A COMPARISON OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN TURKEY AND ENGLAND: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE TEACHING OF ISLAM

by
RECEP KAYMAKCAN

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Leeds
Department of Theology and Religious Studies

July 1998

"The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others."

Dedicated to my wife, Sevgi and son, Enes

ABSTRACT

This study is concerned with the comparison of religious education in Turkey and England with special reference to the teaching of Islam in secondary state schools. It aims to realise the following two main objectives in terms of secondary school textbooks:

1. To indicate to what extent the adoption of a confessional or non-confessional approach in religious education makes an impact on the teaching of religion.

2. To describe and compare the similarities and differences in the teaching of Islam in state schools and their connection with broader educational policy in Turkey and England.

It begins with an investigation of historical developments in religious education in Turkey and England, then turns to examine different aspects of the presentation of Islam in terms of selected textbooks from the two countries. The thesis concludes with a presentation of the findings and contribution of this research.

It is observed that having a confessional or non-confessional approach in religious education made different impacts on the teaching of Islam. In England, mostly because of a non-confessional presentation of Islam, historic western prejudices and distortions, particularly with regard to the doctrinal dimension of Islam, largely disappeared. An attempt was made to present Islam as far as possible in its own terms. However, the creation of new prejudices and distortion about the portrayal of Islam could not be precluded in the English textbooks selected, particularly over some issues such as women and use of force in Islam. It should also be noted that compared to Turkey Islam has relatively been presented in its contemporary forms, as well as consideration of pupils' educational development.

Due to the adaptation of a confessional approach in religious education Islam is presented as a possible and desirable way of life in the Turkish textbooks selected. A certain degree of indoctrination and promotion of Islam, and a more sympathetic mode of expression with reference to Islam were observed, while exhibiting limited adaptability to complying with the changing conditions of Turkish society from the point of view of religious education and of pupils' educational necessities. Moreover, as far as possible, writers of Turkish textbooks tried to present Islam as an individualistic religion in line with the secular understanding of the Turkish state. Non-Islamic religions were generally externalised as religions. With respect to this, Christianity was treated in terms of the Islamic understanding of religion, and the dominant influence of the Qur'an and the traditional Islamic viewpoint about ahl al-kitab (possessor of the holy texts) was noted.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I should like to thank Dr. Elizabeth Sirriyeh, who supervised this thesis with great patience and expertise. My debt and gratitude to her are beyond any expression; without her patience, vigilance and encouragement this thesis would have never been able to take its present form.

I am also deeply grateful to Dr. Alistair Mason for his constant encouragement and help throughout this study. His comments on and reading of the last drafts of the thesis are greatly appreciated.

I would like to express my sincere thanks to Ms. Mary Hayward for giving her time, support and professional expertise, and reading some chapters of the study. My thanks also go to Dr. Philip Lewis for his friendship and encouragement.

I owe special thanks to several colleagues and friends who helped me in many ways throughout my study: Ekrem Tatoglu, Idris Dogan, Erol Karakirik, Ahmet Onay, Ihsan Kulali, Suleyman Derin, Ismail Albayrak and Bob Exon.

I would like to acknowledge the generosity of the University of Sakarya, Turkey in funding my research studies.

Last but not least, I am most deeply indebted to my wife, Sevgi and son, Enes for their unlimited patience, love and strong support.

It should be noted that substantive parts of Chapters 1 and 2 were published by Kaymakcan (1996a, 1996b and 1997) in *East/West Education*, *Din Egitimi Arastirmalari Dergisi* and *Muslim Education Quarterly* respectively.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract

Acknowledgements

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION

Importance of Textbooks in Education 3

Process for the Approval of Textbooks 5

Textbook Selection for the Study 5

The Issue of Selection of Turkey and England 7

Method of the Study 8

Organisation of the Study 9

1 THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN TURKEY

1.1 Introduction 11

1.2 Traditional Institutes of Education in the Ottoman Period: The Medreses 12

1.3 Religious Education in the One-Party Period 15

1.3.1 Bifurcation in Turkish Education 17

1.3.2 The Law of Unification of Education (Tevhid-i Tedrisat) 20

1.3.3 Implementation of the Law of Unification of Education. 23

1.4 Religious Education in the Multi-Party Period 26

1.4.1 Higher Religious Education 28

1.4.2 Religious Education in Schools 31

1.4.2.1 Optional Religious Education in Schools 31

1.4.2.1.1 Religious Education in the Middle Schools 35

1.4.2.1.2 Religious Education in the High Schools 36

1.4.2.2 Compulsory Religious Education in Schools 37

1.4.2.2.1 The Introduction of Compulsory Religious Education 38

1.4.2.2.2 Atay Report 39

1.4.2.2.3 Some Positive Opinions About Compulsory Religious Education 43

1.4.2.2.4 Some Negative Opinions About Compulsory Religious Education 44

1.5 Summary and Conclusion 47

2	/THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN ENGLAND	
2.1	Introduction	49
2.2	Religious Education From 1870 to 1944	50
2.3	Religious Education and the 1944 Education Act	53
2.3.1	School Worship	56
2.3.2	Religious Instruction and Agreed Syllabus	59
2.3.2.1	Changes in Psychological Understanding	62
2.3.2.2	School Council Working Paper No: 36	68
2.3.2.3	Experiential Approach	76
2.3.2.4	Interpretive Approach	77
2.4	1988 Education Reform Act	78
2.4.1	Religious Education in the 1988 Education Reform Act	80
2.5	Summary and Conclusion	83
3	ILMIHAL-CENTRED APPROACH	
3.1	Introduction	85
3.2	Articulation of the Ilmihal-Centred Approach	86
3.2.1	Omer Nasuhi Bilmen	89
3.2.2	Buyuk Islam Ilmihali	89
3.2.3	The Features of the Ilmihal-Centred Approach	91
3.3	The Place of the Ilmihal-Centred Approach in Current Religious Education	98
3.4	The Issue of Taxonomy	99
3.4.1	The Taxonomy for Teaching Islam	101
3.4.2	The Qur'an	102
3.4.3	Hajj	108
3.4.4	The Family in Islam	112
3.5	Summary and Conclusion	115
4	SECULARISM IN TURKISH AND ENGLISH RELIGIOUS EDUCATION	
4.1	Introduction	117
4.2	Secularism and Islam	118
4.3	A Brief Reference to Secularism in Turkey and England	126

4.4	Criteria for Discussing Secularization Trends About Islam	128
4.5	Secularization Trends in the Teaching of Islam in Selected Textbooks	130
4.5.1	Content of Islam	130
4.5.1.1	Definition of Islam	130
4.5.1.2	Prophet Muhammed	131
4.5.1.3	The Concepts of Ummah and Shari'ah	134
4.5.2	Method of Presentation for Islam	139
4.6	Summary and Conclusion.	146
5	**CHRISTIANITY IN TURKISH RELIGIOUS EDUCATION**	
5.1	Introduction	148
5.2	The Study of Non-Islamic Religions in Turkey	149
5.3	The Image of Christianity in Selected Turkish RE Textbooks	152
5.3.1	Jesus	154
5.3.2	The Role of Paul in Christianity	157
5.3.3	Scriptures	160
5.3.4	Priesthood in Christianity and the Relationship Between Muslims and Christians	162
5.3.5	The Visual Content	164
5.4	Summary and Conclusion	165
6	**SOME INADEQUACIES AND INACCURACIES IN THE PRESENTATION OF ISLAM IN SELECTED ENGLISH TEXTBOOKS**	
6.1	Introduction	169
6.2	Literature Review	170
6.3	Inadequate Presentation	173
6.3.1	The Life of the Prophet Muhammed	174
6.3.2	The Role Of Women in Islam	176
6.3.3	The Use of Force in Islam	179
6.4	Inaccurate Presentation	181
6.5	Summary and Conclusion	184
7	**NATIONALISM IN TURKISH RELIGIOUS EDUCATION**	
7.1	Introduction	186

7.2 Emergence of Turkish Nationalism 188
7.2.1 Ziya Gokalp's Understanding of Nationalism 189
7.2.2 Kemalist Nationalism 192
7.3 Nationalist Presentation in Selected RE Textbooks 196
7.3.1 Pre-Islamic Turkish Beliefs and the Turkish Contribution to Islamic Civilization 196
7.3.1.1 Pre-Islamic Turkish Beliefs 197
7.3.1.2 The Turks in Islamic History 201
7.3.2 The Place and Importance of Ataturk 203
7.3.3 Respect for Nationalist Symbols 208
7.4 Summary and Conclusion 211

CONCLUSION

Conclusion 214
Limitation of the Study 220
Suggestions for Future Study 221
NOTES 222
BIBLIOGRAPHY 230
SELECTED TEXTBOOKS 244

INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, religion has played a significant role in the shaping of education. With a deterioration in the public role of religion and an increasing number of individuals who look upon the world and their own lives without the benefit of religious interpretations, some pivotal changes have occurred in the place of religion in school education in our secular age. A shift has been observed, in that education has been transformed from a religiously dominated affair to a secular one. In line with this, religion became solely one of the curriculum subjects, and even its minor position in education was questioned and its existence in the state school curriculum fuelled a considerable debate, unlike subjects such as maths, science and history. Arguments came into existence to justify or deny the place of religious education in state schools in the world. And their reasons both in favour or against religious education are explained in philosophical, educational and political terms.

Not surprisingly, such disagreements at a theoretical level are reflected in the differences in practice that may be seen in different parts of the world. On the one hand, some countries, such as France and the United States, no longer allow the existence of religious education in state schools because of a strict separation of religion and state. On the other hand, other countries provide a place for religious education in schools on a compulsory or optional level. The majority of countries can be considered in the latter category.

Even in the case of a place being granted for religious education in the school curriculum, the question of which type of religious education remains. To be sure, it is not easy to give a straight and comprehensive answer to this question. At this point, difficulties mainly stem from the absence of a universally agreed definition of religious education and controversy about the role of religion in education alongside other public institutions in the modern world. In order to provide a more easily understandable answer, it is necessary to answer the following questions in some detail: What should be taught in religious education? and how should religious education be taught in schools?

The answer to the former question is directly concerned with the issue of the content of religious education, and the latter brings to the fore the issue of the style of religious education. It is a fact that a large variety of implementations can be seen in these matters in the world. With respect to the content of religious education, two broad trends can be observed. The first is for the content of religious education to be defined in an exclusive way that accepts only the teaching of one religious tradition which is believed to be true by the majority of the given society, while ignoring all other world religions. The second is for a religious education curriculum to exhibit an inclusive tendency and allow the presence of more than one religious tradition or even secular worldviews.

As far as the style of religious education is concerned, this can be classified similarly in two general categories as confessional and non-confessional religious education. It should be noted that further terms may be used to describe this distinction, such as education and nurture or instruction. Confessional religious education begins with the assumption of the superiority of one religion over others and tries to promote implicitly or explicitly the teaching of one religious tradition in schools. This approach to the teaching of religion is quite a traditional and common way and even now a vast majority of countries adopt this approach with some methodological improvements. By contrast, the purpose of a non-confessional approach is not to seek to promote and indoctrinate any one religious viewpoint, but to advocate the understanding of different religions in their own terms without making any judgment about the issue of true or false religion. This notion of religious education can be considered as a quite recent invention in state schools, and it is a true reflection of reality to say that England is playing a pioneering role in developing non-confessional religious education.

In spite of the existence of a certain amount of research on comparative education, the sphere of comparative religious education is relatively neglected, and little research attention has been devoted to it. It is believed that comparative studies in religious education will contribute to understanding this subject from an international perspective in a globalized world, and to developing a scientific and solid understanding of religious education by studying the similarities and differences in theoretical and practical levels,

and in the particular context of teaching of religion in schools. In this thesis, in order to make a contribution to this neglected research area, the main concentration will be on the teaching of Islam in state schools in terms of textbook presentation in England and Turkey. At this point, it should be noted that no research addressed to this issue can be found in the literature.

Apart from the existence of compulsory religious education in both Turkey and England, we can observe some similarities in religious education from the point of view of content, since they both provide more or less a place for more than one religion in their curriculum. Islam, as one of the Abrahamic and great religions in the modern world, is being taught in religious education in England and Turkey, albeit Islam is a minority religion in England and a majority religion in Turkey. However, it is obvious that there are considerable differences in the teaching style of religions in both countries. Whereas Turkey has continued following the traditional confessional method in religious education, since 1970s England began to adopt a quite new non-confessional method in state schools. Taking into account these features of religious education in both countries this study broadly aims to realise the following two main objectives in terms of secondary school textbooks:

1.To indicate to what extent the adoption of a confessional or non-confessional approach in religious education makes an impact on teaching of religion.

2. To describe and compare the similarities and differences in the teaching of Islam in state schools and their connection with broader educational policy in Turkey and England.

Importance of Textbooks in Education

Textbooks are specifically written for use in schools to support a course or curriculum. They occupy a highly visible position in the educational enterprise, and classroom activities are centred on them. Research indicates that as much as ninety percent of classroom instructional time is structured by instructional materials, particularly textbooks (Woodward 1987: 511). Some scholars see the textbook as the

statement of curriculum, and for this reason it is called a 'surrogate curriculum'. As a surrogate curriculum, a textbook contains 'a manifest curriculum, which is its subject content; a latent or hidden curriculum; and a pedagogical apparatus' (Venezky 1992: 437). In Third World countries, the place of textbooks in education is extremely important and often these are the only books that students encounter in their studies. Moreover, they frequently indicate national policy and national will (ibid.: 442).

