

HASAN ÜNDER

Ankara University

Turkey

Forum Pedagogiczne
2016/2 cz. 2

Received: 11.01.2016

Accepted: 26.10.2016

DOI: 10.21697/fp.2016.2.42

EDUCATION IN ISLAM AND PRESENT STATE OF RELIGIOUS AND MORAL EDUCATION IN TURKEY¹

Abstract: After the founding of Turkish Republic in 1923 in Turkey, with the exception of 15 years radically secular period, morality and moral education were based on religion and religious education. Sunni Islam, the official religion and worldview of the state in the Ottoman Empire, was the subject and standard of formal education except military schools. In eighteenth century, westernization forced by military defeats caused to found military and vocational schools (*mektep*) that taught new ideas and modern sciences and led to bifurcation of culture. In the republican period the schools (*madrasas*) that give transmit religious learning was abolished and *mektep* became the only schools. With the transition to multiparty democracy after World War II, it began religious revival and rebifurcation of schools. After 2002 when the present ruling party AKP came to power, especially 2011, increasing Islamization have been the main characteristic of education.

Keywords: Turkey, Islamic education, religious education, imam-hatips, westernization.

In this lecture I will focus on the present state of religious and moral education in Turkey. I should point out that in Turkey, as elsewhere, moral education is almost inseparable from religious education. It is no surprise because in religious ethics or divine command and in the theory of ethics the right and the wrong are almost identical with the commands and prohibitions of God. If one does what God commanded and refrains from what God prohibited he / she lives a good, moral life. Thus, speaking of Islam is speaking of Islamic morality. With this identity in my mind, I will focus more on the islamic education in Turkey.

With the exception of a short (about 25 years) radically secular period in history of Turkey, morality and moral education were based on religion and religious education. The main characteristic of the present state of Turkish education is its increasing islamization in the recent years. In order to shed light on the present situation of moral and religious education, I will try to provide a historical

¹ Tekst wykładu otwartego ogłoszonego w dniu 19 listopada 2015 roku na Wydziale Nauk Pedagogicznych Uniwersytetu Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego w Warszawie (przyp. red.).

background. To this aim, I will outline (1) the basic sources of Islam, (2) the main characteristics of Islamic education, (3) the bifurcation of culture and education as an upshot of the westernization process in Ottoman Empire, (4) the radical secularization reforms of the Early Republic and (5) the revitalization of Islam and religious education under the multiparty system of democracy; (6) the last thirteen years under the ruling party AKP which roots are in the Islamic tradition and finally (7) a conclusion with some remarks.

Basic Sources of Islam

Chronologically, Islam is the third monotheistic religion after Judaism and Christianity. Its prophet is Muhammad. It is believed that God (Allah) communicated His messages through Muhammad and God's messages were compiled in the Quran, the holy book of Muslims. A believer of Islam ideally regulates his / her life according to the rules contained in certain sources. There are four sources of *fikh*, Islamic legal theory. (Information about the sources of Islamic legal theory can be found in any book about the topic. See, for example, Hallaq 2005). First, Quran contains all the true messages of God, neither more nor less. It reflects God's will. It is also believed that every person must arrange their life according to imperatives, prohibitions and recommendations of the Quran. Secondly, Quran, there is also tradition or *sunna*, that is, the exemplary words and actions of Muhammad as reported in the *hadith* (the reports or narratives about the prophets and their companions transmitted orally and compiled in books). Then, there are also moral, political, social and religious rules derived from Quran and tradition (and precedent cases) by analogical reasoning. And lastly, some norms result from consensus or *idjma* (consensus) of *mujtahids*. According to this principle if all the scholars –who represent the community of believers (*umma*)– agree on a decision concerning an issue and that decision is considered to be a religious rule. (It is believed that there is a saying of Muhammad that justifies this principle: “My *umma* will not unanimously agree on misguidance” or “Verily Allah will not make my community agree on an error.”) These norms together regulate or – according to fundamentalists must regulate– all aspects of a Muslim believer's life. The true and meaningful individual and social life is a life lived in accordance with these norms.

