

CONSERVATIVE AND RELIGIOUSLY ORIENTED BUSINESSMEN ASSOCIATIONS IN TURKEY AS NORM DIFFUSER ACTORS: THE CASE OF MÜSİAD

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Abstract

The European integration is an on-going and dynamic process that affects the actors' identities, preferences, and interests. In this sense, Turkey's extended EU accession process has been one through which policy preferences have been redefined, and national as well as international actors have reshaped their own social, political, and economic circumstances in line with mutual relations. Through this process of reciprocal interaction, identities and interests have been reconsidered and transformed. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) representing the business world are among the actors that reflect such a transformation most evidently. These business associations differ to the extent that they are able to influence, or are themselves influenced, by government, the EU, and society. These associations have not only been developing their identities and interests in relation to a composite framework, including most importantly the state and societal factors, but also serving as norm diffusers, therefore raising the proposition that they are solely oriented towards business representation. In this paper, the Independent Industrialists and Businessmen Association (MÜSİAD) as an NGO that represents the interests of the Turkish conservative and religiously-oriented businessmen is analysed under the framework of Turkey-EU relations.

INTRODUCTION

Since the 1980s, the visibility of civil society organizations has intensified as a result of increasing globalization and neoliberalism all around the world. Correspondingly, the number of academic experts and policy agents measuring the effects of non-state actors and their national and international roles has gradually increased. Issues such as national, international, and cultural identity, norms, and ethics, as well as power, the use of power, security, and state centricity have galvanized. During this process, on-governmental organizations (NGOs) as an important part of civil society have begun to be recognized as one of the most important actors disseminating norms. One of the recently visible

actors effecting transformations throughout communities is the growing number of associations of businessmen that represent the interests and ideas of the owners of small, medium, and large companies. Conversely, the evaluation of the role of business associations effecting this social change, particularly how they perceive these norms in line with their identities and their benefits and how they try to spread these norms in society, is a subject on which few academic studies have been conducted.

In recent years, norms have been interpreted from a theoretical and empirical point of view, as have been social facts, such as identity, interests, language, social interaction, and inter subjective meaning. Norms, which constitute a basis for the inter-subjective approach¹, are of great importance to anyone who wishes to understand the politics that incorporate meaningful action and normative questions (Zehfuss, 2002, p.19). According to Finnemore and Sikkink (1998), a norm is “a standard of appropriate behaviour for actors with a given identity” (p.891). Another definition implies that norms are common expectations concerning proper attitudes for a certain identity (Jepperson, Wendt and Katzenstein, 1996, p. 54). Even though international and regional norms are important steps toward standardising the attitudes of states, local norms have begun to interlace with international norms since the 1980s. Moreover, international norms often influence and/or develop internal structures and social norms at the domestic level (Finnemore&Sikkink, 1998, p. 893). In this sense Turkey's 50 year-long EU accession process can be seen as a good example of how these international norms can influence domestic norms and structures because this protracted accession period has been one through which policy preferences have been redefined, and national as well as international actors, have reshaped their own social, political, and economic circumstances in line with mutual relations.

Various actors' identities, preferences, and interests have been affected during Turkey's EU membership process. Turkey's effort to become a member of the EU is of vital importance in this period of dynamic transformation, as efforts undertaken to prepare Turkey for EU harmonization have affected all walks of life in the country to a great extent. Included in this transformation, businessmen's associations have also assimilated these norms to change other actors and parts of society at the national and international level. Some of these associations, composed of conservative and Islamically-oriented members, support the EU membership of Turkey, while others oppose it. In this context, the issue of how NGOs that represent the Islamic and conservative business world in the country affect society and government, and how those institutions themselves are affected by the EU accession process, is of significant importance. In Turkey there are NGOs that represent the Islamic/conservative bourgeoisie such as ASKON (Anatolian Lions Businessmen and Industrialists Association), established in 1998²; TUSKON (Businessmen and Industrialists Confederation of Turkey), founded in 2005³; TÜMSİAD (All Industrialists and Businessmen Association); and HAK-İŞ⁴ are some of these

associations.⁵ In this work, MÜSİAD is selected as a case study based upon both its ideology and its increasing influence in Turkish politics and society.