Although textbooks are one particular resource among an increasingly wide and diverse range of other resources, and an extreme dependence on them has been seen as a barrier to educational progress by many educators in recent years (Beattie 1981), they have continued to be accepted as the central instrument of instruction in education rather than support materials. The majority of teachers also tend not only to rely on, but to believe in, the textbook as the source of knowledge. Consequently, the thoughts, objectives, plans and findings of the textbook authors are likely to become the teacher's as well. Therefore, students also will have a tendency to develop particular views and concepts based on the selected textbook (Tanrigoren 1993).

Moreover, textbooks for schools are not ordinary books and value-free, and the idea of an objective textbook's content is a myth (Slater 1992: 16). Textbooks and the selection of their content always reveal a particular pedagogical philosophy which is always, in turn, further and more deeply rooted politically and culturally. (Wain 1992:38). Also the impact of particular cultural, political and educational philosophies on social studies, history and religious education textbooks is very obvious when compared to science or maths. By the same token, it can truly be argued that the use of textbooks as a research source is one of the significant ways to understand the content, educational and political dimensions of a curriculum subject. Therefore, the present study determines to use textbooks as a primary research source to examine mainly the teaching of Islam in secondary schools in England and Turkey.

Having noted that, let us explain the process for the approval of school textbooks and selection criteria for this study in England and Turkey.

Process for the Approval of Textbooks

In Turkey, there was until recent years a strict state monopoly on the preparation and approval of textbooks for every national curriculum topic. The Ministry of National Education ordered individual authors to write a textbook taking into account the National Curriculum and a well-defined guideline for textbook writing or alternatively it established an official committee, which consisted of teachers, education experts and academics to prepare textbooks. Afterwards, it was required to seek the approval of the *Talim Terbiye Kurul Baskanligi* which is the executive and consultative official body handling matters of curriculum, textbooks and assessment for the Turkish National Education Ministry. In 1991, with the realisation of some amendments in the provision of the textbooks' preparation, permission was granted to the private sector to prepare school textbooks alongside the Ministry of Education (Tebligler Dergisi 1991). However, the new relaxation of policy on this issue does not indicate any substantial change in a liberal manner, since writers have to follow the very detailed official guideline for textbook production, and then receive the approval of the Ministry of National Education.

As far as England is concerned, surprisingly, there is no official guideline to regulate textbook writing, and no official body from which to seek approval for the acceptance of textbooks. This means that England implements a very liberal policy concerning this issue, and everything works in terms of free-market rules.

Textbook Selection for the Study

For this research, the Ministry of National Education's own secondary school textbooks for religious education have been selected in Turkey. The reasons for this selection are twofold. Firstly, they are widely used textbooks, and secondly, they became the example for private textbooks from the point of view of content and style. It is also worth noting that every textbook's topic exactly matches the Religious Education National Curriculum, so the description of a textbook as a 'surrogate curriculum' is, perhaps, an accurate definition of the Turkish case. Secondary school can be divided

into two stages as a lower secondary and upper secondary, and every stage consists of three years. Under recent educational legislation (September 1997) the lower stage of secondary school became the part of the basic education which contains primary and lower secondary education, but no change has occurred in the curriculum and textbooks of the former lower secondary stage. So, I will continue to use the previous school classification as a 'secondary school'. When we consider that every grade has one religious education textbook, the six official textbooks will be examined through this investigation from the Turkish side. As pointed out above, the private sector has had a right to prepare school textbooks since 1991. After this date, a number of textbooks for religious education were produced by the private sector, and authorised by the Ministry of National Education to use in state schools. However, these private textbooks will not be included in the list of selected books with one exception. The main reason for this is as follows: as a result of careful reading of the private textbooks listed by the *Tebligler Dergisi* (1996) it is shown that there are no important differences between the official textbooks and the private textbooks in terms of their content, and educational quality, albeit some improvements have been observed in the quality of the text's paper and pictures. In Chapter 5, the private textbooks will be included for analysis and the reason for this will be explained in that chapter.

In England, the system of school textbooks is completely different from Turkey. There is no official body to authorise textbooks and list nation-wide accepted textbooks. There also needs to be added to this the non-existence of the National Curriculum for religious education. Compared to Turkey, it is not easy and simple to select textbooks for Islam because of the aforementioned features in England. For the selection of textbooks for Islam the date of the Education Reform Act, 1988, was accepted as a starting point, since this act was the first to give legal recognition to the teaching of minority religions including Islam on a nation-wide basis. Following a preliminary review of textbooks, it is surprising to find that there are plenty of secondary school textbooks for Islam in England. These textbooks can be divided into three groups. The first group is devoted to explaining the different dimensions of Islam, the second only

aims to explore one topic from Islam, such as the Qur'an or religious festivals, and in the last group Islam is a part of a textbook which is written to provide knowledge about more than one religion. For the sake of limiting the number of textbooks, the thirteen textbooks published between 1988 and 1996 from the first group have been selected for examination. It is believed that these selected textbooks for Islam are sufficiently representative of those available.

The full list of references of selected textbooks from both Turkey and England will be given at the end of the thesis. In order to make a distinction between textbook reference and general reference, publications date of the selected textbooks will be omitted throughout this thesis.

The Issue of Selection of Turkey and England

Turkey is a developing and relatively less multi-faith country which is trying to westernise and where Islam is the dominant religion, whereas England is a developed country which can be described as multi-faith and multi-cultural and where Islam is a minority religion. In spite of diversities in the historical development of religious education and reasons for its existence in state school curriculum, religious education is compulsory and Islam is taught in both countries. Apart from that, the following features of both countries and practical reasons have had a strong influence in the selection of England and Turkey for this research. They can be explained as follows:

For Turkey; 1. The author's previous professional involvement in teaching of religion in secondary schools and knowledge of Turkish as a first language, 2. Turkey is the only officially secular Muslim country, 3. Largely owing to the fluctuating relationship between state and religion, the place of religious education in state schools is frequently discussed, 4. Turkey persistently wants to be a full member of the European Union, so it needs to know more about the culture of the members of the EU, and religion and its education can be considered part of their culture.

For England: 1. The opportunity of producing research in England provides ready access to the literature of English religious education for the researcher, 2. England in

theory and practice is playing a pioneering role in developing a multi-faith and non-confessional religious education in state schools, 3. Islam is the second largest religion after Christianity and the biggest minority religion in England 4. Owing to the smooth relationship between state and religion, the place of religious education in state schools was not questioned unlike the situation in Turkey and some other European countries, such as France.

Method of the Study

The research is an exploratory comparative educational study, and the method of investigation follows an inter-disciplinary approach. The principal method used will be that textbook-based qualitative content analysis. In our case, the method of content analysis will not be adopted in a strict sense, rather it will be understood in a more flexible way without keeping rigidly to one method. The research undertakes a relevant theoretical explanation before textbook content analysis for every chapter, which is somewhat different from the method of qualitative content analysis. The selected textbooks in both countries will be examined as a primary source for this study alongside the relevant English and Turkish literature. Apart from a lack of comparative studies dealing with religious education, the research inherits some of the methodological shortcomings of comparative education and textbook analysis, because compared to other disciplines there is no universally agreed methodology in both comparative education (McDade 1982, Altbach 1991) and textbook analysis (Weinbrenner 1992).

From a methodological point of view, two points need to be clarified. Firstly, in the process of comparison of both countries priority will be given to Turkey, the main reason being the contribution to be made to the curriculum development of Turkish religious education. Secondly, while Chapter 7 is concerned with nationalism in Turkish religious education, there is no equivalent topic for discussion concerning English religious education. However, it is believed that Turkish religious education cannot properly be understood without taking into account this aspect.

Organisation of the Study

The main body of this thesis is organised in seven chapters excluding introduction and conclusion.

The first chapter provides the background to Turkish religious education. Developments in religious education are discussed in some detail in terms of historical developments in the one-party period and the multi-party period.

The second chapter is intended to provide a broad background to discussions about teaching of Islam in England. To do so, on the bases of the 1944 and 1988 Education Acts the provisions of religious education and some changes in the structure of the subject will be investigated.

The third chapter proposes a new concept which is called a 'ilmihal-centered approach' to define the present implementation of teaching of Islam in Turkey. The second part of this chapter will investigate the teaching of faith, ritual and ethical aspects of Islam in selected textbooks from both Turkey and England.

The fourth chapter attempts to explain secularization trends in the textbooks from both countries in terms of selected criteria. To support this analysis a brief review is provided of secularization theories and their connection with Islam.

In the fifth chapter, the presentation of Christianity will be examined with reference to selected religious education textbooks in Turkey. Prior to this, in order to provide the background for this examination the issue of teaching of non-Islamic religions will be addressed in the Turkish context.

In the sixth chapter, in order to contribute to the appropriate teaching of Islam in English schools, inaccurate and inadequate aspects of teaching of Islam in the textbooks will be explained. Some of the extant literature on this issue is also reviewed.

The seventh chapter is concerned with the question of nationalism in Turkish religious education. After discussing the historical development of Turkish nationalism and its relevance to religious education, the issue of nationalism in religious education will be explored in terms of textbook presentation.

The final chapter summarises and concludes the research. The limitations and contributions of the study are also cited in this chapter.

CHAPTER 1

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN TURKEY

1.1. Introduction

Perhaps one of the most important developments in religious education in contemporary Islam has occurred in Turkey. The nation-state of the Turkish Republic came into existence in 1923, after a struggle against foreign invaders and internal revolution, and the Ottoman Empire, which had lasted for more than six hundred years, officially came to an end. This event was a major turning point in Turkish history. The leaders and elite of modern Turkey believed that it was necessary to break completely with the Islamic Ottoman past, and adopt western institutions and ways for the survival of the new Turkish state. In the following years, particularly, the one-party period (1923-1950), the Turkish government introduced a large number of revolutionary reforms to modernise Turkey. The aim of these revolutionary attempts was, however, more than political: they represented a social, cultural, and economic revolution. In this context, the role of Islam in the State and society has been redefined in Turkey. Secularism emerged as a vital and key concept, because the boundary between religion and politics in Turkey was drawn in terms of secularist principles, and the major reforms were closely connected with secularism. Thus, the debate relating to the place of religion in education has been influenced by the interpretation of secularism throughout the Republic's history.

The Republican era can be divided into two main periods in terms of interpretation of secularism and the role of religion in education. In the one-party period, as a consequence of the implementation of secularist reforms, an attempt was made to eliminate religion from the public sphere and institutions and all religious activities and education were strictly controlled by the state. With respect to religious education, many fluctuations can be observed in modern Turkey. For a quarter of a century in the Republican era, the Turkish education system worked on a strictly secular basis. All

levels of religious education were officially banned for around two decades. After the Second World War, improving socio-economic relations with Western democracies and the initiation of a multi-party system also influenced the educational structure. During Turkey's translation from a one-party to a multi-party system (from 1946 to 1950), religion emerged as a political and cultural issue. The revival of interest in religion was part of an ideological reaction against the strict secularism of the Republic by a diverse group of individuals who felt that the moral basis of society was being corroded by the government. In this context, religious education became an important issue.

This chapter aims to provide the background concerning Turkish religious education. Developments in religious education are then discussed in some detail in terms of historical developments in the one-party period and the multi-party period. Firstly, the Ottoman experience of religious education will briefly be touched upon to understand the Republican approach to the question of religious education.

1.2. Traditional Institutes of Education in the Ottoman Period: The Medreses

One cannot understand modern Turkey without reference to its past, so comprehension of the educational concepts, policies, religious education, and newly established institutions of the Republican period requires knowledge of the educational practice and traditions of the Ottoman Empire. The medreses will be examined in this context, because they were in many ways the most influential and most important of the Ottoman institutions. The medreses virtually controlled the cultural, religious and legal life of the Empire from the earliest years of the Ottomans to the beginning of the twentieth century (Basgöz & Wilson 1968: 12). A great deal of discussion took place concerning the medrese in preparing the Turkish Educational Reform in the early Republic era.

The first Ottoman medreses were set up at Iznik and Bursa. Such institutions reached the peak of their development during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Turkish Review 1989: 18). In the seventeenth century, there were 78 medreses in Istanbul alone and 120 in Bosnia. The number of these schools had reached 275 in

1768. In addition, there were 42 medreses in Aydin, 48 in Karasi and 27 in Izmir (Ergin 1977: 326). Wherever necessary medreses were distributed throughout the Ottoman Empire. The quality of medreses had declined steadily since the seventeenth century. The medreses suffered from the same weakness as the other institutions of the Empire, but they retained their importance up to 1924. They finally disappeared from the historical scene with the rise of the Republic.

The medreses covered secondary and higher learning. The principal course of study in the medreses included Arabic grammar and syntax, rhetoric and style, logic, theology, metaphysics, and subjects relating to the Quran and Islamic traditions and to Islamic jurisprudence. In addition, medicine, astronomy and mathematics were introduced into the medrese programmes, particularly in their earlier period (Kazamias 1966: 33, Sassani: 1952: 8).

