presidential Election in 2014 by means of Fairclough's Discourse Analysis

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Abstract: The sultanate of 623 years and the caliphate of 1292 years were abolished as a result of Kemalist revolution. Turkey was reconstructed as a Western type nation state and its official discourse was also reconstituted according to this ideal. On the other hand, any counter-discourse attempt was strictly prevented. Justice and Development Party (JDP) has become a turning point in the political experience of Turkey since 2001 when the party was established. It can be said that Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the founding general president of JDP, is the last and the most successful representative of this counter-discourse. The balcony speech Erdoğan made after his triumph in the presidential election which was held for the first time in Turkish history is a significant example the elements of this counter-discourse can be found. In this paper, the balcony speech of Erdoğan will be evaluated by means of Fairclough's discourse analysis which comprises three phases: text analysis, processing analysis and social analysis.

Keywords: Islamic Ummah, Nation, JDP, Presidential Election, Discourse Analysis, Balcony Speech.

Introduction

When one looks at the political history quickly, it is quite easy to fall into error that Republic of Turkey was a continuation of Ottoman Empire. Although, modern Turkey is geographically formed with Anatolia and Rumelia, the core of the Empire after the loss of territory, and taking over the military tradition and the existing bureaucratic system seem like a continuation of the Ottoman Empire, Atatürk's reforms was a rupture in the history that brought new state and society approach.

Via this reforms society transformed from the eastern despotic administration, as seen from the typical Western point of view, to the democratic governance to the extent permitted by the conditions of the period. Furthermore, instead of the Caliphate regime based on religious fraternity that did nothing and showed its weakness throughout First World War, the transformation to the nation-based state, which was very successful at that time at least in the West, has been sharply accomplished. In the establishment of new Republic period, in order to create and flourish the neglected feeling of nationality and loosened bonds between people, and to show that Turkish people are one of the leading nations in the history of mankind and have ancient tradition and of course have promising future certain scientific researches, though today they are controversial- were made by the directions of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. In order to achieve the aims of this new Turkish nation discourse and to establish new ground for the people who has been fatigue from

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last long war number of theories such as Turkish History Thesis which later lost its popularity and Sun Language Theory which is completely abandoned today have been proposed.

“History thesis was able to achieve its aims to a limited extent; Turks started to feel a new sense of success due to their nation’s success in history and they began proud to be Turk while, the term Turkish only fifty years ago were used to refer nomadic or peasants by the inhabitants of the Empire” (Mardin, 1998:69).

Atatürk insistently refused religious concepts and even Arabic and Arabic letters, in the book Civil information which prepared by Afet İnan via the instruction of Atatürk, Islam which is the fundamental to the laws prevailing in the country a few decades ago presented the cause of the underdevelopment of Turks. Moreover, Islam accepted as object of sociology and history instead of a belief system that government subject to. Atatürk’s words, known by everyone, “true mentor in life is science” and “ the Republic of Turkey cannot be a home of sheikhs, dervishes, disciples and deranged people. The most accurate, most genuine cult is the cult of civilization” present the most unshakable principles of himself and the framework of the new Republic. According to this framework, Islam as a value system cannot find a place in the formation of social sphere and as well administration via its rules. In fact, Atatürk’s open speech of Grand National Assembly of Turkey of V. Period, 3. Legislative Year, said that “it has been accepted in the world that our main program of the administration is the Republican People’s Party program. The principles covered in this program are enlightening us in the governance and politics. However, these principles should never be account with the dogmas of the book thought to be come from the sky. We are not taking our inspirations from the sky and the invisible world but we have received them directly from the material world and life”. (Millet Meclisi Tutanak Dergisi, 1937) Those sentences also show the new reference points of the new state. The religious discourse that based on the idea of Ummah which stands together with the ‘Grace of God’ and under the guidance Qur’an is ended, and now there is only the nation and his future will be created with people’s own hands with the realistic attitudes that were inspired by life itself.

Thus, in the periods of Atatürk and after a long time, modern Turkey never returned to the Ummah discourse, the main thesis of new Republic was established on the concept of Turkish nation that discovered from the depths of the history. During this period of time, the Ottoman Empire was seen as a monarchy holding power for many years and dominated nation; whereas, it was thought that pan-Islamism destroyed the feelings of nationalism. In the Justice and Development Party period, especially the election victory speeches are framed by persistently religious concepts, and the names of cities, which seen as the legacy of the Ottoman Empire and now are the parts of the other countries, mentioned in relation the results of the election, Turkey seemed to switch into a great political discourse. Recep Tayyip Erdoğan who is described as the “voice of the Ummah” (Habertürk, 2016) by Justice and Development Party deputy Mustafa Ataş, is the architect of this shift in the discourse. In this context, in this article balcony speech made by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan after the presidential election, the biggest victory of his career, will be analyzed.