INDEPENDENT INDUSTRIALISTS AND BUSINESSMEN'S ASSOCIATION (MÜSİAD)

Founded in 1990, MÜSİAD sees Islam as a basis for cooperation and solidarity on national and international levels, and as a tool for secure market and investment sources. (Buğra, 1998, p. 528). The association is comprised of owners of mostly small and medium-sized companies that insist upon a free market economy with minimal state intervention. It characterizes itself as “a platform of change-dialogue-cooperation, and coalition” (MÜSİAD, 2002, p.5) where the members can make themselves heard and express their common personal, organizational, sectorial, cultural, and social development needs and concerns.

THE FOUNDATION AND STRUCTURE OF MÜSİAD AND ITS EVER INCREASING SIGNIFICANCE AS A NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION

Medium and small-sized enterprises, which increased in number after neoliberal economic policies in Turkey were put into practice in the aftermath of 1980, began to gather under the umbrella of MÜSİAD soon after it was founded in 1990.⁶ As a result of the neo-liberalization movement, some of these Anatolian companies performed so well that they were hailed as “Anatolian Tigers” or “Anatolian Lions.”⁷

It is important to note that MÜSİAD was established as a separate body instead of taking part in the organization of Turkish Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges (TOBB) in which most small and middle-sized enterprises are represented. There are two main reasons for such a step. First, a company had to participate in bodies such as councils of trade or industry chambers to gain an effective position in the administration of TOBB, and it was difficult for members of MÜSİAD to take part in such bodies in those founding years because the company was still in its formative years (Uğur&Alkan, 2000, p.140). Another important reason is that MÜSİAD members found it difficult to create and develop their own identities based on conservative and Islamic values in an organization where a large number of businessmen with different political tendencies and cultural backgrounds were represented. In other words, an organization based on the ideal and ideological line in compliance with the fundamental background of these conservative and religiously-oriented businessmen could be established only in a separate organization.

MÜSİAD also tried to make a different synthesis from Turkish Industry and Business Association (TÜSİAD), which represents the big and powerful business interests with a

secular worldview and urges the government to adopt a more traditional Western orientation including the membership in the EU, by combining conservative values with Western norms. It acted with the rhetoric from the grassroots by emphasizing conservative, religious, and cultural values and by differing from TÜSIAD, which was criticized because of looking down society and having an elitist approach. MÜSİAD positions itself as opposite to TÜSIAD which defines itself economic elitism and it bases this opposition on social values. While TÜSIAD shaped its identity by focusing on more elitist, secular, and Western values, MÜSİAD preferred to act with more traditional values by emphasizing conservatism in society.

Although most of the general public interpret “MÜ” in MÜSİAD as Müslüman (Muslim), its original meaning was intended as Müstakil (independent). Nevertheless, some authors assert that “MÜ” in MÜSİAD reflects its tendency to “mütedeyyin” (conservative religious) business world (Vorhoff, 2001, p. 326). Ömer Vardan, a former president in the organization, says that it is wrong to interpret this affix as Müslüman (Muslim) because such an interpretation might give the impression that other businessmen aren’t Muslims (Vardan, 2012, p. 66).

MÜSİAD membership increased dramatically between 1990 and 1997. However, in the aftermath of the events of the 28th of February 1997, when the National Security Council (NSC) identified the islamist party as a threat to Kemalism, MÜSİAD’s membership dropped from 2900 to 2300 (Yankaya, 2012, p. 30). In spite of this, MÜSİAD’s economic power increased, and the organization was able to regain its social image once the political climate changed and the AK Party became the ruling party. Data provided by the Chamber of Industry of İstanbul (ISO) demonstrates this development of Islamically-oriented capital in the 2000s. The number of MÜSİAD members on the list of 500 most economically successful companies identified by the ISO was eight in 1990, while the number of MÜSİAD member companies on the same list increased to 31 in 2009 (Çağlar, 2013). Most of the MÜSİAD members on this list achieved their considerable growth rates in fields such as construction, textile, media, and food sectors, and are located not only in Anatolia, but throughout Turkey. Notwithstanding, large-scale companies are mostly located in İstanbul, Ankara, Konya, İzmir, and Kayseri. When we look at the geographic distribution of these firms, we can’t say that the association represents the “periphery” in an exact manner.