All the medreses were connected with the muftis and consequently with the Shaikhul-Islam who was the head of the religious hierarchy and was next in power after the grand vizier, known by his title of Sadrazam. These schools were provided by charitable persons and were attached to mosques. They were supported by wakf donations made by the Board of Pious Foundations. Education was free. Students were given free food and a small allowance. Instruction was graded, but also individualised, and each student could advance as he wished.

Medrese teachers, muderris, ranked highly in Ottoman society. All received high salaries. A student who completed the medrese was eligible to become an assistant and ultimately a professor or enter the judicial field, thus becoming a judge, mufti or kadi, and to be recorded in the State Register. But there was no clear-cut division about what they would be after their graduation from schools of this kind during the educational period of the medreses (Jasche 1972: 69). Throughout the Empire, graduates of the medrese were recognised as forming the elite of the ulema.

In the mid-17th century, signs of corruption in the medreses began to appear. Some of the reasons for this deterioration can be summarised as follows:

During the early period of the medreses, students were chosen from all classes of society on the basis of ability and the appointment of medrese teachers depended on certain regulations. In the later period, the appointment of medrese teachers became a political and partisan affair, without due attention being paid to qualifications. Degrees began to be conferred upon unqualified persons. As a result 'cradle' scholars, besik ulemasi, came into existence from the ranks of the wealthy and powerful. Examination for degrees came to be required solely of the children of the poor (Atay 1983: 156-158, Basgöz &Wilson 1968: 11).

Medrese instruction could at no time go beyond the strict bounds of scholasticism. When compared with the later periods, however, the medreses had relative freedom of discussion before the mid-17th century. In the later period, the medreses discarded every curriculum practice which would encourage or appeal to individual reason as well as science and philosophy, felsefiyat, which were dropped from the curriculum (Atay 1983: 159). Consequently, in the medrese curriculum only religious subjects remained, such as exegesis of the Quran, Arabic, and jurisprudence. Accurate methods could not be applied in religious instruction. Without following modern developments in thought and methods, teaching was limited to prescribed texts and blind repetition and copying were accepted as genuine knowledge. A new thought could not be produced by the medreses. Every discipline which recognised free discussion and thought was accused of heresy. In other words, there was not much opportunity for the free expression of human intellect or for the spirit of inquiry in the Ottoman educational system. With the progressive strangulation of creative learning in the medrese, the Ottoman Empire did not witness within its borders the intellectual movements which resulted in the technical developments and modern reforms of Western Europe (Basgöz & Wilson 1968: 11). Therefore, the medreses became increasingly more rigid, and were conservative rather than innovative after the middle of the seventeenth century.

A further reason was that, although the purpose of teaching Arabic was as a vehicle for understanding the religious texts, it was done as an end in itself in the medreses. Medrese students spent much time learning Arabic grammar, however, they

did not achieve sufficient competence to read and understand religious texts (Atay 1983: 172).

A law was enacted which exempted medrese students from military service in the reign of Abdul Hamid II (1876-1909). Eventually, the schools became a haven for those who sought escape from their military obligation. More and more the medreses became involved in intrigues and politics. The business of learning was neglected not only for individuals but for the Ottoman Empire as well. This was seriously detrimental for both parties (Atay 1983: 215, Basgöz & Wilson 1968: 12).

The reasons for the decline in the medreses lay not only within institutions themselves. The causes of deterioration and decline were rooted in other factors associated with the state of the economy, the policy of admission, and the attitudes of the elite.

As we know, the medreses failed to meet all the requirements of the society, and to perform their major duty, which was religious education according to the necessities and requirements of the century. It seems to me that some of their attitudes, impacts, and problems can still be observed in Turkish religious education at the present.

Apart from that, religious courses, called 'Ulumu Diniyye' or 'Ulumu Diniyye ve Ahlakiyye', were introduced in modern schools in the late Ottoman Empire (Okutan 1983: 411).

1.3. Religious Education in the One-Party Period

In one-party systems every institution of state is ruled according to the party ideology. This practice was realised in Turkey from the establishment of the Republic up to 1950. The ideology of the Republican People's Party, which was the only party between 1923 and 1945 in Turkey, was applied to all educational institutions as it was to other state institutions. With the one-party period westernism and secularism were implemented very strictly in all areas of social life in the Republic. In this period all education was controlled by one authority with the act of the Unification of Education.

Having noted this, I would like to elucidate some issues related to secularisation in education, particularly its effect on religious education during the one-party period. After the establishment of the Turkish Republic, a series of reforms were carried out in Turkey. These reforms were based on the principle of secularism as the foundation stone of Turkish constitutional theory and political life (Mardin 1981: 191). Consequently, some attempts were made to reduce Islam to the role of a religion in a modern Western nation-state (Lewis 1961: 412, Kushner 1986: 89). In other words, a social and political religion such as Islam was to be transformed into an individualistic religion. To achieve this target, the experience of Islamic theology and Ottoman practice was utilised (Binnaz 1993: 625). At this point, it should be kept in mind that the Republican secularism was more akin to the French model which was constructed out of Comtean positivist motifs [1].

The secularist developments in the one-party period may be summarised as follows: Firstly, secularism was enacted through the momentous laws of 3 March 1924 passed by the Grand National Assembly which abolished the Caliphate. Following this, the introduction of the law of Unification of Education meant that all education was made a monopoly of the state and medreses were abolished. The Evkaf and Ser'iye Ministry was eliminated and the administration of all the schools in Turkey was placed under the Ministry of Education. Religious affairs and the administration of pious foundations were to be undertaken by directorates attached to the office of the Prime Minister. Then, in April 1924, religious courts were abrogated. In 1925, mystic orders (tarikat) were outlawed. The Swiss Civil Code was adopted in 1926, and the link between the Sheriat and criminal law was severed. In 1928, the constitutional provision which still mentioned Islam as the religion of state was eliminated. In the same year the Latin alphabet was adopted. In this period the Quran and Hadith collections were translated from Arabic into Turkish. The call to prayer (ezan) resounded in Turkish from the minarets in the 1930s and 1940s. A law passed in 1934 prohibited the use of religious titles like molla, haci, hafiz etc. Finally, secularism was introduced into the Turkish Constitution in 1937.

Among the aforementioned reforms, the Law of Unification of Education had a crucial role from the point of view of religious education. Therefore, I will explore this education act in more detail.

1.3.1. Bifurcation In Turkish Education

The path towards westernization and secularisation which was charted by Sultan Selim III and Sultan Mahmud II, was followed with accelerated speed by their successors. Four months after his accession to the sultanate, in 1839, Sultan Abdulmecid and the new Ottoman ministers promulgated the famous "Gulhane Imperial Ferman", Gulhane Hatti Humayun, which was read by Mustafa Reshid Pasha, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, in the Gulhane of the Royal Palace. This event was known as the Reorganisation (Tanzimat). The Prescript of 1839 was primarily political and administrative in character. Moreover, it was the official legislation for introducing westernization and some aspects of secularism (Turkish Review 1989: 21-22). Its effects on the educational system will be observed in the next period. With the Reorganisation the Ministry of Education was established in 1847. At this period primary level mekteps and secondary level rusdiyes were founded outside the medreses. Furthermore they attempted to set up a western form of university, Darulfunun. Other educational institutions were established after the Tanzimat, of which the following are worth mentioning:

-Teacher Training Schools, Darulmuallimin

-The School of Judicial Education, Mekteb-i Maarif-i Adliye

-The School of Literature, Mektebi Ulum-u Edediyye

-The Veterinary College, Mekteb-i Baytar

-The Agricultural Schools, Mekteb-i Ziraat

One of the major outcomes of all this activity was a very important educational law Maarif-i Umumiye Nizamnamesi (The Regulation for General Education). This was enacted in 1869, covering all phases and levels of education. The following are some of its provisions (Kazamias 1966: 63):

1. Compulsory primary education
2. Reorganisation of the central and provincial administration of education
3. Provision of clearer criteria concerning the promotion and status of teacher
4. Reorganisation and regularization of teaching methods
5. Increase in the number of 'science' institutions (literature and natural science)
6. The schooling system to be graded.

As mentioned above, many new educational institutions joined the Ottoman educational system, belonging to the Ministry of Education. Religious influences and controls were successfully avoided in these schools (Turkish Review 1989: 25). In the same period, a large number of foreign schools [2] were opened by missionary groups and supported by western countries. They included the Mekteb-i Sultani, and the American-run Robert College.

The issue of educational bifurcation and influences of different thought that were represented in this age continued in the second Constitutional period (1908-1918). During the Young Turk Era intellectual leaders in the reform group began to analyse the very nature of an educational system which could serve their society. A redefinition of the issues and purposes of education and the construction of a theoretical framework for reform became the concern of many leaders as well as carrying on the significant reform movement in the different stages of education .

In this period, although activities may indeed have caused people to question useless traditions and customs, it did not represent an educational philosophy, and the discussion about education reflected the debate between Pan-Islamists, westernizers, and nationalists, which were the three major ideological currents of the time. Each one of them looked on reform and change from a different perspective.

The Pan-Islamists rejected the necessity for drastic change. They argued that the problems of the Empire were due to the continuing erosion of Islamic values and practices and that the modern schools were one of the main agencies for dissemination of a secular ideology. They insisted that, while students should be prepared to learn western sciences, the schools had to serve as a socialising agency for traditional values

and education had to be based upon Islamic principles (Szyliowicz 1973: 165). They absolutely opposed the westernizers' attempts to further a secular morality through school education. They believed that the destruction of the traditional children's schools led to the destruction of the foundations of Islamic education. Moral collapse was inevitable. Only religion could save society from disaster (Berkes 1964: 407). In the view of one Member of Parliament:

> In order to build morality on a firm foundation in the schools it is necessary above all to base it on a sacred sanction. In order to establish morality and develop collective consciousness it is absolutely necessary to give great emphasis to religious instruction in school programs (Berkes 1964: 408, Ergin 1977: 1142).

The most influential representative of nationalist opinion Ziya Gokalp, the founder of Turkish nationalism, saw education as failing due to deep internal divisions:

> In this country there are three classes of people differing from each other by civilisation and education: the common people, the men educated in medreses, the men educated in modern secular schools. The first still are not freed from the effects of Far Eastern civilisation; the second are still living in the Eastern civilisation; it is only the third group which has had some benefits from Western civilisation. That means that one portion of our nation is living in an ancient, another in a medieval, and a third in a modern age. How can the life of a nation be normal with such a threefold life? How can we be a real nation without unifying this threefold education? (Berkes 1959: 278).

According to him, the main reason why Turkish education had been unsuccessful lay in the fact that it had neglected the realities of the Turkish nation, not only in the medrese but also in the modern schools. Thus, in Gokalp's eyes, education had to forge a new unity within the Empire, a unity based on a combination of Islamic, Turkish and modernist principles.

Gokalp noted the distinction between 'teaching' and 'training'. Every nation has a distinctive culture, supported in modern nations by a national educational system. This culture has no international characteristics, but it is deep rooted in the nation. The products of the conscious mind and the capacity to form them may be developed by a scientific process of training. Judgements about reality and the process of developing them are universal. They are the basis of modern technology and civilisation. The goal

of teaching is to instruct children in reality judgements, scientific knowledge. Therefore, the process of teaching is international. This fact must be taken into consideration in developing an education system for modern Turkey. He felt that the processes of education have two aspects: national training and international teaching (Basgöz & Wilson 1968: 24). Consequently, the following famous slogan is the best explanation for his thought in this matter; "We belong to the Turkish nation, the Muslim religious community, and European civilisation" (Berkes 1964: 407). Some supporters of modern education opposed Gokalp's ideas.

They argued that it was impossible to divide European civilisation into institutional and value components. Furthermore, they felt that any emphasis upon traditional values in the schools was inimical to development (Syzliowicz 1973: 166). Sadrettin Celal, educator, stated this position eloquently:

> Traditions and institutions which are foundations for value judgements are not logical and untouchable. These institutions were created out of necessity and came to be conservative and dominating. Times changed but they did not. The pedagogue's duty is not to help harmful traditions to survive, but to destroy them (Basgöz 1968: 27).

Meanwhile westernism in education brought its upholders, especially Fikret who was a modernist poet and an atheist, into collision with the Pan-Islamists. When Fikret undertook the directorship of the Lycée of Galatasaray, he used this as a pretext for initiating, among other changes, what has been described as 'a new conception of religious education' according to which:

> Religion should be purged from all superstitious beliefs and be taught on the basis of reason and scientific knowledge while the disruption caused by the ulema between the world and religion, the most important cause of our social decline, should be healed (Berkes1964: 407).

1.3.2. The Law Of Unification Of Education (Tevhid-i Tedrisat)

During the War of Liberation, various leaders made general pleas for educational unity. However, there was no direct opposition to the medrese. After the war had been won, voices calling for the unification of education became much stronger. In looking at

the previous educational system, before the Tevhid-i Tedrisat, we noticed that the bifurcation in the whole educational system started after the Tanzimat. While successive reforms had removed the military schools and some civic institutions from the control of religious authorities and various new schools had been established outside the framework of religious control, the reformers had not been able to touch the medreses. All efforts had been concentrated on keeping the newly established institutions away from the religious authorities. Therefore, the medreses continued to exist side by side with the other schools (Basgöz & Wilson 1968: 75). They became not only increasingly estranged but also mutually hostile. The products of one educational path were incapable of understanding those of the other. We can visualise the implications of the split between the world-outlooks reigning in the 'religious' and in the 'secular' areas of intellectual and educational life. In this matter Mustafa Kemal, founder of modern Turkey, expressed his concern on different occasions as well as emphasising the importance of unification in education. He asserted his conviction that education was the most significant factor in development and progress and Turkish educational programs should be in accordance with the conditions of the nation and the requirements of the age (Daver 1955: 124).