The main characteristics of Islamic education

In a certain sense, education is a reproduction of culture –of course, of a revised culture– in the next generation (Durkheim 1956, p. 71; Dewey 1916, chapter 1). Since this reproduction requires proper transmission of existing knowledge and skills, proper formation of ethical, political and emotional dispositions, there are many areas or subdivisions of education. In the following I will point out three aspects of Islamic education.

(1) The aim of education in the light of Islam's ideal of human being

The essential aim of education in Islam is to produce an ideal believer who lives individual and social life as commanded by the above mentioned sources of Islam. We can be more specific about some main characteristics of a believer. Although there may be many disagreements regarding details, an ideal believer has been portrayed by various formulations in Islam. One of them is known as five pillars of Islam (see, Ruthven 1997). They are prayer five times a day (*salat*), fasting one month a year (*sawm*), pilgrimage (*hajj*), obligatory alms (*zakat*), confession of faith (*shahada*, that is, to verbally acknowledge and confess in words and to assent "there is no god but Allah and Muhammad is His servant and messenger"). The believer must also affirm six dogmas (six pillars of faith): belief in Allah (His existence, divinity, attributes), belief in the existence of Allah's Angels (their number is uncertain), belief in Allah's Books (that is, Torah, Zaboor or Psalms, Gospels and Quran contained the true message of Allah only at the time of revelation; all of them except Quran are distorted), belief in the messengers of Allah (Moses, David, Christ, Muhammad), belief in the Day of Judgment (the Day of Resurrection), belief in *Qadar* (Predestination).

The main aim of basic religious education is to internalize these beliefs and practices and to form an Islamic identity in human beings.

(2) Contents of education

The life certainly requires more than prayers and believing. Knowledge does not consist of only religious knowledge. The necessary condition of leading a religious life is to survive and survival requires that many goods and services should be produced. That, in turn, requires technical and scientific knowledge and skills and those must be transmitted through formal or informal education. As we pointed out the main aim of basic religious education is to transmit the Islamic catechism to young people. However, in order to live successfully in a society they must acquire other practical skills and information about the world. Thus, we can distinguish the contents of education by using classification that has become norm in the Islamic educational theory. The distinction in question is referred to as religious and non-religious or secular and rational.

As is known, Islam came into being in Arabian Peninsula where there was no sophisticated culture. In the period of the four caliphs and then the Umayyad and Abbasid, Islam spread onto a large area and became an imperial religion. In these area there was a sophisticated scientific, philosophical and literary culture originated by the Greeks first in Western Anatolia and then in Greece (notably in Athens). This culture was spread due to Alexander the Great's conquest over the area between Western Anatolia and India. This culture was also cultivated by the Romans. Muslims met with this pagan but sophisticated Hellenic, Hellenistic and Roman culture after they conquered the area in question. Main cultural centres at that time were Alexandria (Egypt), Harran (Turkey) and Jundishapur (Iran). Islam had somewhat adopted this culture. There was also sophisticated Persian culture.

The major works of Greek philosophical and scientific culture – called by Muslims “the sciences of the Ancients” – had been translated into Arabic about 9th century by Christian and Jewish scholars. Abbasid Caliph al-Ma'mun funded Bait al-Hikma, a research institution in Baghdad for translation activities. (See for dichotomy between religious knowledge and Greek rational tradition Makdisi 1981, ch. 2; Lapidus 2012, p. 136-139) Rational sciences mainly have been taught outside madrasas.

(3) Educational institutions

Main Islamic educational institutions can be divided into three levels: elementary, secondary and higher.

Elementary educational institutions taught basic religious knowledge, performing prayers and religious morality as well as some elementary non-religious knowledge (history, geography, arithmetic). Teaching could take place either in a separate school or in a mosque. Almost all Muslims learnt basic religious knowledge from someone, basically *imams*, who led prayers. However, many of them did not learn to write, and only some learnt reading Quran or both reading and writing.