PROFILE OF THE MEMBERS AND STRUCTURE OF MÜSİAD

MÜSİAD is comprised of conservative members who emanate mostly from rural areas in Turkey. Member enterprises are involved in import and export activities in Europe, Central Asia, the Middle East, and Northern Africa, and occupy an ever-increasing presence in international markets day by day. The Head Office is located in İstanbul, and organized in branches and contact points that reside in almost every part of Turkey. The

association featured 78 contact points in Turkey and five representatives abroad by the end of 2014.⁸ These numbers demonstrate the importance MÜSİAD attaches to its members and organizational structure.

MÜSİAD membership has more than tripled since the events of 1997, increasing to 8000 by the end of 2014. Active in almost every sector of the country, MÜSİAD members are positioned to produce roughly 20 % of the Turkish GNP by the end of 2014. Although foreign trade has shown signs of increasing, especially, in recent years in terms of neighbour countries, the trade activity and industrial production realised by MÜSİAD members are, on a large scale, domestically market-oriented.

MÜSİAD member companies employ more than 1,600,000 Turkish workers (MÜSİAD, 20 November 2014). In an effort to create a profile more closely aligned with the common public, MÜSİAD provides services especially for the needs of the emerging middle class, and enhances its relations with businessmen of the Anatolian origin by organizing forums, fairs, and conferences (Vorhoff, 2001, p. 336). There are commissions within the association that work actively for the organization of such activities. An ever-increasing number of overseas trips provides opportunities for members to get to know each other and open up to the world.

MÜSİAD also places significant importance on communication with its members. For this purpose, meetings are organized with new members, and members come together in traditional programs during feast days and holidays. Various kinds of face-to-face and e-learning courses on language and foreign trade are organized for members as well. A handbook exclusive to member companies has even been prepared (MÜSİAD, 2002). While implementing these activities, MÜSİAD tries to gain an understanding of the expectations of its members. All these works distinctly demonstrate the significance that MÜSİAD attaches to moving forward in solidarity with its members. The slogan “the importance of a joint growth” and the statement of Ömer Bolat (2013), the former president of MÜSİAD, that “The more we grow, the more Turkey grows; the more Turkey grows, the more we grow,” is another sign demonstrating this intention. As a result of maintaining closer relations with its members, MÜSİAD becomes skilful in exercising influence in society and spreading its ideas more rapidly.

RELIGION, ECONOMY, AND ETHIC UNDERSTANDING OF MÜSİAD MEMBERS

Religious elements play an important role in defining MÜSİAD’s identity, providing voice to values such as “family, social harmony, and national identity.” (Yarar, 1994) MÜSİAD attaches importance to these values in an explicit way in various platforms.⁹ The slogan “High Morality-High Technology”(Vardan, 2012, p. 69) is a reflection of the importance accorded moral values by the association. MÜSİAD emphasizes that morality

is not limited to culture, but is also of significance in terms of economic development. As an association of businessmen, MÜSİAD identifies economic and technological issues as no less important than cultural and ethical ones.

On the other hand, MÜSİAD also has tried to create a synthesis of business and moral values by combining modern business acumen with traditional Islamic conservative values (MÜSİAD, 1994). The association defines its members as “Homo Islamicus,” meaning a person who “earns well and doesn’t waste his money,” and avoids the use of interest except in obligatory cases and only to keep pace with the inflation rate. MÜSİAD embraces the Prophet Muhammed as a guide on one hand, but doesn’t ignore free market principles on the other. While the Prophet Muhammed is emphasized as the ideal guide, the free market system is praised as well (Yavuz, 2003, p. 93). The ideal human being is envisaged as one who can keep religious, political, social, and economic values alive in a decentralised political structure far from state intervention (Alpman, 2012, p. 42). The Islamic approach is an important consideration for MÜSİAD in solving economic problems, and even in overcoming economic crises; and it is of great significance in raising the awareness of being “Human of Islam” (MÜSİAD, December 1994). The association also supports the idea that earning a great deal of money poses no problem, from an Islamic point of view, by espousing sayings such as “the man who strives becomes rich; the rich who is thankful becomes man” and “Allah gives to those to whom he wishes” (Özel, 1994, p.13).