> I [Ataturk] firmly believe that our traditional educational methods have been the most important factor in the history of our national decline. When I speak of national education, I mean an education that will be free from all traditional superstitions as well as from all foreign influences, Eastern or Western, that are incompatible with our national character (Akyüz 1989: 332).

When Atatürk delivered a speech at Izmir in 1923, he gave a clear indication of impending unification of education as well as his views on the efficacy of the medreses:

> Whenever one asks what will happen to the medreses and the Evkaf, he immediately meets some resistance and opposition. Those who create such resistance should be asked what right and authority they have for their action. The institutions of education in our nation should be unified. All the children of this country should receive the same education (Ergin 1977: 1441).

It is known that the medrese issue was discussed informally by Atatürk with his advisors before the law was passed. For instance, he asked a group of teachers whether education should be religious or national. The leader of the group, Ismail Hakki, replied:

> Religion is a social institution, and a very real one. But the state is under no obligation to teach religion in its schools. State education can only be national in character. The new reforms must set out to secularise the educational establishments (Bilgin 1993a: 38-39).

At the same time Ataturk rejected the call for the preservation of the medreses in the form of revolutionary institutions where men of religion could be trained as propagandists for the Kemalist revolution, and where all the poor and needy children would be schooled (Basgöz & Wilson 1968: 39).

Vasif Bey, who was the deputy of Saruhan, with his sixty colleagues made an educational proposal (Tevhid-i Tedrisat Law) in the Grand National Assembly.

> For uniting our national thought and emotion the principle of educational unification is the best way and also accurate, scientific method in a state educational policy. Although the efforts of unification began since the Tanzimat, in the Ottoman period these endeavours failed. In addition to this, they made a dualism in the educational system. This is very dangerous, because two educational systems produced two kinds of people in a country (Gurtas 1982: 75).

Therefore, the Law of Unification of Instruction (Tevhid-i Tedrisat) was passed in 1924. This regulation covered the following provisions:

Article 1. Administration of all educational institutions in Turkey would be placed under the Ministry of Education.

Article 2. All medreses and mekteps which were operated by the Ministry of Seriye and Evkaf (Religious Ministry) or private foundations would pass under the control of the Ministry of Education.

Article 3. The revenue of the Ser'iye and Evkaf related to funding of education would be transferred to the budget of the Ministry of Education.

Article 4. For educating higher level religious scholars a faculty of divinity would be established in the Darulfunun and for training imams and preachers religious schools would be set up.

Article 5. After the publicising of these laws, military schools operated by the Ministry of Defence and the schools that belong to the Ministry of Health would be attached to the Ministry of Education with their budget (Resmi Gazete 6.3.1340).

With the passage of the Law on Unification of Education, the duality in Turkish education which dragged on from 1839 to 1924 was eliminated and replaced with a truly western and secular system which in turn became the basic foundation of the Turkish Republic as a highly valuable reform (Kodamanoglu 1963: 25).

1.3.3.Implementation of the Law of Unification of Education

The unification of education was to have deep effects on religious education during the one-party period. There was no statement in the law regarding the closing of the medreses. However, Vasif Bey, the Minister of Education, ordered all the medreses to be closed on 16 March 1924 (Atay 1983: 321). 479 medreses were closed with a total enrolment of 18000 students. As Vasif Bey stated, in reality, only about a third of these were bona fide students. The rest seemed to have enrolled for the purpose of obtaining certain privileges such as deferment of military service. Actually, the majority of them were only nominal students and spent their time at work in shops and fields without attending classes.

The closing of the medreses and the Tevhid-i Tedrisat were discussed in the Grand National Assembly and the press. Rasih Kaplan who was the deputy of Antalya considering the closure of all medreses, criticised this application of the law:

> The idea of unification of education is not to destroy education. Enacted law is to confirm this fact. I believe that necessary institutions should be continued (Islam Turk Ansiklopedisi Mecmuasi: 11).

Inönü, who was one of the principal supporters of this law, as Prime Minister stated his opinion and answered some criticisms concerning it in the Congress of the Association of Teachers in 1925.

> The national educational system which you are following today has no relation to anti-religious tendencies. Ten years hence, the whole world, and those who are now hostile to us or who, in the name of religion, are anxious because of our

policy, will observe that the cleanest, purest, and truest form of Islam will flourish in our midst.

In spite of the passing of more than ten years under the one-party regime, this speech could not be verified. As a result of this situation secularism was accepted as irreligiosity and the law of unification of education was regarded by the majority of pious citizens as being concerned only with abolishing the medreses. Opponents and sceptics appeared to have been justified (Bilgin 1980: 47).

According to Gürtas, former deputy of the Presidency for Religious Affairs, the purpose of Tevhid-i Tedrisat was to provide a new generation with a common culture at primary and secondary level. Thus, every student would grow up with the same thoughts and emotions. Therefore, all schools in the country were controlled by the Ministry of Education's Articles 1 and 2 required by this law (Gürtas 1982: 77).

After abolishing the medreses, the state did make some attempt to provide for further training of religious personnel. At the lower level, 26 Imams' and Preachers' schools were established by the Ministry of Education. At the higher level the Faculty of Theology opened in 1924 as one of the faculties of the University of Istanbul, which brought it therefore under the ultimate control of the Ministry of Education. This new Faculty of Theology was intended to serve as the centre of a new modernised, and scientific form of religious instruction. A committee was appointed by the Faculty of Theology to examine the problem of reform and modernisation in the Islamic religion, and to make proposals through the university to the Ministry of Education. Its recommendations were published in June 1928. The principal suggestions of this report were that prayer should be reformed and the mosque turned into a Muslim church. It was possible to turn the Ottoman Sultanate into a national republic. But it was not possible to turn the mosque into a Muslim church, with pews, organ, and imam precentor. The committee report was a dead letter and the Faculty of Theology itself demonstrated to be premature. In 1929, the abolition of Arabic and Persian as subjects of instruction in secondary schools reduced both the competence and the numbers of the students. Those enrolled in the Faculty dropped from 224 in its first year to 20 in 1933.

After some abortive attempts at reform, it was finally closed in 1933, and replaced in due course by an Institute of Oriental Studies attached to the Faculty of Arts. In the same period there was parallel decline in the schools for imams and preachers (Lewis 1961: 408-409), because the Imams' and Preachers' schools lost the support of government with the formal incorporation of the principle of secularism into the Constitution in 1928. There was no religious organisation with sufficient financial resources independent of the government to maintain them. The last two such schools were closed by 1932 (Basgöz & Wilson 1968: 78).

There was two hours compulsory religious education, one class being devoted to Quran recitation, another to religious instruction. In 1924, the national curriculum provided for religious instruction in all primary school classes except the first year. In the primary school curriculum of 1926 the number of religious classes was reduced and they began from the third year (Akyüz 1989: 388). In the early 1930s whole religious courses were dropped from the national curriculum at primary and middle school level (Jasche 1972: 82). The Ministry of Education held the position that the teaching of religious subjects in the public schools was not compatible with the general theory of a secularised state and society. On the other hand, religious courses were retained only in the programs of village schools, and the Ministry actually supported the teaching of reformed Islamic concepts in these schools. One hour a week was devoted to the teaching of the uniqueness of God, and the life of the Prophet in historical terms. In this education, the fundamentals of Islamic faith were expressed within a framework of modern moral principles. Pupils were taught not to interfere with the religious beliefs of others, to be good citizens, and to avoid the extremes of fanaticism and fatalism (Maarif Vekilligi 1938: 74).

The curricula, textbooks and all appointments to the schools were controlled by a central agency. The same secularist principles in education which had been provided for the Turkish schools were applied to the foreign schools and colleges which had been established in Turkey. After the Law of Unification of Education, all forms of religious education and propaganda, particularly that for missionary purposes in the foreign

schools, were prohibited by the government. The government required that these schools remove religious drawings and illustrations from all textbooks, and the symbol of the cross from all school buildings. Where necessary, the government used force to close schools failing to comply with governmental policy. Several French and American schools were closed. One obvious example of this attitude occurred in 1928, when the American Girls School in Bursa was closed down due to the conversion of three Turkish girls to Christianity. Intervention by representatives of the British, French and Italian governments failed to alter this policy (Basgöz & Wilson 1968: 9-80, Trask 1965: 72).

The Law of Unification of Education, although it unified the educational system, and was successful as far as general education was concerned, was not at all successful from the standpoint of religious education. The task of establishing religious education in the manner guaranteed in principle by the Tevhid-i Tedrisat Law could not be undertaken in practice for around two decades (Bilgin 1993a: 39). For some Republican authors and politicians, the destruction of religious education was accepted as a genuine result of secularism (Daver 1955: 235)

It appears to us, in considering the application of the Law of Unification of Education, that its aim was not to unify old and new, traditional values and modernist views. The unification in reality led to the domination of only one side. If the purpose of unification of instruction had been to reproduce the new national identity and to make a consensus, there would have been no need to purge the religious side. Actually the law of unification of education was made a stepping stone for secular education. It was to fill the gaps that could not be filled by the secularist laws. In the one-party period this resulted in an intense effort to control the educational system by cleansing it of all religious influences.

1.4. Religious Education in the Multi-Party Period

After the Second World War, improving socio-economic relations with western democracies and the initiation of a multi-party system influenced the educational structure. Especially during Turkey's transition from a one-party to a multi-party system

(from 1946-1950) religion again emerged as a political and cultural issue. The revival of interest in religion was part of an ideological reaction against the strict secularism of the Republic by a diverse group of individuals who felt that the moral basis of society was being corroded and that there would be open criticism of the restrictions imposed by the government. In this context religious education became a rousing issue. Voices had been raised from different parts of the country complaining that owing to the non-availability of qualified religious personnel, the dead sometimes had to be buried without proper funeral services.

In this era, a liberal attitude towards religion and religious practice continued to characterise the behavior of Turkish governments through the following decades. They also developed more liberal policies towards the appearance of Islamic groups and Islamic publications in ever growing numbers. (Kushner 1986: 90). In particular, soon after the Democratic Party came to power, in 1950, it allowed the ezan to be read in Arabic instead of Turkish, and the Quran was recited over the state radio. More mosques were constructed and attendance in them increased considerably. Several religious books and pamphlets were published; and a great number of Muslims made the annual pilgrimage to Mecca (Thomas 1952:23, Kazamias 1966:190). In addition, as a result of public demands religious (Islamic) education was re-launched in the late forties, and it gradually improved in two ways: the first was through the establishment of a university Faculty of Divinity to train experts and of Imam-Hatip Schools (religious schools) to educate prayer-leaders and preachers. These were set up by the Ministry of Education and, to avoid contradicting the Act of the Unification of Education, 1924, were classified under Vocational Education. The second way was through the introduction of some religious courses in standard secular school education.

At this point I will first briefly examine the situation in higher religious education and Imam-Hatip Schools, before looking in more detail at the secular school system.

1.4.1.Higher Religious Education

The first formal suggestion that a new Faculty of Divinity should be set up was made in late January 1948, when Deputies I. Arvas and F. Gökmen tabled a bill to this effect in the Parliament. After a full discussion, the bill was passed in the Assembly in June 1949, authorising the creation of the new faculty (Resmi Gazete, no. 7229, 10 June 1949). Consequently, the Faculty of Theology was set up at the University of Ankara, under the control of the Ministry of Education. Unlike the old medreses, it was a part of the University (Reed 1956: 307). The goal of the new faculty was to produce religious functionaries such as teachers, muftis, imams etc., and religious researchers.

During the discussions of the bill in the Grand National Assembly, much anxiety was expressed lest the new Faculty of Theology should once again generate the rigidity and obscurantism of the old medreses. The Minister of Education replied that the proposed Faculty of Theology was a natural result of the reform processes set in motion by Ataturk:

> This idea is essentially of a nature that will put to rest our friends' anxieties. We are not of the opinion that the medreses should be revived. The Faculty of Divinity that we are about to establish is a scientific body. This faculty will be a torch of light like other scientific institutions (Rahman 1982: 92).

The identical Faculty of Divinity is still working in Ankara University with its ever increasing staff, and in its new separate buildings. A new Faculty of Islamic Studies was also started in Ataturk University in Erzurum, called the Faculty of Islamic Sciences (Islami Ilimler Fakültesi) in 1973. Apart from the two faculties, higher Institutes of Islamic Sciences (Yüksek Islam Enstitüsü) at the university level have also been established within the administrative body of the Ministry of Education. The first of these opened in Istanbul in 1959, and by 1977 their number increased to seven in different cities in Turkey. The curriculum of such institutes was the same as in the two faculties of theology in Ankara and in Erzurum. Registration in these institutes at the university level was open to the graduates of Imam Hatip Schools. As for the graduates of these institutes, they could be teachers in middle schools and high schools and they

could also be appointed by the Board of Religious Affairs as muftis, preachers or imams in the mosque service (Tug 1985: 48).