The main educational institution was a *madrasa*. They were founded by private persons in the early period of Islam and later by important statesmen. The first statesman who founded madrasas is Nizam al-Mulk (vizier, prime minister) of Saljuq Empire. The madrasas founded by him are named Nizamiya Madrasas after his name. The most famous of them was the one in Baghdad. Later, many other statesmen founded madrasas. In Ottoman Empire the most famous ones were those founded by Mehmed the Conquerer and Suleyman the Magnificent. Of course, the latter ones are more prestigious than the rest.

The main function of madrasas was to produce religious functionaries. Those who graduated generally served as judges (*qadi*) and imams. The distinguished students became scholars or high-ranking officials.

The curricula of madrasas were uncertain. There was no common curriculum. The curriculum of any madrasa changed depending on its founder and its scholars. In the Ottoman Empire there were madrasas named after the book studied in it. For example, in Miftah madrasas the book which was mainly used was *Hâşiyetü't-Tecrîd* (a book related to kalam or philosophical theology); in Miftah madrasas the main book studied was *Miftâhu'l-Ulûm* (a book about rhetoric).

In Islam the sciences have been classified in various ways, but as I mentioned before, the classification as religious and nonreligious was very common. Religious sciences, often called high sciences (*ulum-ı âliye*) include *Hadith* (tradition about the Prophet and the methodology for distinguishing the genuine traditions from doubtful ones), *Kalam* (philosophical theology), *Fıkıh* (theory and methodology of Islamic rules about 'ibadat –prayer or human-God relations–, *mu'amelat* –inter-human relationship and penal law–), *Tafsir* (interpretation of Quran).

The other non-religious sciences are called tool sciences or instrumental sciences or auxiliary sciences (of course, in relation to high sciences). We can divide

them into linguistic sciences and natural and formal sciences. Linguistic sciences comprise grammar, semantics, logics and rhetoric (*munazara*, dialectic), literature and poetry. The language of teaching was of course Arabic. The latter comprises mathematics, astrology and astronomy, physics, metaphysics.

Rational and empirical sciences were taught and studied in some madrasas, but they typically were taught in separate institutions such as hospitals, observatory or private homes.

(4) Teaching Methods

George Makdisi (1981, p. 238-239), says that “In the Middle Ages an imaginary intellectual from the world of Islam, say Baghdad, on a visit to the world of scholarship in the Christian West, far from feeling out of his element, would be quite comfortable in his new surroundings.... Everything seems to him like an extension of that from which he came.” That is, they use traditional methods of teaching: scholastic method (lectures and debates, logical analysis and dialectics, memorization).

Westernization of the Ottoman Empire and bifurcation of the culture

Ottoman Empire –was founded at the beginning of 13th and collapsed in the first quarter of the 20th century– reached its outmost border at the end of 17th century. After the failure of Vienna siege in 1683 the empire began to shrink gradually. When the defeats in wars with Western powers and Russia turned out to be continuous, ruling elites of the empire began to seek ways of curing its weakness. In such cases it is usual for the defeated to imitate the victor and Ottomans did so.

In order to “make a thorough study of the means of civilization and education” of the western nations “and report on those capable of application” in Turkey, the Ottomans began to send ambassadors to the western countries in the first quarter of the 18th century. The first reforms are related primarily to military knowledge, organization, technique, engineering and training. The more they learnt from the western civilization the more they admired it (for westernization process in the Ottoman Empire see Berkes 1998; Lewis 1968).

But there were also religious barriers. For a long time the Ottomans believed that they were superior to Europeans, that their religion was the last and updated word of the god. To recognize the equality of those once looked down upon was difficult; to concede their superiority was even more difficult and humiliating. There were also more evident religious barriers. For example, there was a saying of the Prophet “Whoever imitates people [meaning Christians and Jews] is one of them.” The implication of this *hadith* is expressed by an Ottoman historian, Asım Efendi, in his *History* (1809), “Familiar association with heathens and infidels is forbidden to the people of Islam, and friendly and intimate intercourse between two parties that are to one another as darkness and light is far from desirable (quoted in Lewis 1968. p. 40).”