Method

During the analysis of balcony speech, the discourse analysis method of Teun A. Van Dijk ,one of the featured names in the critical discourse analysis field, is not preferred since, operational features of headlines, sub-headlines, news entries and spotlights and ideological data tracing within the structure of news should be analyzed. Since there is no title, subtitle and so on in the balcony speech, during the analysis Fairclough’s Critical Discourse Analysis method is used, because “Fairclough built his approach on critical linguistics and conceptualization of discourse as language is the center of this approach and he does not concentrate on news” (Doruk, 2013:108). Fairclough’s three-stage model

that will be presented in the following section and widely used to analyze texts will be also applied to this analyses as possible.

Discourse and Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis

According to the Turkish Language Institution Dictionary discourse refers to "1. Articulation, pronunciation, phraseology, 2. Stereotypes, and stereotypical word, phrase, 3. Any thesis that consisting of one or several sentences, have a beginning and an end". The origin of the word discourse is the Latin word *discursus* and lots of words that refers to the discourse in European language derived from this Latin word. When the dictionary meaning of the word is examined "...conversation of people with each other, exchange of information, correspondence and chatting is one of the meaning of this word. Although, THE concept also refers to speeches, oration and sermons" (Özdemir, 2001: 109), in social sciences the word discourse get more diverse and many different meanings. According to Professor Dr. Sözen, discourse has a broader meaning and the phrases in our everyday speeches and even those seem meaningless could make sense when we considered in as discourse. To not telling that you already know, expressions such as used to hide something or pretending are make no sense when they are evaluated in themselves, but they make sense when we evaluate in a discourse (Sözen, 1999:13).

Discourse as for Foucault is a concept that is directly related with power and produced by means such as prohibition, true-false game. The relation between power and discourse, according to Foucault, through the process of subjectivation power initiates discourse and strength it to continue. Today the most important political issue is "a kind of individuality or identity that imposed from the outside with imposed customization format" (Foucault, 2012:13) and should it be rejected, in this sense, Foucault explains that the purpose of all his works is to write the history of subjectivation of people lived in Western culture (Foucault, 2012:13). This history is also the history of transformative effects on the subjects of discourse, produced by power. Because, through the discourses, power produce the truth about subjects and shape them and via this huge knowledge networks power can ensure the internalization of its existence. Actually, discourse generation mechanism of power is founded on the basis of this process and this process initiates via "bringing anything into the true-false game and constructing them as an object of thought (in the formation of moral considerations, or scientific knowledge, or political analysis) and it is a practical whole consists of discursive and non-discursive practices" (Foucault, 2014:13). Therefore, power does not continue to produce itself via simple repression and government practices but according to Foucault it produces itself through producing discourse.

Thus, from this point of view, discourse is not the content of the message, via the question of "who says" signifies the author, and the question of "on what basis" shows the authority, via the question of "who is the receiver" reveals the audiences and with the question of "what is the reason of the sender in this message" finds out the purpose, hence discourse covers all the aspects of a message. However, discourse also encapsulates all the knowledge and opinions about the relations within the certain group of people and their views on the other people in a certain time of periods (Çelik and Ekşi, 2008; 100). Nevertheless, discourse is of course not limited to only the ideas of certain group of people on other groups. Even more significantly, it is important to grasp how discourse positioned itself within the network of the reproduction of power, and by how it strengthens the power or how it led to initiate certain problematization process in favor of certain power webs. Discourse that comes into prominence in terms of power webs which established via subjectification of population is "a meta-action and it is a process related to language practices that turns into action via the exchange of force, force, ideology, knowledge, dialogue, narration, statement style, and negotiation." (Sözen, 1999: 13) Since, discourse is directly related with political life it could not possible to consider discourse independent of ideology. Ideologies emerge directly as a result of the process of the creation of discourse, because "ideology is not matter of language but discourse. Ideology is using language to create specific and actual effects within particular human subjects" (Solak, 2011:2).

Normal Fairclough, retired as a professor of linguistics at Lancaster University, developed discourse analysis method and via this method, he aims to uncover the relations between languages and power and ideology. According to him "...discourse is the arena." (Yüksel, 2014: 31) Because it is shaped by social struggle and comes into being. Unlike Van Dijk, "Fairclough centered his approach on the conceptualization of the language, and built it on critical linguistics and does not concentrate on news." (Doruk, 2013: 108).