After the 1980 military coup, some changes occurred in Turkish higher education. One of these of concern to us is that all institutions in higher education, including universities, came under the control of the Council of Higher Education. As a result of the amendment all higher Islamic institutions were attached to universities and their name changed to a 'Faculty of Theology'. There were nine of these up to 1991. After this year, with the opening of 22 new universities in various cities in Turkey, the number of faculties of theology increased very sharply, almost doubling. Nowadays, in line with the continuing university expansion, their numbers have continued to increase.

In these institutions, comparative history of religions and social sciences are taught in addition to the basic Islamic disciplines. Today they have reached a fairly high level of scholarship so that they can match, in terms of providing human resources (lecturers) and to some extent in theoretical and practical thoughts, many universities in Islamic countries, such as Saudi Arabia and North Africa (Aydin 1989: 74).

Imam-Hatip Schools

The question of the Imam-Hatip Schools (Okullari) [3] is a burning issue in the Turkish educational system, frequently debated by politicians and in the press. These schools were first set up in 1951 as a co-operative effort by the Ministry of Education in response to, and in collaboration with, the private organising efforts of interested groups in various major provinces. They were begun with a basic three year middle school curriculum with fuller courses taking four years (Reed 1955: 154). This was later extended to seven years.

Now in these schools, which consist of three years at the junior level and four years at the upper level, 'religious subjects' such as Arabic, the Quran and its interpretation, Hadith, Islamic Law etc., constitute 40 percent of the curriculum, while the rest consists of exact sciences such as Physics, Mathematics, Biology etc. The new schools received an enthusiastic welcome in the Republic, not necessarily as institutions

for professional training, but as an alternative to the secular secondary schools, and their number as well as that of the students enrolled increased very rapidly (Tug 1985: 47). They reached 72 in 1970 and the number of graduates was approximately 50,000. After a reform act in 1973, the Imam-Hatip Schools were transformed and renamed 'Imam-Hatip Lycée (Liseleri)' and reorganised in accordance with lycée programmes with a curriculum consisting mainly of religious sciences and Arabic. Their numbers had reached 171 in 1975 and 248 in 1977. As a result of the public demand, this expansion continued until they reached 395 in 1994. This figure includes the new type 'Anadolu Imam-Hatip Schools' which were firstly set up in 1985, being mainly English medium (Din Ögretimi Genel Müdürlügü 1994).

A further amendment to the Imam-Hatip Schools system should be noted. According to recent legislation (September 1997), as a part of the extension of compulsory education from five years to eight years and its implementation under one type of school system, the junior level of Imam-Hatip Schools was ended, and therefore, the period of instruction is now four years.

The graduates of these schools can now register with the various humanities faculties of the universities, as well as the faculties of physical sciences. In fact, before 1975, their graduates had not been admitted to the universities. The extent of success in these schools, where the exact sciences along with religious knowledge are taught, has been considerable, as is shown in the statistics published by universities concerning the students enrolled in them. Today many of the graduates are enrolled in the faculties of engineering, medicine, law, economics, administration etc., and they are taking their places among the best students (Zaim 1987: 21). For instance, in 1994 a student who graduated from the Imam-Hatip School came first in the national competitive university entrance examination (Hürriyet, 16.8. 1994).

In many cases these are the only schools available to parents in rural areas, so they send their children to these schools because they offer instruction in the religion of Islam besides giving a basic education. It should be noted that the buildings of these schools

are mostly constructed by local community effort, and the government appoints teachers only after the construction of the school.

Consequently, these schools are obviously different from the traditional Islamic schools, the medreses, although the students are similarly devout. Regular prayer is not part of the programme, but many students and teachers pray in a nearby mosque or special room in the school at noon on Fridays. Furthermore, 60% percent of their curriculum consists of secular courses and 40% of religious classes. These features have been constant from the opening of these schools up to the present.

1.4.2. Religious Education in Schools

During the multi-party period religious education in the secular schools can be examined under two sub-periods. The first was the optional religious education programme between 1949 and 1982. In this era, as a first step, religious education was introduced in primary schools on an extra-curricular voluntary basis. By 1949, after a long debate on the political level, this education was in operation not only in primary schools, but also in middle schools (by 1956) and high schools (by 1967) on a voluntary basis. The second was the compulsory religious education period. It began with the introduction of the new 1982 Turkish Constitution that was prepared after the 1980 military coup and its implementation has continued up to the present day.

1.4.2.1. Optional Religious Education in Schools

The attempt to revive the spirit of the unification of education may be observed in the mid-1940s. The issue of religious education was first put on the agenda in the Grand National Assembly in 1946. In the Assembly some members of parliament argued that the young generation did not behave respectfully towards their parents and also that communism was beginning to spread among the Turkish youth. It was therefore suggested that religious education should be introduced in all schools. As has been shown by this statement, the request for religious instruction was not for scientific reasons, but for ethical reasons. After the Second World War, fear of the spread of

communism had become a significant concern in Europe. Turkey was especially affected by this, having a long boundary with Russia, the main centre of communism, and being all too aware that Russia had hostile designs on Turkish land. For instance, immediately after the Second World War the Russian government wanted territory from Turkey. For this reason governments emphasised the importance of religion in public life.

On 24 December, 1946, the question of religious education was discussed in the Grand National Assembly for the first time since the Second World War. It was introduced in the course of the budget debate by two influential Republican People's Party deputies, Muhittin Baha and Hamdullah Suphi Tanriöver. One of their reasons for advocating the reintroduction of religious education in the public schools was that very few children paid any attention to their parents and the other was to seek to prevent the influence of communist propaganda on youth. Two of the founders of the opposition Democratic Party, Mehmed Fuat Köprülü and Adnan Menderes supported this motion, but the Republican Prime Minister Recep Peker warned that such action might open the door to undesirable religious propaganda:

> We should follow the ethic of developed nations which have reached advanced levels in thought and science instead of the religious-Islamic ethic. The implementation of religious and ethical measures against communist propaganda is equivalent to treating poison with poison (TBMM Tutanak Dergisi 1946: 445).

For these reasons religious education was not seen as compatible with secular state schooling and due to the opposition of the Prime Minister it could not be reintroduced in public schools. Meanwhile the Assembly reached a decision to introduce French style ethics courses in schools. But this decision was not applied because the Ministry of Education argued that most of the curriculum of the ethics courses could be found in the classes on 'knowledge of citizenship'.

Turkish democracy was initiated in 1946 with free multi-party elections. The people had more opportunity to make requests to the government under the democratic system. In the Republican People's Party's seventh Congress in 1947, some delegates and deputies demanded from the government the reintroduction of religious education in

schools. In this Congress one delegate expressed his concern relating to religious education as follows:

> I believe that teaching religion has ample benefits in primary schools. In the world everybody prays when he is in the temple. What will our next generations read in our mosque? (Selamet Mecmuasi: c.2. sayi 31, 19.12.1947, p 6-7).

In the same Congress the deputy of Maras, Emin Karpuzoglu, replied to the criticism that religious fanaticism could be bolstered and secularism would be jeopardised. He assured the Congress that such fears were exaggerated:

> There is no religious fanaticism in the Turkish State possessing its own government and its own courts. We shall teach the true path to our new generation by giving religious education. We cannot eliminate religion from the nation's conscience (CHP Yedinci Kurultay Tutanagi 1948: 451-454).

Debate associated with religious education continued outside of the Assembly. In 1947 deputy Ahmet Suphi Tanriöver expressed his opinion in a conference that:

> Understanding of religion as a personal matter is incompatible with our Islamic tradition and solidarity in religion is extremely vital. The source of Turkish nationalism is the past. Islam is an inseparable part of Turkish history (Jasche 1972: 100).

After a debate in the body of the Republican People's Party, courses in Islam were accepted in the primary schools (Bilgin 1980: 57). The Minister of Education announced act no 524 on religious education on 7 February, 1949. According to this act, the Ministry of Education permitted voluntary religious education in the 4th and 5th grades in the public elementary schools (ilkokullar) for two classes weekly provided that this was done by approved volunteer teachers following a syllabus and texts prepared by the Presidency of Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Education, that parents or guardians of students authorised their participation in writing, and that the courses took place in school, but outside of regular school hours and did not count for academic credit (Tebligler Dergisi 7 February 1949: 153).

In 1950-51 these classes in religious education were incorporated into the regular primary curriculum and students were required to obtain a pass mark in this course in

order to advance to the next grade. The voluntary aspect continued in a minor form, as parents who submitted a written request that their children be excused from these classes could have their children withdrawn.

The reasons for reintroducing religious education at the primary level and in the later secondary school may be summarised as follows:

1. Turkish people put forward more openly their religious requests with increasing democracy. In other words, they put pressure on the government in this matter.

2. As a reflection of the post-Second World War situation more people had taken an interest in religion in Europe and Turkey.

3. Religious education was accepted as a measure to prevent the ideology of communist Russia affecting Turkish youth.

4. Some moral causes are that many children were considered to be lacking in respect for their parents and parents wished their children to recite the Quranic verses following their death. The latter is a very significant religious duty for the majority of parents.

5. A nationalistic reason was that history is of great importance for Turkish nationalism. If Islam were taught in schools, the new generation could be expected to be more strongly nationalist, since Islam had a vital role in Turkish history.

6. As a result of the absence of religious education for two decades, religious ignorance was widespread in Turkey, and false ideas about religion spread across the country.

Some groups were against religious teaching in primary school in the name of secularism. The cause of their opposition was that there was a contradiction between these courses and freedom of conscience and financial support for these classes should have been provided by parents of students instead of the state budget (Bilgin 1980: 57).

People who requested more and sufficient religious education criticised the present application of religious teaching in the following respects:

-It was not necessary for them to seek family approval for pupils to attend religious cources in the schools of a Muslim nation.

-If they wanted to strengthen Turkish morale and character, religious education should be taught under reasonable conditions.

-Religious and ethical instruction should be taught from primary level to the end of high school on a compulsory basis.

These classes met with a quick and enthusiastic support from the public. According to the record of the Ministry of Education statistics, approximately 99% of the pupils received religious education in primary schools in 1949-50 and 1950-1951 academic years (Daver 1955: 151).

With the re-introduction of religious courses on an optional basis in primary school, a new obligation arose that these classes should be put in the curriculum of Primary Teacher Training Schools. So, religious education was introduced in the 9th and 10th grades of that school consisting of two classes per week (Kahveci 1990: 109).

The syllabus that was adopted by the Ministry of Education was in the form of two textbooks, the one for pupils in their fourth year of school and the other for pupils in their fifth year of school. Both books were printed for sale with the authority of the Ministry of Education and the Presidency of Religious Affairs. The Quran and the hadith were well represented and cleverly used for a course which, within a definite religious background and framework, covers a certain amount of ethics, civics and religious history. Thus two books among other subjects contain lessons on the love of parents, teachers, fatherland, nation, Muhammed's love of children, and the place of morality in Islam (Tibawi 1956: 328-329).

1.4.2.1.1. Religious Education in the Middle Schools

The debate, as to whether religious education should be introduced to the middle school or not, was relatively slow after 1953. It is apparent that both opponents and exponents of this debate were proclaiming arguments identical to those used in the case of primary schools. In May 1956, the Ministry of Education announced that the government took a decision to teach religious courses in middle schools, maintaining that these courses in no way meant that they were against the Ataturk revolutions.

According to the regulation dated 19.9.1956 no. 4286 issued by the Education and Training Office, religious education is to be introduced in the first and second grades of middle schools and their equivalent. The principles of faith, worship and ethics of Islam are to be taught in these courses.

The formation of curriculum, syllabus and textbooks was to be developed by the Ministry of Education and efforts to increase the number of specialised instructors were to be made. The parents and guardians who wanted their pupils not to participate in the religious courses could apply to the school administration in writing at the beginning of each educational year. Those students had the right to be exempted from them.

1.4.2.1.2. Religious Education in the High Schools

During the budget debate of the Grand National Assembly in 1967 a motion involving religious education in high schools was delivered by 271 deputies and this proposal was then accepted by the Assembly. Afterwards, with the decision of the Education and Training Office dated 21.9.1967 no. 343, religious courses were to be presented in the first and second grades in high schools offering a class per week on a voluntary basis. The aims of religious instruction were briefly expounded by the same office as follows:

> Being compatible with national unity, and Ataturk`s principles of secularism, and taking into consideration its voluntary basis, the goals of religious courses are to recognise the existence of the spiritual world and to draw students` attention to the fact that there is no contradiction between spiritual values and materialistic values. The two values are complementary. When teaching, materialistic and spiritual values and the harmonious composition of them should be taught as complementary to the previous knowledge that pupils had taken in the course of their primary and middle school period (Bilgin 1980: 69-70).

With regard to retaining the non-usage of Arabic script in education in the multi-party period, the following official statement is an interesting example of this point. One member of Parliament, Fehmi Cumalioglu, asked the Minister of Education: "Is it allowable to recite Quran in Arabic in religious courses?" In response to him the Minister, Ilhami Ertem, pointed out that reciting Quran in Arabic is not in conformity

with the revolutionary law which is mentioned in the Turkish Constitution" (Tutanak Dergisi 1968: 140).