This *hadith* made difficult the importation and adoption of many aspects of the western culture, its ways of clothing, human rights, constitution, ways of eating (for example, eating with fork in the left hand and at the table). For this reason conservative Muslims were reluctant to import the western ways of living. But they needed western weaponry, its technology and science.

This led to a distinction among the aspects of the western civilization. According to this distinction some aspects of a civilization form *hars* moral or spiritual aspect of culture considered in jurisdiction of religion. They are related to human-human and human-god relationships, moral and aesthetic values, family life etc. The other aspects of civilization that are related to human-nature relationship, techniques, technology and natural science form *medeniyet* (or material civilization).

Due to the urgency of the need for the revival the *shaykh al-Islam* (the head of the religious establishment in the Ottoman Empire) gave *fatwa* to import technology and technical knowledge especially related to military. That is, *ulema* (religious body), restricted the westernization to the material aspects of civilization. However, there were intellectuals called “westernist” (*garbçı*) who advocated full westernization. According to them, the continuing defeats were due to reluctant, irresolute and incomplete westernization, and in order to survive Ottomans had to adopt the modern Western civilization totally, as their leading figure Abdullah Cevdet said, “with its roses and its thorns” (in Hanioglu 1981, p. 359).

Despite the opposition many aspects of western civilization were imported and students were sent to learn modern sciences, techniques of agriculture and industries. Many schools were founded to educate people with a different knowledge, skills and mind from those raised by madrasas. They included primary schools, secondary schools, normal schools that train teachers, universities, military schools at all levels, medical schools and different vocational schools. New schools were called *mektep*. Thus, schools bifurcated and there were two kinds of schools: one designed to teach modern sciences with modern teaching methods called *usul-i cedid* (that is, a new method) and the other which maintained the traditional subjects and teaching methods.

Under the impact of modern education there were attempts to reform madrasas. Some new madrasas were founded. Modern sciences, physical education, western languages were included in their curricula (see Ergün 1982).

Apart from education, other sectors of the empire also bifurcated: the judicial system (religious *sharia* courts – secular *nizamiye* courts), its codes of law (*sharia* – civil code), its military system (*janisary* vs. *nizam-ı cedid* / new order), ways of dressing.

To sum up, there were two kinds of people and institutions in Ottoman Empire: western minded vs. traditional.

Radical secularization reforms of the Early Republic

The decline of Ottoman Empire finished with its collapse at the end of the First World War. It lost almost all of its territories and those left were occupied by Greeks and allied powers like France, UK and Italia. Between 1918 and 1923 Turks had to fight to save their homeland.

During this war of independence or liberation emerged a person who would be decisive for Turkey's future. He was Mustapha Kemal (in 1934 he took the surname Atatürk). He was the commander-in-chief of the war and the president of the Grand National Assembly that conducted the war. During the war he was awarded by the assembly with the title of Ghazi (religious hero). When the war ended with the victory of the Turkish army, he became a hero, a saviour with an extraordinary prestige and charisma. He abolished the sultanate, founded the republic, became its first president and created a secular, modernist state by a series of reforms. For this reason I want to summarize his ideas, especially those concerning religion (for Mustapha Kemal's biography, see Mango 1999; Atay 1984; Hanioglu 2011).

Firstly, Mustapha Kemal, was a military commander. He has been trained in military schools after his primary education. He received a non-traditional education imbued with modern ideas of the West. Secondly, he was born and lived as a young person in Thessaloniki (now in Greece), a political and intellectual centre of the empire into where western ideas and ways of life penetrated more than in any other part of the empire except Istanbul. Thirdly, he received his higher education in the military academy in Istanbul, the capital and also intellectually and politically most developed and most modernized city of the empire. Moreover, he had an opportunity to observe such developed countries of Europe as France and Germany as a visiting officer. Lastly, he has been influenced by positivistic and materialistic ideas of the nineteenth century that were known in Turkey. He read works by some of the Enlightenment philosophers, such as Rousseau. Thus, he became a westerner.