Fairclough approaches to critical discourse analyses as a three-step process. The first stage is a text description that mostly consists of the examining the formal features of text. The aim of this stage is to reveal the world experiences that beneath of the selected words and structure of the sentences and intention of the producers of the text. And to make an inquiry about the ideological ground of the text and if so, revealing the ideological pattern pointed by the text. Fairclough talking about certain questions that should be asked by researchers during the examination of the text. Parts of these questions are prepared in relation to the vocabulary, other parts are prepared for grammar and the other part is prepared for textual structure.

The questions about vocabulary, in general context, are related with words in the discussed text, in what purpose they are used, choice of words and the syntax, and hence revealing that whether synonyms and antonyms are used to establish ideological relations; text approaches to the controversial words, the usage style of the formal and informal words and metaphors and so forth. (Yüksel, 2014: 38). The prepared questions regarding the grammar have some more technical content. Via these questions content of the subject, the structure of effectiveness-passivity of sentence, the organizational form of the cause-effect relationships in sentence, tense, pronouns, mode of the author (for example, whether author has authoritarian voice or not) mode of the claims and probabilities, positive or negative structure of sentence, harmony or disharmony between sentences are examined and further the accepted ideas are tried to call into question. (Yüksel, 2014: 38). In the third section that related with textual structure, the relationship between the text and social interaction is tried to be revealed.

Second phase of Fairclough critical discourse analysis is briefly an interpretation phase which examining the interaction of the discourse with other discourses. At this stage, the interaction between the discourse and the former ones and the connections between them will be analyzed. Hence, this part of the analysis, the world experience of the text which compatible with and its relation with the discourse is discussed. According to Yüksel, this step of the analyses based on the idea that producers of text assume certain MR's (members' recourses) while they produce their texts, and hence they determined to accept that certain ideological MR's (Yüksel, 2014: 39). Hence, the second stage of the analysis, actually, concentrates on the practical sense of the discourse in regard to the questioning of the production and consumption of texts. Consequently, the interpretation step is "actualized through the combination of the materials of text and readers, and the dialectical interaction occurs between the clues in the text and MR's of the interpreters within this step." (Yüksel, 2014: 40).

The third and final step of the discourse method analysis is the context analysis which analyses the context that the discourse flourished and so this step is also referred as the statement stage. In this stage, the text and hence the producers of discourse and their positioning themselves towards other, and their representation about themselves is examined. The objective purpose here is to demonstrate that "...discourse is a social practice, as a part of the social process it is determined by social structure and it has effects to reproduce these social structures." (Yüksel, 2014: 41). As a result, in this step, the relationships between the producers of text and the social whole within which these producers are living and their positions and ideological attitude toward these social structure is decoded.

Fairclough gives great importance to the social aspect and social impact of discourse, recognizing the historical ties and ideological relations within which discourse comes into existence, evaluates it as media between society and text. Recognizing discourse as a form of social action, Fairclough argues that it forms society and culture. Since, power determines the limits of action and social understanding via the determining meaning of

worlds within the discourse; Fairclough's insisting on the importance of the social aspects arguments is significance. Rulers are also aware of the power of the discourse and they are trying to transform social reality through discourse. "Sovereign power tries to change discursive practices via top-down interventions, and desire to be hegemonic power and hence wish to guide the great social and cultural changes." (Yüksel, 2014: 33) Thus, it is understood that the aim of the discourse analysis is decoding to meta-message that goes beyond the last meaning of the words in texts and to expose the upper reality which implied by the correlation of syntax via words choices.

August 10, 2014 Presidential Election and Its Importance in Turkish History

In the referendum conducted in October 21, 2007 the constitutional provision about election of president in Turkey has been changed, until that time president elected by Grand National Assembly of Turkey, and in 2014 for the first time, president of Turkey was elected by the people. Since, the changed article also contained to reduce term of office of president seven years to five years, and this amendment was occurred during the mission of the 11th President Abdullah Gül, the debate about whether this amendment will be applied to him or not became one of the biggest question all over the country and the chair have become controversial. However, the Constitutional Court has examined the situation and decided that 11th President Abdullah Gül's tenure is 7 years. (NTV, 2012).