In 1974, with a decision taken by the coalition government of the Republican People's Party and the National Salvation Party (religious party), ethics courses were presented on a compulsory basis in all primary and secondary schools for one hour per week. In addition, in 1976 as a result of some political and social demands, religious education was introduced in the third year of middle and high schools by the regulation no. 345 dated 23.9.1976 by the Education Training Office (Kahveci 1990: 128).

1.4.2.2. Compulsory Religious Education in Schools

The democratic period began in 1946 with the first pluralist poll. However, Turkish democracy was suspended by military coups on various occasions. The latest one occurred on 12 September 1980. According to the Military Coup Council the purpose of the 1980 coup was to prevent terrorism, which was a significant problem causing suffering to people, and to establish order, and give a new direction in Turkish democracy. Their main argument was to protect the principle of Kemalism in the state administration. Before the 1980 military coup, Turkish democracy experienced two military take-overs in 1960 and in 1972, and after a reasonable time democracy returned.

The military coups affected Turkish political life and the educational system especially. In particular under the rule of the 1980 military leadership, very important decisions associated with religious education were taken by the administration. Religious education in schools was made compulsory at all primary and secondary levels at that time. Furthermore, this regulation was written as an article in the 1982 Constitution drawn up by the military administration. Religious education was thus recognised in Turkish law.

UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY
LEEDS

1.4.2.2.1. The Introduction of Compulsory Religious Education

Following the 1980 military coup in Turkey, religion became, once more, a central political issue. The military administration rediscovered Islam as stabilising social and political life (Demirci 1997). The use of Islam for such purposes affected religious groups and the place of religious education in school. Perhaps one of the most explicit expressions of this new policy was the introduction of compulsory religious education [4] in schools in Turkey. In this context, we, particularly, need to pay attention to the impact of the Turkish-Islamic Synthesis' (TIS) discourse on the articulation of the new policy of the Military Administration. This thought, which was advocated by the Aydinlar Ocagi (the Intellectuals' Heart) may be described as 'a blend of elements of putatively distinctive common religious faith and heritage' (Contemporary Religions 1992: 93). According to the TIS religion, the essence of Turkish culture and social control, must be fostered in schools. However, it must not be politicised. Therefore, the TIS had a considerable impact on the introduction of compulsory religious education and preparation of its curriculum [5].

On 15 December 1980, the special religious education committee was founded by the military regime to examine religious instruction in Turkey. This committee issued 'the religious education report', and some results of this report may be summarised as follows:

1. The Act of Unification of Education has required unity in the education system. In fact, the purpose of this act is to unify various education systems under one authority and to produce a nation sharing the same thoughts, emotions and values. Hence this aim can only be achieved by teaching Islam and the history of Turkey on an equal level.

2. Voluntary religious education has caused some anxiety among Muslims in Turkey when 98 percent of the population is Muslim. Therefore, religious education should be compulsory.

3. Religious education in secular schools and vocational religious training is never against Kemalism and the principles of Kemalism.

4. Religious education was understood as against secularism by some of Atatürk's colleagues in a certain period because of a false interruption of Kemalist secularism.

5. Nobody can understand Turkish values on a national, ethical, humanitarian and cultural basis without Islam because the main source of these values is our religion.

6. In primary and secondary schools, ethics courses should be deleted and their content should be taught together with religious education on a compulsory basis with two classes per week.

7. In order to ensure more support and more love for the Turkish state, religious education and regulations should meet society's beliefs.

8. Any reference which is against religion and describes a religious person as being fanatical or backward should be removed from all school textbooks (T.C. Milli Egitim Bakanligi: 6.2.1981).

1.4.2.2.2. Atay Report

Some scholars presented individual reports related to religious education to the National Security Council. The most influential and well-organised report was delivered by Hüseyin Atay who was the dean of the Faculty of Divinity in Ankara University at that time. Atay submitted special reports which dealt with religious education in Turkey. These reports are very explicit in expounding the history of religious education in the Republic, and influential in that most of his suggestions were put into practice very soon after. A brief account of some opinions from these reports can therefore be elucidated as follows.

According to Atay's first report, the target of the Act of Unification of Education was to achieve unification in emotion and thought for the Turkish nation, and to accommodate all education, including religious education, within the schools. In the past, negative attitudes towards religious education were sometimes observed. On account of these attitudes at certain times religious instruction was abrogated from schools, and then it was established in schools on an optional basis. Especially between 1939 and 1948 two different kinds of generations were brought up in Turkey. One of

them ignored all religious knowledge and the second group acquired knowledge of religion from private and hidden courses, because all levels of religious education were prohibited by law.

From 1948 up to the present day three different types of youth appeared with the following features:

1. A people who learned religious knowledge in schools.
2. A people to whom religious instruction was given by private religious courses.
3. A group of citizens who ignored religious knowledge.

Given the above scenario, unity in emotion and thought among these kinds of people was impossible. In fact, this situation presented a contradiction to the Act of Unification of Education. Therefore, the solution was to be given religious education on equal conditions with other subjects at all levels in schools. If it were realised, it would be possible to achieve the target of this educational act.

Atay maintained his concern in this matter, supporting his arguments with reference to recent events in Turkey. The significant reason for disorder (anarchy and sectarian separation) before 1980 in Turkey, was that Turkish young people were ignorant of their history, indigenous culture and religion. Because lacking such knowledge the young generation fell strongly under the influence of foreign ideology and beliefs, such as Marxism, communism etc., Turkish culture needed to be taught comprehensively in the Turkish educational system. Furthermore, he emphasised that it was the government's responsibility to establish religious education for pupils in conformity with the Act of Unification of Education.

Atay delivered another religious education report to the Military Security Council on 16 February, 1981. In this report, after praising the military take-over and Kemalism, Atay focused on the unity of the Turkish state and the role of compulsory religious education in achieving this aim. In particular, he answered some questions from those who were suspicious that compulsory religious education might open the way for sectarian struggle. Atay's view can be summarised as follows:

With the acceptance of secularist codes in the Republican Era, the previous sectarian implementation disappeared in the Turkish judicial system. In addition, sectarian distinction is less important than expected among Islamic sects. For this reason, there is no place for religious fighting and struggle among various religious sects, and in fact, only the main religious principles, form part of religious courses without reference to sectarian differences such as Alevi-Sunni and Hanefi-Shafi.

In order to prevent religious misunderstanding and to enhance the unity of the Turkish nation, religious courses must be introduced from the beginning of primary school to the end of high school (lyc`ee) on a compulsory basis, being compatible with the spirit and sense of the Act of Unification of Education (Atay 1981:11).

According to Atay, in suitable conditions, if these courses are taught by using accurate methods and competent teachers, the following benefits will be achieved:

1. The causes of religious and cultural divisions will be eliminated.

2. Not everyone will be able to direct Turkish youth in accordance with their own designs.

3. There will be an end to accusations by some religious groups that the Turkish state is against religion and the land of Turkey is the house of unbelief (Dar'ul Kufr) and there will be a decrease in unlawful religious propaganda and groups.

4. Providing that religious courses are taught under convenient circumstances, the Turkish people will be very happy and their loyalty to the state will be strengthened.

5. Sectarian distinction and struggle will be ended or at least minimised.

As a result of these studies, the Military Security Council reached a decision involving religious education, and in Erzurum it was announced by the President of Turkey as well as the head of the military council in a public speech on 24 July 1981:

> By taking this new decision, religious education will be introduced in every primary, middle and high school on a compulsory basis. Consequently our pupils will receive religious education from state schools. In the majority of western countries religious education is given by schools. I have emphasised that the meaning of secularism is not atheism/irreligion in my various speeches. In fact, compulsory religious education in schools is compatible with secularist principles. In this matter Ataturk stated: "Religion must be taken out from the hands of

ignorant people, and the control should be given to the appropriate people', and he issued the Act of Unification of Education. For these reasons, we will introduce compulsory religious education in our schools" (M.G.K.Sekreterligi 1981: 181).

Afterwards, the Minister of Education, Hasan Saglam, expressed the view that religious and ethics courses would be amalgamated, and the new classes would be taught from Grade 4 of primary school to the end of high school under state control on a compulsory basis within the next academic year. The purpose of the courses was established as follows: To provide students, in elementary and intermediate schools, with knowledge on religion in general, the Islamic religion, ethics and a sufficient basic knowledge related to these, in line with the Turkish national educational policy and its general goals and principles as well as Ataturk's principles of secularism; thus, to strengthen from a religious and ethical angle, Kemalism, national unity and solidarity and humanitarianism as well as to bring up ethical and virtuous human beings (Tebligler Dergisi: 28.9.1981). This decision was then put into the 1982 Constitution as the 24th article. According to the new regulation, the official name of religious education changed and its full name is now "Religious Culture and Ethics Knowledge'. These courses began to be taught from 4th grade primary to the end of middle school for two hours per week and one class in high school (Birdal 1990: 70) This legal position has been continued up to the present.

Major reasons for making religious education compulsory were presented at the above official committee and in the private reports and speech of the president. In addition to these causes, there is another possible significant reason for this. In Turkey, after military take-overs the new Constitution was drawn up by the military regime. A referendum was then held to seek the public's acceptance or rejection of it. Implicitly, the meaning of the referendum was also to learn whether the public approved the military coup or not. In this context, the 12 September 1980 military regime looked for the approval of the majority of the public. For that reason the 12 September administration tried to give a positive image about religious education to the Turkish people, because they recognised that the former military government took a very strict

stand on religious education. As a result of the referendum, the 1961 Constitution prepared by the 1960 military administration only gained just over 50% of the poll. In the light of this experience, the 12 September administration proceeded along different lines with the result that the 1982 Constitution also made by the military regime was accepted by 91% of voters.

1.4.2.2.3. Some Positive Opinions About Compulsory Religious Education

After the military take-over, the issue of compulsory religious education was hotly discussed. Positive ideas were put forward by different people as well as groups in an official report, in the conference of religious education that was organised with the co-operation of the Faculty of Divinity and the Presidency of Religious Affairs Foundation in Ankara in 1981, and the press. Apparently, the suggestions presented and positive opinions on the Atay report and 'the religious education report' have been widely agreed and expressed in the proponent press and the conference as well. Therefore, the following section will be confined, in the main, to some further ideas not mentioned above.

In the first religious education conference a scholar emphasised the importance of religious knowledge for Turkish enlightenment and then made a comparison from this point of view with the West:

> Learning our religion is our duty and right for understanding our civilisation. We are teaching Turkish history, geography, literature in our schools in detail, so, like other classes, religion (Islam) should be taught in schools to solve the problem of a spiritual vacuum, because this gap is a significant problem confronting us. In fact, the weak side of Turkish intellectuals is the lack of religious knowledge at the present day. A person may be a professor or deputy or journalist or a general etc. Even though he has some knowledge in various subjects, he has almost no knowledge of the religion of the Turkish nation. In the West, the intellectuals learn about their nation and religion. Moreover they seriously learn the religion of colonial countries. This important vacuum should be filled with genuine religious knowledge (Ücyigit 1981: 361).

On this issue, Mehmet Pamak, a member of the Consultative Assembly, noted that after the military coup compulsory religious education was introduced in jails with five

classes every week to educate prisoners. He remarked that, if Turks did not want to return to the situation before 12 September 1980, they should teach the young generation in schools for three hours, since he expected that this measure could reduce the crime rate (Pamak 1982).

A further view was expressed by a pro-secular columnist. As stressed by him, if parents were teaching their children to say 'I am a Muslim', it was necessary to give enough genuine knowledge on Islam. At a later age, the option of Islamic study should be made available to them. Teaching Islam did not mean forcing pupils to perform the religious duties, such as fasting and ritual prayer. Those who wanted to pray, could do so and those who did not wish to would not have to. Prayer is an individual matter between God and the person. Actually, to provide a religious education in schools should be a major obligation of the state in Turkey (Pulur 1982).

1.4.2.2.4. Some Negative Opinions About Compulsory Religious Education

After the 1980s in Turkey the arguments of the opposition about religious education in schools may be summarised thus:

1. Religious education is incompatible with Kemalism

2. Religious education does not meet the needs of secularism and freedom of conscience.

3. Religious courses may give rise to sectarian separatism.

4. There is a contradiction between science and religion (Islam)

5. There is a contradiction between religious education and the Act of Unification of Education (Tevhid-i Tedrisat).

Having noted these opposition reasons, I will try to explain some opinions of the opponents of religious education, as they were expressed in the Turkish press during the compulsory religious instruction debate at the beginning of 1980. It should be recorded that strong criticism came from the left wing press and the political parties in the optional religious educational period as well as in the compulsory period.

According to the author and columnist Akbal, religion is an old and primitive belief system, and the implementation of compulsory religious education is to depart from Kemalist principles. He then pointed out:

> There are some attempts to revive the backward and dogmatic Ottoman past. The military regime wants to prepare the new Turkish Constitution with a century old mentality and then try to have it accepted by the public. Actually, establishment of compulsory religious education and ethics in the new Constitution is to be deprived of rights given by Ataturk (Akbal: 8.9.1982).

In this statement he asserts the existence of a negative relation between religious instruction and Kemalism. In the same article he maintained his negative view on it, and emphasised that religion is only a personal matter and it merely answers the requirements of conscience. There is a contradiction between science and religion. Moreover, he argued that religious courses in schools may lead to a sectarian separatism and its effects can produce internal sectarian fighting. He said:

> Nobody interfered in the citizens' religion in the Ataturk period and the present day. In Turkey the population of Alevi citizens is roughly ten million. Under these circumstances to apply compulsory religious education and ethics while following a particular sectarian attitude is to divide the nation on the basis of religious belief (Akbal, 8.9.1982).