THE AK PARTY GOVERNMENT, “NEW TURKEY,” AND THE EU CONSENSUS

Founding its identity on the traditions of Islam and adopting its ideology in favour of “conservative democracy,” the Justice and Development Party (AK Party)¹⁰ won the elections in November 2002. Domestically, most people in Turkey welcomed the harmonization packages and legal changes enacted by the new government in its first three years in power. On the foreign front, the war in Iraq and the rising influence of political Islam and the anti-Western stance throughout the Middle East also contributed to its increasing popularity. During the elections of 2002, the issue of the EU was a matter of top priority. As a result, state-society relations were reformed to coincide with EU standards identifying democracy, human rights, and civil society. The general public, including corporate, medium, and small businessmen, supported the government during these years.

In comparison to previous parties, the AK Party has been successful in securing the organizational and social support of Turkey’s businessmen. The approach the government adopted, a “multi-faceted” and more “proactive” foreign policy, supported closer economic and social relations with neighboring and Muslim countries, providing incentives to both large and small-sized businessmen. The party explicitly placed more

emphasis on small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), thereby underlining social justice and conveying the impression that it would attach more importance to these issues compared with other parties (Keyman&Koyuncu, 2004, p. 129). As a result of the emphasis the AK Party had begun to place on non-western connections, the businessmen with Islamist leanings both began to acquire more power and realize the burgeoning economic opportunities in Muslim countries. This change in direction has resulted in the Islamic capital having won back its power lost after the events of 1997. The resulting uptrend, which has occurred parallel to the increasing relations with Muslim countries within the framework of the newly adopted foreign policy on the international level, paved the way for the rapid growth of MÜSİAD. The association welcomed the incentives granted to businessmen by the government to enhance economic relations with these countries, and some of the members have started to play active roles in Turkish politics in addition to their economic activities (Uğur&Alkan, 2000, p.140).

EU, NORMS, SOCIAL CHANGE, AND MÜSİAD

Judicial and legal reforms accepted and implemented in the EU accession process of Turkey, which have produced social, political, and economic changes in various fields, have also played a significant role in the change undergone by MÜSİAD. In contrast to the anti-West, anti-EU stance of its first years, MÜSİAD began to support EU membership for Turkey at the start of the 2000s, but only under certain conditions, promoting change in terms of popularizing, implementing, approving, and internalising mostly economical EU norms.

1990-1999: Pan-Islamism Versus Europe

Prior to 2000, MÜSİAD had maintained a strict anti-EU stance, expressing its views explicitly in its discourses by underlying the intercultural, religious, and social differences between the EU and Turkey while ignoring the economic and social advantages of membership. In its place, the association advocated for a new world perspective with Muslim communities in the forefront (Yarar, 1994, p. 1), and focused on the strengthening of relations with mostly Muslim countries.

Aiming at social and economic integration with Muslim countries in the Middle East and East Asia as an alternative to the EU, MÜSİAD prioritized the development of relations with the countries in these regions in its effort to embrace the Muslim world. By underlining religious and moral values since its foundation, MÜSİAD provided a roof under which conservative businessmen could come together. The fact that most of the businessmen in Anatolia adhere to conservative values was an important factor in the rapid development of the association. In this way, MÜSİAD provided a long desired organization type, thanks to the religious and moral values it adopted, and, at the same time, met the desire and the need of “being accepted and honoured” (Durak, 2012, 48-49) by a wide social segment in Anatolia.