As closer the date of the election of presidency and when the election marathon started in accordance with the article political parties started to the process of determining their own candidates. Since in order to be a presidential nomination written propels of at least twenty deputies is required, citizens who are outside of Assembly unable to enter nomination struggle. In this context, the Republican People's Party and the Nationalist Movement Party leaders made a press release in the Assembly and announced Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu as a joint presidential candidate, thus they thought that İhsanoğlu would see interest in Justice and Development Party's grassroots. While the Justice and Development Party's presidential candidate was Tayyip Erdoğan, the candidate of the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) was Selahattin Demirtaş, the co-chairman of PDP. According to the statement made by Supreme Election Board, if in the first ballot an absolute majority of valid votes cannot be received by any candidate, re-voting will be held in the following second Sunday and two candidate who took most of the votes in the first election will participate this election and the candidate who receives a majority of valid votes will be elected as a President.

According to the results announced by the Supreme Election Board on the election was held on August 10, 2015 Justice and Development Party's candidate Recep Tayyip Erdoğan took 21 million 143 of 40 million 545 thousands of votes, 51.79% percentages of votes, became the 12th President of Republic of Turkey without having to a second round. While the joint candidate Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu took 15 million 587 thousands 720 of valid votes, %38.44, the Peoples' Democratic Party candidate Selahattin Demirtaş took 3 million 958 thousands 48 votes, and it refers to %9.67 of total votes. (YSK, 2014)

Due to the article of the constitution that candidates of presidency should disconnect their relations with any political parties, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan resigned from Justice and Development Party in the election process and Minister of Foreign Affairs Prof. Dr. Ahmet Davutoğlu was selected as party leader.

First Stage: Analyzing Balcony Speech

Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's balcony speech analysis in this text will be based on Fairclough's three-step Critical Discourse Analysis Method. However, in order to determine the nature of the exclusive parts of the speech without departing from the essence of the analysis, there will be certain arrangement in the analysis. Since, every speech has a different structure in itself and also animates different dynamics on readers/listeners, all the details of the analysis method cannot be applied to any text. In this context, first, the themes that are used mostly during the conversation will be

discussed, especially the ones that evoke Ottoman and Islamic associations, and so via this associations we will try to trace the trajectory of ideological patterns of the speech. Then, after the briefly questioned sentences according to grammatical features, and identification of the passivity or active sentences, mode and pronouns used in these sentences, we will uncover the ideological stance that reflected to the statement of the author of the discourse.

The Theme of Islamic References

“I am supplicating to my Lord that the election of the presidential by popular vote that took place for the first time in the history of our Republic would be beneficial to our country, our nation and to all the friendly and brotherly countries.”

“Here, I want to thank again to my brothers and sisters who pray for us live in all over the country.”

“Thank you to those people who sent the blessing from the friendly and brotherly countries, especially to the people from United States to Australia, from Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Germany and Japan who pray for Turkey and ‘nation’s candidate’, thank you all!”

“Brothers, today not only Turkey but also Baghdad, Islamabad, Kabul, Beirut, Sarajevo, Skopje have gained. Today, Damascus, Aleppo, Hama, Homs, today Ramallah, Nablus, Jericho, Gaza and Jerusalem have won.”

“My brothers, my cherished Nation! When my candidacy was announced for the first time in July, we said that it is a Fatiha. Yes, today is a happy Fatiha for Turkey and on behalf of our nation, it means, we realize the holly opening all together.”

“Today the advice of Sheikh Edebali that “let the nation live so that your state stays alive” has been manifested in the strict sense.”

“My brothers, we have established the Justice and Development Party 13 years ago, I can’t thank enough my Lord enough, we entered into 9 election and victories have come from each of the 9 elections.”

“Now, Thank Allah, our Central Bank has 133 billion dollars in the safe.”

“Today, inşallah, is the day to make this accounting, is the day to forget all resentments.”

“It is unworthy to string along with curse and who curse us. Oh my brothers, in the world where Hazrat Umar is questioned no one is unquestionable, including me, myself. Nobody perfect, flawless, is not innocent.”

“The star of the State and the nation is, alleluia, is much brighter than yesterday. First and foremost, I am infinitely praising once more to my Lord to carry us today. “

I extend my gratitude to my brothers who silently pray for us on the rug, mosques, and their houses”.

“I say, let send a Fatiha all together to my brother Murat Göğebakan who went to Kingdom come. During the election campaign there were young brothers who have lost their earthly life, send them a Fatiha, and will send a Fatiha to our matrys.”

“I thank for the prayers of the oppressed in Gaza. I thank for prayers of Syrians oppressed, I thank the refugees. İnşallah, we will begin to transfer our injured brothers in Gaza to Turkey. I hope we get them treated in our hospital here. May Lord give them healing.”