It is possible to provide more opinion on the same point. But I think that it is helpful to mention other reasons for opposition. An author who feels that secularist-scientific education is not compatible with religious education in schools expressed his concern in these words:

> To place religious and scientific-secularist concepts in the school curriculum is to obstruct our rising pupils' mentality, and to produce an ambivalence in their psychological life (Alkan: 31.7.1982).

In a left-wing newspaper article, a writer argued that Islam can be learned quite easily. So teaching religion in schools is not necessary. In addition, the hidden and explicit religious groups' activities will not lose power by introducing religious instruction in schools. In the same article the democratic period was described as a departure from Kemalist ideology. The same author observed:

> What a pity! Within the multi-party administration a traditionalist and backward mentality has arisen in Turkish political and social life and therefore some secularist compromises were made by the principle of unification of education (Cumhuriyet: 13.9.1981).

Another interesting point of view came from Nimet Öztus who was a member of the Consultation Assembly that was temporarily set up by the military regime. As stressed by her, "Religious education must not be introduced as a constitutional article as it might result in turning schools into mosques/prayer rooms" (Öztus 1982).

As seen from the examples given above, the arguments of opponents focused on the following principles: Kemalism, secularism and the contradiction between religious education and science. Therefore, it would be useful to look at them in the Turkish context in order to understand the aforementioned arguments better.

Kemalism is a set of principles articulated by Ataturk after the establishment of the Turkish Republic, by taking into account the national and international conditions, in order to transform Turkey into a modern western state. After the death of Ataturk those principles have preserved their importance up to now, and they have been placed in every new constitution as rules to be taken as guidance in Turkish social and political life. Consequently, every government has used these principles to legitimate their power. Similarly, every political party and group has interpreted these principles as it suits them in order to legitimate their political ideas. Whenever religious education has been the issue, Kemalism has been the backbone of the opinions of the opponents and proponents.

In 1937, secularism was introduced as a constitutional article. Up to the present day there has not been a consensus on the definition of secularism. Therefore, it has been one of the most speculative concepts in Turkish political life. And, as a result of strict implementation of secularism during the one-party regime, secularism has at times been perceived as atheism. While the multi-party regime secularism has been interpreted as freedom of religion and concession by those in power, there was positive improvement in terms of religious issues and religious education. With respect to religious education, it is necessary to ask the following question: Whose duty is it to

provide religious education for the young generation in a secular country? There are two possible responses that may be given. The first is the religious groups and the second is the state. If the Turkish legal provisions are taken into consideration, the first option can automatically be eliminated, because, the law prohibits other institutions, including religious groups, from providing religious education (Toprak 1993: 627). Under these circumstances the second option only remains. Therefore, it seems to be logical that the military government accepted the introduction of compulsory religious education, even though to a certain extent it contradicted the one-party implementation of secularism and Kemalism. However, it should be remembered that Kemalism is not a set of doctrines, but only a set of pragmatic principles which may vary with changing conditions. Moreover, there is mostly no contradiction between secularism and the inclusion of religious education in the school curriculum, when western secularist implementation is taken into account. It should also be mentioned that Turkey is a country where religious groups have not been recognised by the law, and there is no organised religious institution such as the Church. The Presidency of Religious Affairs is the only legal religious institution in Turkey and is controlled by the government, its head being an ordinary civil servant.

1.5. Summary and Conclusion

Thus far, we have explored the historical developments in Turkish religious education during the one-party period and multi-party period. In the former period, changes in religious education have been illustrated in the context of the Republican reforms, and particular attention has been given to the relationship between the interpretation of secularism and religious education. Consistent with the deterioration of the public and political role of religion, negative changes related to religious education have been observed in the one-party period.

Compared with the previous period, the multi-party period brought a revival of religion and religious education in various aspects. Many positive decisions dealing with religious education were taken. Religious education was re-introduced in the school

curriculum on an optional basis. Following the 1980 military coup, it became compulsory at all levels in primary and secondary schools. It was not only made a compulsory curriculum subject, but it was also secured as a constitutional article in Turkey. In other words, it reached its zenith from a legislative point of view.

Positive improvements have been noted from a quantitative point of view in religious education during the multi-party period. In contrast to this aspect, any significant attempt to improve the content and quality of religious education in proportion to its quantitative development has not been successful. The agenda of religious education discussions generally focused on whether it should be taught in schools or not, and whether it should be optional or compulsory. This may stem from the close connection between the role of religion in Turkish society and the place of religious education in schools. It should also be recognised that religion and its role in public are a burning and controversial issue in media, politics and education in Turkey.

It is also necessary to look at the arguments in favour of the introduction of religious education in schools. When we examine them, we can recognise that the great majority of arguments are based on social concerns, such as the need to strengthen national identity or to prevent anarchy. The expectations of religious education are also extremely high and hard to accommodate within the boundary of religious education in schools. The debate on religious education suffers from the lack of emphasis on theological and educational arguments to justify it. Moreover, they have mostly failed to make a reference to the requirements of Turkish pupils in terms of their age and personal needs outside the highly political and ideological agenda.

Finally, as we will see in later chapters, the agenda of religious education discussions has more impact on the aim, method and content of the religious education curriculum in Turkey. The same influence can certainly also be observed more clearly in textbooks for religious education.

CHAPTER 2

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

2.1. Introduction

Religion has played a pivotal role in English education, since from the earliest days of evangelism among the English people the Christian Church and education have been interlinked. Until the late nineteenth century almost all schools were of Christian foundation, be it the Church of England or other denomination, and no significant challenge was posed to the role of the Church in education. Owing to rapid industrialization and the introduction of universal compulsory schooling, large numbers of new schools were required to meet growing educational demands, and the Church was no longer in a position to fulfill these newly-created needs with its own resources. The 1870 Education Act, therefore, provided for the first entirely state-funded board schools. Within this act, religious education became an ingredient of English state education. Although the growing state involvement in the sphere of education has dramatically increased, in later times the Church has had an influence on religious education in state schools in terms of its legislative setting and content. The 1944 Education Act made religious education mandatory in state schools, and set out some provisions as to how religious education syllabuses should be prepared. In line with the changing social climate of England, educational research on religious education, and the changing relationship between Church and state, substantial improvements have taken place. The 1988 Education Reform Act retained many features of the 1944 Act, but also introduced changes which strengthen the role of religious education and acknowledge some recent developments in the subject.

This chapter is intended to provide a general background to discussions about teaching of Islam in England. Admittedly, there is no explicit educational provision, method or aim concerning the teaching of Islam in state schools. However, it should be kept in mind that every aspect of development in English religious education has an

obvious impact on the teaching of Islam. The provisions of religious education in terms of the 1944 and 1988 Education Acts and some changes in the structure of the subject will be examined in a general way. Brief reference will first be made to the issue of religious education between 1870 and 1944, to facilitate an understanding of the later debates.

2.2. Religious Education From 1870 To 1944

Before 1870 nearly all schools in England and Wales had religious foundations, so, from the earliest times, the teaching of religion had a place in the curriculum of English schools. In some schools it had a place in normal classroom work; in others it took the form of regular attendance at the cathedral or other ecclesiastical institution to which the school was attached (Bastide 1992: 11). Universal popular education under state control and compulsory primary education for all in England was instituted by the 1870 Education Act. The Church schools alone were not able to meet new educational requirements which emerged as a result of industrial development (Smith 1969: 18).

In order to respond to the new demands, a considerable number of state (board) schools began to be established alongside the voluntary schools following the 1870 Education Act. State schools were intended to make good the gaps in the voluntary system, not to replace them. While the 1870 Education Act enabled voluntary schools to develop side by side with the state schools, the financial provisions of the act favoured the board schools. The churches found it increasingly difficult to keep pace with the school boards and to maintain educational standards. During the thirty years after the 1870 Education Act nearly 14.000 voluntary schools were transferred to the school boards (Francis 1987: 16).

Religious teaching was to be fully denominational in voluntary schools, as it had been before the act came into force. In state schools, a denominational approach was strictly forbidden by the 'Cowper-Temple clause' and the right of religious conscience was protected. State schools could decide whether or not to include religious teaching, but,

when they decided to do so, it was to be in accordance with the 'Cowper-Temple clause', which stated that,

> No religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in any school provided by a school board.

Moreover, this act in section 7(I) stated that:

> It shall not be required, as a condition of any child being admitted into or continuing in the school, that he shall attend or abstain from attending any Sunday schools, or any place of religious worship, or that he shall attend any religious observance or instruction in religious subjects in the school or elsewhere, from which observance or instruction he may be withdrawn by his parent, or that he shall, if withdrawn by his parent, attend the school on any day set apart for religious observance by the religious body to which his parent belongs (Barnard 1947: 136).

Even in a state-aided voluntary school no child was to be compelled to attend religious instruction, and the 'conscience clause' was obligatory on all schools which received a government grant. In both board schools and voluntary schools alike religious instruction was no longer inspected or enforced as a condition of a grant, and this was made wholly in respect of secular instruction (Barnard 1947: 137).

At that time the syllabus of religious instruction used in church schools was really a catechism, and since the catechism would contain items such as the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed, it supplied the needs both of instruction and worship. In addition, religious observance, as they called it, took place in such schools every day. It was unthinkable that the state schools created after the 1870 Act should be 'godless'. In 1878 a government circular asked the school boards whether 'any religious observance or religious instruction' was given or practised under their management schools. Only sixty-five school boards reported that there was no religious observance at all in their schools (Hull 1975: 11-12).

It should be noted that the 1870 Education Act was a compromise, and it made provision for two different types of school. Voluntary schools were given a place of partnership within the educational system, and their right to give denominational instruction was also recognized. Religious teaching was given a place in the curriculum

of the state schools, and its educational significance was also understood. This could be considered a notable achievement (Barnard 1947).

The school boards were abolished, and the compromise of 1870 extended by the 1902 Education Act, but the dual system of education which was established in 1870 still continued. Education thus became one of the local services for which the councils were responsible, rather than the responsibility of a body outside the main system of local government. The new local educational authorities took over the educational administration of the board schools; they were also given control over secular education in voluntary schools. The board schools were redesignated 'provided' schools; voluntary schools renamed 'non-provided' schools. Religious teaching was to continue according to the Cowper-Temple clause.

The situation changed rapidly during the early decades of the twentieth century. The objectives of popular education were steadily enlarged. Denominational rivalry gradually gave way to co-operation. The public sector of education had become so large and so important that religious education in the council and county secondary school became a matter for increasing concern. Then, as a result of a new spirit of co-operation among the churches and more constructive movements in theology and biblical studies, the first 'Syllabus of Religious Instruction' was produced in 1924 by the Cambridgeshire L.E.A. It was prepared by an Advisory Committee consisting of members of the Church of England, the Free Churches, and of teachers in various kinds of schools and training colleges (Smith 1969, Durham Report 1970: 10). Afterwards, many counties adopted this syllabus; others were quick to draw up their own. This development went some way to improve the quality of religious teaching in the county schools. It was also an important landmark and one of the signs of a new era, that of co-operation rather than competition between the churches in this field (Durham Report 1970: 10).

Between 1902 and 1944 the dual system in education continued in spite of the churches' increasing financial difficulty. An abortive attempt was made to introduce a unitary system of education at the time of the Fisher Education Bill in 1921. This implementation produced its advocates and its opponents. Herbert Hensley Henson, later

to be Bishop of Durham, looked to a future in which education would be wholly the responsibility of the state, with religious teaching in all schools in accordance with the basic elements of the Christian faith (Durham Report 1970: 8). By the time of the 1936 Education Act, the partnership between the church and state had become so much part of the English educational system, that local educational authorities were empowered to enter further into agreement with the churches to assist financially towards the erection of church senior schools (Francis 1987: 17).

The continuing importance of religious teaching found expression in the educational reports during the later part of this period and most significantly in the Spen Report of 1938, which stated very clearly that, "no boy or girl can be counted as properly educated unless he or she has been made aware of the fact of the existence of religious life" (Alexander 1965: 208).

2.3. Religious Education and the 1944 Education Act

The 1944 Education Act, known as the Butler Act, was a major piece of English social legislation. It reconstructed the whole of the educational system, and was seen at the time as a vitally important contribution to the rebuilding of the civilization for which the Second World War was fought. Within this act the partnership between church and state continued. Traditionally, the relationship between Christian churches and education had been more closely connected in England than in other European countries in the modern era, and the War seemed to reinforce the need for the continuance of such a relationship. Many European educators had emphasized the need for a national or universal education system which would be compulsory, secular and free of charge; however, the British consistently rejected the idea that "secular" should be included (Barnard 1961: 299). Secondary education for all was one of the Act's main requirements. Therefore, to make this possible, a large number of schools would need to be extended, re-equipped, and modernized. At that time, approximately one-half of the existing schools were voluntary schools. On the one hand, the churches could not afford to maintain their voluntary schools and to bring them up to new standards laid down by

the Ministry of Education regulations. On the other hand, the state could not afford to buy up the church schools and was reluctant to annex them (Durham Report 1970: 12). In short, the issue of denominational schools was a major political problem. Under these circumstances the best solution appeared to be one in which a compromise was effected between the state and the churches.