The Period After 2000: The Beginning of Deliberate EU Support

Turkey's EU membership process entered into a more dynamic period after the Helsinki Summit in 1999. As the reform process in Turkey accelerated, and the declarations of the AK Party made during the elections in 2002, that it would give importance to EU accession, made it possible for many social segments in Turkey welcome a probable membership in the EU. MÜSİAD also began to soften its anti-EU discourses after the 1990s in order to avoid being excluded from the developments and the process (Ayhan&Sarioğlu, 2012, p. 136). Especially regarding economics, MÜSİAD believed that "Turkey was in need of the external anchor coaxial with the EU to maintain the dynamism of change captured after years," in spite of the fact that membership wouldn't be realized for some time, and accepted the effect the EU would have in transforming the country

The economic and political conditions imposed on Turkey in the EU integration process generated new insights and initiatives for MÜSİAD as well. The EU's mandate upholding freedom of religion, human rights, and rule of law, for instance, was interpreted positively by MÜSİAD. As a result, we see that MÜSİAD adopted a very positive stance towards EU membership, especially between 2000 and 2005. This stance was also reflected in the publications within the association during this period. The association spoke about the advantages that a membership in the EU would bring, and abandoned its strict anti-EU view of the formative years. It even began to regard intense relations with the EU as an obligation from geographical, socio-economic, and political points of view (MÜSİAD, 2004, p.6-7). Its desire for legitimacy in society, in other words, the social dimension, played an important role in the change the association underwent.

MÜSİAD has found itself at a critical juncture, as it was attempting to combine its conservative and Islamic-based values with Western values in order to achieve a more moderate stance. The protection of the cultural, religious, moral, and family values of the Turkish people has been the fundamental point MÜSİAD has expressed as a concern in the EU membership process (Buğra, 2002, p.187-204). For example, in 2004 it criticized the EU for its continual highlighting of the condition of minorities and minority languages, and declared that the EU needed instead to emphasize freedom of expression and religion as issues that needed to be addressed in Turkey (MÜSİAD, 2004, p. 11). Emphasizing especially cultural differences, MÜSİAD argued that the EU should be a union that does not impose Western, or any generic set of values on individual members, but one that emphasizes the importance of "a co-existence in differences" among cultures (MÜSİAD, p. 10). The association has been criticizing the EU for not being content with the reforms already realized in cultural matters, and expresses its concern that Turkey would be unrecognizable if so many additional cultural rights are to Kurds, Arabs, and Bosnians: "The commission report speaks of important restrictions in exercising cultural rights, diffusion of such rights by way of radio and TV and education in spite of

important reforms in realisation of diffusions in Kurdish, Arabic, and Bosnian. We are afraid that we will have difficulty in recognizing and defining the region we live in.... [T]he EU tries to find out 'new minorities' with its microscope and secretly encourages these minorities to diffuse and publish in their own languages."(MÜSIAD, p. 17).

MÜSIAD As a Norm Diffuser In Turkey's EU Membership Process And Democratization

Almost 10 years following its founding, MÜSIAD was substantially affected by domestic, social, and political dynamics in Turkey. As the negative stance towards the Islamic capital started to change after the AK Party government came to power and the EU accession process accelerated, the association decided to become more active domestically and internationally both in social and economic aspects. Interestingly, Turkey's efforts as a candidate country to fulfil the requirements of membership had direct and indirect effects on MÜSIAD. The EU's demands that Turkey realize more reforms in issues such as fundamental rights, democracy, and religious rights, and its calls to strengthen civil society organizations made it possible for MÜSIAD to reach wider social segments by co-opting these EU norms in both social and economic arenas.

During the 1980s, an export-oriented economy was encouraged instead of import substitution industrialization by adopting liberal economic policies. SMEs began to do business with various countries, and commercial activities especially in the European countries increased in the mid-1980s as a consequence. However, the European markets, compared with other markets, gained importance for MÜSIAD only after 2000 when they began to participate in international fairs in Europe and used the opportunity to cultivate many new firms by face-to-face talks with company owners and workers. In addition, trade relations with the European countries provided an expansion for MÜSIAD members to learn more about Western economic culture and ethics (Yankaya, 2009, p. 6).