His deep belief beliefs may be summarized as follows: First, the new Turkish state must be a nation-state as opposed to the Ottoman Empire. This is because (a) the Christian and most of non-Turkish subjects (especially Arabs and Albanians) had left the empire and remaining population was predominantly of Turkish origin (the others were Kurds and Circassian) and (b) national states tend to have more internal cohesion than multicultural states. Second, religion is not a truer guide than science. He said "the truest guide in life is science." Third, there was a single civilization led by different people at different times –an Enlightenment idea. That civilization was served mostly by the Europeans and Turks must participate in this civilization. Fourth, westernization or modernization is necessary for the survival of Turks, because the source of power is modern science and technology based on it that can be found in the West. With this thought, Mustapha Kemal set out a series of reforms to change the appearance and the mind of the nation. He

stated the basic principle of the reforms he had been making several times. In one of his speech in 1925 he declared the principle as “making Turkish people a society that is completely modern and civilized in essence and in form.”

I wish to note that modernization means secularization in the sense that religious ideas and symbols disappear from public life. Given that, all reforms to modernize Turkey, where Islamic religious symbols and rules are visible in every sphere of life, were also reforms of secularization. I also should note that modernization in Turkey was not a spontaneous process, but a conscious, planned and deliberate one and therefore, it intentionally made religion invisible in the political and public life. These reforms can be easily interpreted as de-Islamization of public life in Turkey, and the traditionalists and Islamists indeed had interpreted it this way.

We can list important reforms as follows:

- Abolition of sultanate (1922),
- Proclamation of the Republic (1923),
- Abolition of caliphate (1924),
- Abolition of ministry of religious affairs and courts of *sharia* (1924),
- Abolition of the madrasas (typical Islamic schools) (1924) with the exception of 29 reformed *darülhilafe* madrasas. These madrasas continued to train *imams* and *hatips* to conduct religious services in mosques, they were closed by 1930 (they were the most disputed schools in the Republic, especially after 1970 until recently.) A divinity faculty also was founded in 1924 and closed in 1933 with the university,
- Adoption of western clothes for men –against Islamic ways of dressing, especially the adoption of hats instead of Islamic head gear *fez* (1925),
- Prohibition and abolition of religious sects and orders and closing their offices and shrines (1925),
- Treating the uses of religion and sacred things for political purpose as treason (1925),
- Change of the calendar from Islamic to Gregorian (1925),
- Adoption of Swiss civil code (1926),
- Learning religion in primary schools becomes elective (1926),
- Removal from the Constitution of the phrase “the religion of Turkish state is Islam” (1928),
- The removal from the oath of members of parliament the word “vallahî” (I swear to God it’s true!) (1928),
- Adoption of western (Arabic!) numerals (1928),
- Adoption of Latin alphabet (1928),
- Adoption of metric system of measurement (1931),
- Prohibition of teaching with Arabic alphabet – the alphabet of Islamic people and with which Quran was written (1932),
- Religious courses are not present in the curriculum of primary schools (1931-32),

- The change of *azan* (the call to prayer) from Arabic to Turkish,
- Prohibition of wearing religious clothes outside places of worship (1934),
- Change of weekly holiday from Friday (holy day of Muslims) to Sunday (holy day of Christians) (1935),
- The principle of secularity becomes a defining characteristic of Turkish state by an amendment in the constitution (1937). (For reforms by which Turkey were secularized, see Ariburnu 1957).

Firstly, I should note that all of the legal regulations either prohibit Islamic symbols, institutions and practices or change them to the western ones. All of these regulations changed the appearance of Turkey and the visibility of religious symbols receded to the background.

Secondly, I should point out that Turkey has not become an atheist country. Everyone was free to do daily praying and fasting. Religious festivals were not prohibited, mosques were open.

After Multiparty System

This strict secular regime continued until 1950 under the one-party rule. However, after the Second World War Turkey had to join western countries because of Soviet Russia's threat and its claims for some provinces of the country. This led to transition to a multi-party democracy. (I should note that multi-party system was not unfamiliar in Turkey; the Constitution accepted in 1924 allows multi-party democracy. Between 1924 and 1925 there was an important political party prohibited in 1925. Moreover, Mustapha Kemal attempted to transform one-party republic into multi-party democracy by encouraging the founding of a political party; that party was dissolved under the pressure of the ruling party.)