“I am remembering with deeply feelings our veterans and all the martyrs who give us this land, this country and the flag as a sacred trust.”

“My Lord will help us and be with us in this blessed journey. I always pray to God, please Lord, Do not embarrass us, My Lord protect our country, our nation, our brothers, our friends, bless humanity.”

“God bless you Turkey.”

“Our election be blessed, our new Turkey be blessed, God will help and protect us.”

The interesting and most prominent theme for our study is the emphasis of Islamic theme in Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s victory speech. Erdoğan who started his political career as a

Beyoğlu Youth Branches head of in 1975 and since then he continued be in executive positions in various Islamic parties and his political life has been shaped by Islamic political motives. Erdoğan has been worked with Necmettin Erbakan who was one of the Islamic-leaders in Turkish political history and his own political line is also influenced by the requirements of Islam, and his discourse was formed with the emphasis on Islamic rhetoric.

In this text, the expressions such as “insallah”, “Alhamdulillah” and as well as certain prayers are outstanding during the presidential election speeches. When he indicates that the Central Bank has more money than ever in its safe, he used the expression “hamd olsun” (thank God), and he used the expression of “Alhamdulillah” when he asserted that the star of the state and the nation is brighter than yesterday and thanked to prayers, all of them are evidences that Islamic themes occupies enormous place in his speech. Erdoğan defined the July 1, the day which his candidacy was announced, as a “blessed Fatiha on behalf of Turkey and our nation”. Since, the Sura of Fatiha is the opening Sura of the Qur’an and via refereeing the Fatiha, he declared that his presidential candidacy is the opening of a new page in the political history of Turkey.

Likewise, it is important to highlight that after having said that Turkey is not the winner of the election results, all of the cities Erdoğan mentioned are Islamic cities. Erdoğan’s greetings to the cities of Baghdad, Islamabad, Kabul, Sarejevo, Skopje, Damascus, Aleppo, Hama, Homs, Ramallah, Nablus, Jericho, Gaza and Jerusalem and declaration that those cities are also the winner of the election is not arbitrary and the selection of these cities refers certain ideological grounds, because all of these cities are considered as Islamic cities. Claiming that the victory which could only be related with Turkey is the victory of certain cities that outside the borders of Turkey and all of them are Islamic cities refers to the Ummah discourse of New Turkey.

Second Step: Interaction Analysis

Discourse in this section will be discussed in relation to other discourses and the position of the text via its answer to other discourses and its interaction with them will be analyzed. The prominent emphasis of the national will in Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s rhetoric is actually not a victory reference made to results of election. The precise cause of permanent use of this theme seems to be related with the claims of “being oppressed and victimized” that always dominant theme since the beginning of Erdoğan’s political life and this claim seems to hold certain place in his subconscious.

Presentation of the theme of the national will through the closure of the parties- which Erdoğan was either a member of them or leader of - and political bans actually national will refers to the victories against the “old order” which was mostly labeled as tutelage in Erdoğan’s New Turkey discourse. In this sense, especially this discourse emerged strongly during the first presidential election voted by people, and then this discourse has been spread into the belief that people’s real needs manifested and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan seen as the architect of this transformation. Hence, the established discourse seems to respond the official Kemalist ideology and its other add-ons discourses

The discourse that generated in balcony speech after the elections is also interacting with Islamic and conservative-nationalist discourse that formed the Justice and Development Party alignments. In many details of speech, Erdoğan refers this discourse and strengthen its networks with various references. For instance, during the balcony speech, the names of the cities mentioned which was declared as the winner of the election results is remarkable, Damascus, Ramallah, Nablus, Jerusalem and region such as the Middle East, the Caucasus and Balkans has a Muslim majority population and they are former Ottoman territories. Thus, Erdoğan asserts that his victory and ruling national will in Turkey actually affected the whole former territory of Ottoman Empire and even Islamic world and so he uses the rhetoric that New Turkey is the renewed Ottoman Empire in terms of power and influence as a supporting element. Therefore, positioning his discourse in the line of Ottoman tradition that mostly appropriated by nationalists he creates over-discourse. This Ummah-based discourse is the new ideal of New Turkey. The motif that

dominates the essence of all speech is strong established interaction with traditional religious discourse.