Consolidating both EU directives and government initiatives socially and economically after 2000, MÜSIAD members began to investigate new trade networks by exploring markets both in Europe and in the other parts of the world. As a result of increasing trade potentials with European countries and discovering new trading opportunities, the association began to implement new economic norms. Members shared the experiences they gained with other members, resulting in a multiplier effect throughout society.

The member companies in MÜSIAD has made efforts to raise the quality of their products to meet or exceed certain standards in order to produce products of similar quality to those in Western countries so as to be able to do more business on the international level. ¹¹ This is a good example of the economic Europeanization of MÜSIAD (Yankaya, 2009, p. 7). One the most important activities of the association is the creation of opportunities for members who have limited financial possibilities to take part in overseas trips and fairs. Interviews realized by Turkish Professor of Labour

Economics Şennur Özdemir, along with members of MÜSİAD, indicate that the member companies could raise their production quality and better themselves in fields such as production, organization, and technology use in consequence of these overseas trips (Özdemir, 2006, p. 174-175). Their experiences in terms of the norms concerning the working culture in Europe have reaped beneficial changes in their economic practices and entrepreneur identities. Some members in MÜSİAD have begun to implement what they have learned in terms of European work ethic in their enterprises. Thus, many medium and small-sized enterprises, especially those located in Anatolia, have begun to apply these economic norms to their business practices (Yankaya, p. 7). In other words, we can say that MÜSİAD has acted as a norm diffuser in this sense. As an NGO, the association has enabled the adoption and implementation of many important practices in the Turkish business world, such as work discipline, clear-cut working hours both for employees and employers, productivity, qualities and standards of competitive products, professionalism, clear job definitions, and transparency by conservative businessmen, most of whom are owners of small and medium-sized enterprises.

The efforts to embrace European economic standards, and to disseminate these among its members, have resulted in MÜSİAD becoming a kind of “a spill over agent” (Yankaya, 2009, p. 7). In effect, MÜSİAD has encouraged SMEs in Turkey to integrate more with the European markets. This new innovative entrepreneurship based on local values combined with Western norms has made it possible for many businessmen in Anatolia to expand their businesses and break new grounds, and, what’s more important, not to consider themselves as in any way mistreated.

MÜSİAD has grown not only in economic sense. As a result of the economic growth, it has also enabled the diffusion of Islamic values throughout society that has assisted the transition to a new and multi-option lifestyle emphasizing religious values in daily life, as evidenced by the proliferation of new and fashionable religious clothing, new holiday options for conservative members of society, and radio and TV channels emphasizing Islamic values. All of these are conservative, on one hand, but also technologically progressive and amenable to Western values, on the other.

CONCLUSION

Change is possible when people and states begin to perceive themselves in different ways, and, as a result, embrace new norms. In this sense, the EU accession process has led to a transformation in Turkey as new social, political, and economical norms have been adopted. This change can also be perceived as a mutually constructed learning process. As a result of the acceleration of the EU process, especially after the 1980s in Turkey, non-governmental organizations contributed to the transformation of society not only by adopting and internalizing new norms, but by integrating those norms with their own specific ideas and values. Among NGOs in general, those that represent the business

world played a comparatively more effective role. Especially after the start of the 2000s, the business world has become more visible in Turkey. These organizations of businessmen, which act according to their own particular identities, have produced new discourses on various issues, such as democracy, human rights, and freedom of religion, and not only with regard to economic issues.

MÜSİAD is one of the leaders attempting to create a synthesis among NGOs by combining conservative values with Western norms. It acts based upon the rhetoric it derives from its grassroots by emphasizing conservative, religious, and cultural values and by differing from many other organisations in its own identity. Unlike other business-oriented NGOs, MÜSİAD prefers to emphasize conservatism in public. While MÜSİAD, as a norm diffuser, tries to spread economic-based norms¹² throughout society, it considers the EU-suggested norms for Turkey within the framework of conditionality, such as freedom of religion and freedom of thought, as a way to establish a more firm position in society and gain social acceptance. MÜSİAD has embraced EU norms as a way to transform itself and its members rather than trying to influence EU institutions and other EU member states in the effort to persuade them in a positive direction regarding Turkey's membership. The association's moderation of its originally strict anti-EU stance prior to the 2000s has resulted in more external relations with EU member states. In this context, economic relations with the EU member states in particular have developed and expanded, as has participation in international meetings and exhibitions. Its success in spreading EU economic norms to its members has continued as its number of members has increased.