In a paternalist regime ruled by one party one can try to change people's ways of thinking and living. But in a multi-party democracy with free election one must follow policies that will be approved by the electorate. That is, in a democracy people change the political leaders. (The border between sensitivity to and abuse of religious sentiments is often blurred. It is significant that democracy and demagoguery have a common root *demos*. *Demagogue* is a person, especially an orator or political leader, who gains power and popularity by arousing the emotions, passions, and prejudices of the people.) Turkish electorate seemed to disapprove of such secularization policies as exclusion of religious education in schools, neglect of religious functionaries and of Turkish *azan*.

It can be said that the re-islamization in Turkey began with multi-party democracy. The progress of the revival of Islam was sometimes slow and sometimes fast, depending on the national and international circumstances.

The ruling party, DP (Democrat Party), in 1950-1960 moderated the radical secularist policies by the following:

- Courses opened to educate *imam* and *hatips* (1949). The aim of these courses is to produce “positive and enlightened religious functionaries”,
- A new divinity faculty was founded (1949),
- *Azan* (the call to prayer) changed into Arabic (1950),
- 7 *imam-hatip* schools opened in 1952 (after 22 years)²,
- Elective courses in religion were delivered in primary schools (1949), added to curriculum of the primary and secondary schools as elective courses (1952), became compulsory in normal schools (teacher schools) (1952). (Until 1982 courses in religion were generally elective.)
- In 1974 in addition to courses of religion courses in morality entered into the curriculum,
- In 1982, Religious Culture and Knowledge of Morality course was compulsory in primary, secondary and high schools in accordance with the constitution. (In 4th 8th grades 2 hours per week; in 9th-12th grades 1 hour per week).

AKP Rule since 2003

Earlier political parties that had come into power were sympathetic to religion. They intended to moderate Kemalism’s strict secularist ideology. They were parties founded and ruled by mainly secular, modernist and western-oriented cadres. They considered Islam from a secular point of view. In 1996 a political party with Islamic references formed a coalition government with a centre party. Some anti-secularist policies of the government got a negative reaction from prosecularist public, political parties and military elites. The government was forced to resign after one year.

New governments supported by military elites tried to block Islamic development, especially *imam-hatip* high schools. They implemented some policies designed for making *imam-hatip* schools less attractive for students. For example, they closed their secondary schools by making basic education eight years and putting their graduates in a disadvantageous position.

In the 2002 elections a party founded by those who separated from earlier Islamic party came to power. They appeared to be politically moderate and liberal until 2011. After they pacified military elites who were mainly Kemalist and took hold of high judicial offices, they implemented some important Islamist policies especially in their third term. They tried to make Islamic symbols and practices more visible in the public life. The most striking ones can be pointed out as follows:

- In 2008 lifting the headscarf (turban) ban (an Islamic symbol in women’s dressing).

² For the history of these schools, see, National Education Ministry’s website: http://mebk12.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/16/15/749479/dosyalar/2013_10/22095515_tarihe.pdf.

- In March 2012 the national assembly accepted a law that regulates formal education. The law (1) allowed to found *imam-hatip* secondary schools beside normal ones, (2) added to the curriculum a course about Quran as elective.
- After 2012 the head of ruling party, now the President, a graduate of *imam-hatip* schools declared several times that their aim is to raise religious generations. He also has been encouraging parents to send their children to *imam-hatip* schools.
- In 2012 the disadvantages of the graduates for going to university have been removed. Graduates were given priority in entering civil services.
- In 2013 the restriction of selling alcoholic drinks (drinking alcohol is explicitly forbidden by Islam).
- The attempts to make these schools prestigious have also been carried out by the son of the president who also graduated from an *imam-hatip* high school. He established a foundation to promote and financially support *imam-hatips*. The foundation has been giving grants, predominantly to the needy and successful students of these schools and provides hostels. Large amount of money or real estate have been donated to the foundation by businessmen and municipalities who support the government.