Step Three: Context Analysis

At this stage, the context of the discourse within which it is produced and presented to the consumption of the masses will be examined. The discourse revealed Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's balcony speeches is emerged from political struggle in the political field which based on multi-party parliamentary democratic system and competition between those political parties. As a result of this, the elements of the discourse are interacting with other discourses and have variety of responses and counter discourses against these discourses. However, the strengthening of the confidence and stability with reference to the past activities of the Party provides the emergence of a discourse based on the formation of the new Turkey to come.

Choosing a balcony and a square in front of it where the victory speech is performed by Erdoğan and making this balcony speech a tradition in Turkish political history is very important for the third part of the analysis. Due to the architecture of the balcony and its effects on the discourse and performances is discussed earlier in the study. Choosing a balcony where to produce victory speech is very suitable; when Erdoğan's conservative Islamic-based discourse is considered. Because, Islam advocates the divine understanding that believers should consistently commit themselves to the hierarchical authority and order. Likewise, the father image in traditional Anatolian culture based on Islamic motifs, though not physically, appears as an ancestral figure who always holding the phallic power in the power network established by family ties, and his words always received as an order from above. Thus, producing the discourse that always asserted as a new/constituent by Erdoğan himself in a balcony is quite convenient with the context within which the discourse is emerged.

Conclusion

The history of the Republic of Turkey is the history of pendulum which oscillating rapidly between the East represented by Islam that trying to show itself in the political arena and West that preventing the Islamic East and follows the steps of the Western modernization. With serious of revolutions that Mustafa Kemal Atatürk performed important steps have been taken towards Westernization, the relations with Islam which represents the East and its political system was ruptured. However, the oppression of Islamic opposition in the most severe forms and not permitting to reveal their thesis in public sphere has severely suppressed Islamic East. This suppression, however, has prepared to the grounds for the revealing the one of the fundamental principles of individual psychology "return of the repressed" in political history.

If the few pointless attempts of anti-democratic organizations do not counted, the Islamic movement has been moved in democratic paths in Turkey, and this movement found a place in Free Republican Party and Progressive Republican Party in the period of Atatürk, and then they followed Menderes and Erbakan political movements. Progressive Republican Party and the Free Republican Party was essentially not established by Islamic oppositions, but, since there was no any Islamic parties in that time, Islamic movements directed towards these parties and began to threaten established regime and then these political parties have been closed. The Democratic Party which was a continuation movement of the second wing of the Young Turks who set the Progressive Republican Party and Free Republican Party has become the focus of Islamic Opposition under the chairman Adnan Menderes; however this process was suppressed by the military intervention and execution of Menderes. Then, the most important attempt was realized by Necmettin Erbakan, the founder of the political Islam, known as the National Opinion. Erbakan's political Islam movement is ended with military intervention in the Feb. 28 after fighting with a lot of party closure cases. The Justice and Development Party, formed in 2001, was established by people who do not participate the Felicity Party which was set by the Erbakan's movement after the closure of the Virtue Party.

Justice and Development Party seen as the last ring of the Islamic opposition chain which firmly silenced in the period of Atatürk in Turkey also faced a closure case, and in April 27, 2007 Party has faced with the power of the military as a guardian of secularism through Chief of Staff's Statement referred as "e-memorandum". However, some of the advantages brought by the party leadership's attitude and time kept party in democratic path and as well as have prevented the military intervention. For this reason, the Justice and Development Party movement may be considered as a successful turn back to the Islamic opposition which is suppressed since the beginning of the Republic.

The discourse reflected in Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's speech and dealt with in this study is gaining importance in this context. In Atatürk era, the idea of the nation state is founded and the discourse of the Ummah was annihilated in order to erase the traces of the Ottoman ideology that governed by sultans who at the same time seen as caliphs of Islam. But nowadays, Islamic opposition represented by the Justice and Development Party stressed the importance of moving to the Ummah discourse as against the Nation and this transition shows itself particularly in the election victory speeches. Since, election victories are nothing but the shows of strength for the parties and they are the channels where parties express their views in the clearest manner, in this study we analyzed Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's balcony speech.

Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's presidency, as seen in the balcony speech and his speeches which mark the transition from the discourse of the nation to the Ummah discourse outline exactly the political shift occurred in Turkey. Islamic cities that is shown as the winner of the election results in Turkey, religion references and details such as using Arabic expressions pointed out that after the "rupture" from the so-called Ottoman heritage due to the discourse of Nation is shifted again to the Ummah discourse. The Future developments will show whether this change of the discourse is the principal decision of Turkey, an unstable country according to Huntington which is divided between Islam and Western civilization in his Clash of Civilization thesis, or not.

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