Although MÜSİAD emphasizes its adherence to traditions and moral values within its conservative structure, it also considers that in the attempt to transform society it is important to train more professionally informed and equipped businessmen. Perhaps for this reason it has both maintained its conservative values and adopted the norms of the West. It seems that after the local and presidential elections of 2014, in which the AK Party again succeeded in dominating politically, MÜSİAD is likely to accelerate its activities and further increase its effectiveness with an increasing number of members and support from the government.

ENDNOTES

¹ For more information about the concept of inter-subjective unit of analysis see Guzzini, S. (2000). A reconstruction of constructivism in international relations, *European Journal of International Relations*, 6 (6), 161-162.

² As MÜSİAD was losing power, after 1997, attempts to establish a new association representing the conservative businessmen emerged resulting in the Anatolian Lions Association (ASKON), intensely supported by Necmettin Erbakan, being established in 1998. The new association had almost the same organizational goals,

and some MÜSİAD members, as well as businessmen close to Erbakan, were among the founders. (Hürriyet, 07.11.1998); See also for detailed information. Anadolu Aslanları Derneği (ASKON), <http://www.askon.org.tr/> (5 December 2014).

³ Although MÜSİAD was addressed in this study, TUSKON, which was established in 2005, is also one of the most significant organizations in Turkey that needs to be scrutinized in detail. For detailed information about TUSKON see, <http://www.tuskon.org/?p=content&cl=kurumsal&l=kurumsal> (15 December 2014).

⁴ The Confederation of Turkish Real Trade Unions (HAK-İŞ) is one of the four major national trade union centers whose workers embrace Islamic and conservative values. Nevertheless, Islam has been less referenced by the association compared to its formative years. For more information see Özdemir, Ş. (2010). *İslam isermaye ve sınıf: Türkiye/Konya MÜSİAD örneği. Çalışma İlişkileri Dergisi*, 1 (1). p. 39.

⁵ Although some organizations, such as TOBB and chambers of industry and trade, represent the business world in Turkey, they are not included within these examples, as they are not non-governmental organizations.

⁶ The first president of the Institution was Erol Yazar. Mr. Ali Bayramoğlu was elected to the presidency in 1999 after that Yazar had been in office for nine years. Later Ömer Bolat (2004-2008) and Ömer Cihad Vardan (2008-2012) were assigned as presidents. Nail Olpak has been the president of the Institution since 2012.

⁷ The founders were inspired by the “Asian Tigers” in the naming of the association. The reason was that Asian countries such as Taiwan and South Korea drew significant attention with their high industrialization and growth rates between the years 1960 and 1990, and this was seen as an appropriate example for rapidly growing enterprises in Anatolia.

⁸ For more information see MÜSİAD, <http://www.MÜSİAD.org.tr/tr-tr/MÜSİADla-tanisin> (19 November 2014)

⁹ Other values regarded by MÜSİAD, apart from personal, corporate and social independence of justice, theoretical and practical productivity, knowledge and awareness, honesty, reliability, free enterprise and entrepreneurial spirit of free competition, social, cultural and physical environmental sensitivity and the country's and society's values, culture and respect for the identity. (MÜSİAD, 2002, p. 8).

¹⁰ Justice and Development Party is abbreviated JDP in English and AK Party or AKP in Turkish.

¹¹ For example many companies tried to acquire the CE sign quickly.

¹² Work discipline, clearer working hours for workers and employers, productivity, competitive product quality and standard of professionalism, job descriptions clearer done, given the high importance of knowledge and science and transparency and so on.

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