The present state of the religious courses is as follows:

Courses	Grades									
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
Religious Culture and Knowledge of Morality (Comp.)	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	
Quran (Elective)		2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	
The Life of the Prophet (Elective)		2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	
Basic Religious Knowledge (Elective)		2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	

Some concluding remarks

There has always been a tension between modernity or westernization or secularism and Islamic religious outlook. The sources of this antagonism are probably in its specific historical origin. In Islam there is no area of life left for Caesar. There is no *civitas terrana* independent of *civitas dei*. God’s rule and authority prevail everywhere. Quran, thousands of *hadiths* and norms derived from them by analogy regulate every aspect of life. The prophet of Islam founded his own state and rule. His and his followers’ way of government is a model for all Muslims. Given such religion and religious practice, secularism that requires a separation between sacred and secular is hardly possible. For this reason, secularists and modernists in

Turkey always looked at Islam with some suspicion. Secularists always encouraged interpretations of Islam that are compatible with secularism and modernism, but traditionalists accused them of imitating Christian reformists.

Secularists face a dilemma. The dilemma can be put as follows. A secular state normally must not give religious instruction to its citizens, it must be blind to their religious beliefs. Religious instruction must be left to parents or religious community. However, secularists do not want to leave religious instruction to civil society because they fear that the instruction given by them probably will undermine ideological foundations of secularism. Indeed, their fears are not unfounded. The sects and orders prohibited in 1925 revived in the multiparty democratic period. They are generally unsympathetic, if not hostile, to secular state and modernity. Thus the dilemma: the secular state by definition cannot give religious instruction to its citizens but it cannot leave the religious instruction to religious sects or orders; the result is that citizen will not take religious instruction; however, this is not a defensible position. Therefore, either state will provide religious instruction in public schools or leave it to religious sects or orders.

The alternative adopted in Turkey is on the horn of dilemma. In the democratic period and also together with the pressure of the necessity of maximizing the citizen support the right winged political parties more than others promised to increase religious instruction in public schools. The most objective indicator of this policy is the increase of the numbers of the *imam-hatip* high schools opened. (*Imam-hatip* schools are vocational schools in theory, but alternative high schools to normal ones in practice.)

The students who are educated in *imam-hatip* schools are generally politically Islamist and usually support Islamist parties and become their members and cadres. The values and worldview held by them reject modernism and secularism. Secularists, primarily military elites who consider the products of these schools a threat to secular state attempted to create obstacles to *imam-hatip* schools, but their attempts failed. Now while secularists are in a defensive position Islamists continue their attack.

As to the religious education in primary, secondary and high schools, in my opinion religious instruction has not improved good behaviour.

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EDUKACJA W ISLAMIE ORAZ OBECNY KSZTAŁT WYCHOWANIA RELIGIJNEGO I MORALNEGO W TURCJI

Streszczenie: Powyższy tekst został wygłoszony w dniu 19 listopada 2015 roku jako wykład otwarty na Wydziale Nauk Pedagogicznych Uniwersytetu Kardynała Stefana Wyszyńskiego w Warszawie. Charakteryzując problematykę edukacji w islamie, a w szczególności wychowania moralnego, autor podzielił swoje wystąpienie na następujących siedem części: (1) podstawowe źródła Islamu, (2) główne cechy edukacji w islamie, (3) rozejście się drogi kultury i edukacji w następstwie procesu okcydentalizacji Imperium Ottomańskiego, (4) radykalna sekularyzacja w okresie Wczesnej Republiki, (5) przywrócenie edukacji religijnej pod rządami demokracji wielopartyjnej; (6) ostatnie trzynaście lat pod rządami AKP, partii mającej korzenie w tradycji islamskiej, oraz (7) podsumowanie i kilka uwag.

Słowa kluczowe: Turcja, islam, wychowanie moralne i religijne.

Hasan Ünder is a professor of pedagogy at Ankara University (Turkey). His main areas of interest include: philosophy of upbringing, ecological education, theory of moral upbringing. E-mail: under@education.ankara.tr