The fact that the churches owned a high proportion of the nation's schools placed them in a strong position to influence the 1944 Education Act. At the same time, the churches were divided on their understanding of the future of voluntary schools. The Free Churches' opinion advocated the replacement of the dual system by a united state system with an agreed syllabus and the Cowper-Temple clause. They argued that the Christian presence in education could best be preserved through non-denominational religious education in state schools. This idea was shared by some Anglicans as well. However, the Catholics strongly rejected the aforementioned idea and they insisted on retaining the full denominational character of their schools.

Prolonged negotiations resulted in another compromise between church and state, affecting both the future of church schools and the place of religion in county schools. The act effectively strengthened a dual system which has continued until the present day. As far as church schools were concerned, voluntary schools were given the choice of either "voluntary aided" or "voluntary controlled" status. A summary of how each of the two kinds of schools was to be distinguished is provided below:

Voluntary-controlled schools: Two-thirds of the managers were appointed by the LEA and one third by the Church. Funding was to be the responsibility of the LEA. Religious worship could be denominational and religious instruction would be provided by the LEA's agreed syllabus, but parents could ask for some denominational instruction.

Voluntary-aided schools: Two-thirds of the managers were to be appointed by the Church and one-third by the LEA. The funding for such schools would be provided by both the Church and the government. Both religious worship and religious instruction were to be denominational.

The Act as regards religious education in general laid down in Section 25 that,

> The school day in every county school and in voluntary school shall begin with collective worship on the part of all pupils in attendance and that religious instruction shall be given in every county and in every voluntary school (Dent 1968: 20).

According to the aforementioned provision the act made two very significant points. First, it made religious instruction mandatory in all county schools and explained that this religious instruction would be,

> In accordance with an agreed syllabus adopted for the school... and shall not include any catechism or formulary which is distinctive of any particular religious denomination (Section 26).

Second, school worship became obligatory within the act and, in the case of county schools, it was stated that the collective worship "shall not... be distinctive of any particular religious denomination" (Section 26).

This was a new departure in English educational legislation. Though religious instruction and collective acts of worship had for long been an important feature of English education, they had never been made statutory obligations. Obligatory religious education gained very considerable public and Parliamentary support (Durham Report 1970: 13, Dent 1968: 20). Religious education in schools appeared as an important factor in rebuilding British civilization on its historic foundations. From parliamentary discussions on the Butler Act it is obvious that this consideration influenced the attitudes and thoughts of many M.P.s. One of the reasons for religious education was remarked by Mr. Chuter Ede during the Parliamentary debate:

> There is, I think, a general recognition that even if parents themselves have in the course of life encountered difficulties that have led them into doubts and hesitations, they do desire that their children shall have a grounding in the principles of the Christian faith as it ought to be practised in this country (Dent 1968: 21).

Nevertheless, up until the present time, the traditional freedom of parents to withdraw children from religious education in all type of schools has been preserved in accordance with Section 25 of the 1944 Act.

In addition to the above two important points, the fifth schedule of the 1944 Education Act defined the procedure for preparing and bringing into operation an agreed syllabus of religious instruction. It laid down that the local education authority must convene a conference consisting of representatives from the churches, the local education authority and teachers' associations. This implementation, therefore, gave the churches a key role in agreeing the form of religious instruction to be provided in county schools. At the same time, this act gave the power to establish a "Standing Advisory Council on Religious Education" with the function of advising the authority (LEA) on religious education.

As already mentioned, the 1944 Education Act defined religious education as comprising a collective act of worship and religious instruction. We will first look briefly at the matter of worship before discussing in more detail the area of concern to us here, that of religious instruction.

2.3.1. School Worship

There has been worship in schools since education began in Britain. It was taken for granted that regular religious observance was a part of their daily life, though it did not become a legal requirement. School worship, like religious instruction, is an obligation laid on every county school by the 1944 Education Act. As pointed out earlier, "The school day in every county school and in every voluntary school shall begin with collective worship on the part of all pupils in attendance at the school" (Section 25). This worship shall not, in county schools, be distinctive of any particular denomination. The act also makes legal provision for parents who wish to withdraw their children from worship. The freedom of the teacher is protected by clauses which state that no teacher shall be compelled to attend the daily act of worship and none "shall be deprived of, or disqualified for, any promotion" by reason of such abstention.

Although the form of worship to be performed in schools was not defined, it was assumed that it would be Christian worship. During debate on the act in the House of Lords, Lord Clifford expressed his concern on religious worship: "It is the intention of

the government that the corporate act of worship shall be an act of Christian worship" (Cox & Cairns 1989: 32). At that time there were a small number of followers of other religions in England and the only form of worship that most people could visualize was a Christian one. In many primary and secondary schools, the content of the Assembly consisted of a hymn; a reading from the Bible or from some inspirational literature; prayers and the Lord's Prayer (Durham Report 1970: 130).

In the intervening years, the proponent and opponent arguments were presented in the contemporary literature on school worship. Some of the positive arguments expressed by the Durham Report (1970) may be summarized as follows:

Firstly, worship is an essential feature of all religions in different forms. Hence, if religious education is to continue in schools, some initiation into the experience of worship must necessarily be provided as part of that education. This is available most conveniently in the school situation.

Secondly, human beings both young and old have certain deep personal and emotional needs which are met through participation in religious or quasi-religious ritual. People require occasions for reflection and celebration. In school, worship provides an opportunity for these needs to be met.

Thirdly, many important English public events, for instance, Assizes, Remembrance Day, etc., are related to religious services, and there is much popular churchgoing at Christmas and Easter. In short, a tradition of worship is obviously significant for some aspects of English life. Therefore, school worship provides some initiation into this tradition.

A large number of educationalists, policy makers and practitioners were opposed to the existence of school worship in state schools (Halstead & Khan-Cheema 1987). The most considerable criticism of school worship came from Hull's book, *School Worship; an Obituary (1975).* He claimed that the necessary conditions for worship are no longer to be found in state schools, and he reached the conclusion that:

> Real tension has developed between the aims of education and nature of worship in daily assembly, to such a degree that compulsory worship in daily assembly stands out

> as an anachronism, inadequate as worship and ill-related to the needs and concerns of the school and the society in which it is situated (Hull 1975).

Hull's conclusion emerges not from antagonism to the Christian faith, but rather from commitment to it. His argument is that in today's society the concept of education needs to be clearly distinguished from related concepts, like instruction, indoctrination, training, nurture and catechism. For him education is a critical process.

On the other hand, as stressed by Hull, worship logically entails certain beliefs and the acceptance of those beliefs as true. Because processes of worship and education are, therefore, fundamentally different and logically incompatible:

> Nurture prepares for belief, evangelisation summons belief, instruction implies belief, catechism strengthens belief and worship assumes belief. But education scrutinizes belief. It is clear, then, that worship and education cannot take place concurrently (Hull 1975).

It is a clear fact that the religious picture of British society has changed since 1944. A great many people who had been previously nominally Christian, or had kept to themselves their private doubts regarding the acceptability of many aspects of Christian doctrine, found it possible to express openly their agnosticism, or even atheism. Moreover, significant groups of people who sincerely professed other faiths, Muslims, Hindus, etc., immigrated to Britain. This made a Christian act of school worship even more problematic, and teachers explained more freely their misgivings about it. Under these circumstances some schools continued in the old ways and still provided Christian acts of worship without considering the difficulties; others reduced worship to a minimum level; a third group applied multi-faith forms and assemblies that were moral and humanistic rather than religious (Cox & Cairns 1989: 33).

The 1988 Education Reform Act provision repeats the previous stipulation that all schools must provide a daily collective act of worship, and goes further in stating that it "should be wholly or mainly of a broadly Christian character". This act made some amendments concerning time and organization of worship as well. The explicit Christian definition of the content of worship is considered as a departure from welcoming the

new pluralist flavour of society (Watson 1993: 160), and this was interpreted to be subordination of minority faith in collective worship (Abdul Mabud 1992: 92). It seems that taking into account the multi-faith approach in religious education, predominantly Christian worship in state schools is not consistent with the same policy, and received some criticism from faith communities such as Muslims. Moreover, the very existence of school worship even to some extent, exhibits a contradiction with the British liberal attitude to education.

2.3.2. Religious Instruction and Agreed Syllabus

Religious education and agreed syllabuses were made compulsory by the 1944 Education Act, but it is a fact that both were not the creation of the 1944 Act. They had been evident within the education service for a number of years. This act simply made them obligatory in all county and controlled schools. Many authorities had either been using their own agreed syllabus or the syllabus compiled by another authority for a number of years (H.M.S.O. 1959: 120). For example, the West Riding Syllabus was written in 1923 and was agreed by teachers, church leaders, and officers of the authority, although there were no fixed guidelines as to how this group should be constructed at that time. It may be for this reason that the idea of an agreed syllabus was so readily accepted by those groups involved in religious education.

The act specified that the implementation of the legislation would be conducted by the Local Education Authority. It also specified procedures to be used for constructing and adopting an agreed syllabus for each LEA. The procedure to be followed for developing and adopting an agreed syllabus required that each LEA assemble a conference consisting of four committees: one representing the Local Education Authority, one representing teacher associations, one representing the Anglican Church, and one representing other denominations. (This meant other Protestant groups, because the Roman Catholics did not wish to cooperate and other significant non-Christian groups were not foreseen at that time). Any group had a right of veto for a proposal, thus anything which was not acceptable to all could not be included in a syllabus.

Instead of developing its own syllabus, an LEA could adopt the syllabus of another LEA, and this continues to be done in many districts. In fact, it is estimated that most of the LEAs were using a syllabus by 1944, and many were borrowing the one from Cambridgeshire (Clayton 1969: 55). During the 1950s the Cambridgeshire and Sunderland syllabuses were the most commonly used, followed closely by the Surrey, West Riding and Durham syllabuses (Hillard 1963: 99).

The agreed syllabus was also the legal document which defined areas of agreement between the various Christian denominations. These syllabuses were also intended to state what content teachers could use in their religious instruction.

Although there were no specific references to the word "Christianity" in the 1944 Act, there was an underlying assumption that the specific teachings in the religion classes would be Christian. This would appear quite understandable because at this time the majority within the society were basically 'Christian' and upheld Christian values and beliefs. The intent was that Christian doctrines could be taught in such a way as not to be offensive to any one of the denominational groups. It is clear from the syllabuses already in use as well as from public discussion of the day, that the 1944 Act intended that inter-denominational Christianity, using the Bible, would be the subject matter of religious education classes.

> ...The role of religious education is not merely to inform children and youth about the Bible and the essentials of undenominational Christian tradition. It aims to secure belief in doctrines taken to be held in common by the main churches in the culture (Clayton 1969: 25).

It would appear that the 1944 Act was a major influence in shaping the way that religious education would develop in the following years. Some of the legislation simply legalised and made compulsory what had been happening in a number of authorities for a considerable time. It also made provision for teachers to specialise in religious education during their training, just as they could in any other curriculum subject.

Since 1944 neither the cultural scene in Britain nor the religious education undertaken in its schools have remained static. There have been changes in the ethnic

composition of the country, in educational theory and practice, in theological and in moral thinking and in attitudes to religions. Up to about 1960 the existing syllabuses were used and generally accepted as being satisfactory. By the 1960s however, there had been an increasing feeling that the existing syllabuses were not adequately fulfilling their role, and the teaching was not having the effect that had been hoped. According to Cox & Cairns (1989), some reasons for the ineffectiveness of religious education at that period were as follows:

There was no longer any real conviction about the Christian basis of British personal and national values or even an ability to see a relationship between those values and what was taught about religion in the classroom. Rather, there was an increasing disrespect for traditional forms of culture and authority, and a decline in church-going among young people. Religious education was not generally meeting pupils' interests and needs and was having little effect on their behaviour and outlook. As has been shown by the reports produced at this time, the content of religious education lessons seemed irrelevant to pupils' concerns and lives. As a result they were remembering little of what was being taught and misunderstanding a good deal of the little they were remembering.

The other reason for the inadequacy of religious education arose from the nature of provisions for it. The aim of legislators may have been to teach simple Bible- based and folk Christianity. However, as already mentioned, the act gave the responsibility of decision-making concerning the content of religious education to Local Authority Syllabus Conferences made up of a high proportion of distinguished Church leaders and qualified theologians, whose opinions were influential on other sections of the syllabus committee. These Christian dignitaries and scholars were not concerned with a folk faith, but with more detailed points of doctrine, worship and Biblical scholarship.

Moreover, the conferences requested that syllabuses should be acceptable to all the main Christian Protestant denominations, who disagree deeply apart from a basic agreement that the Bible is a sacred book and that Bible study is desirable. Therefore, the early syllabuses were amended so as to be based on assumptions that were doctrinal

and ecclesiastical rather than ones that were acceptable to a folk faith. This may be one of the causes of lack of pupil interest and of the ineffectiveness of religious education.

As a result of the researches of the late 1950s, ineffectiveness had been recognized, and then, taking into consideration the emerging multi-faith society and people's attitudes towards religion, a series of attempts began to make religious education more relevant to the views of the pupils, and these attempts have been continued ever since. Among others, the research on pupils' psychological understanding of religion and theoretical research dealing with religious education, in which Schools Council Working Paper: 36 has played a predominant role, will now be addressed.

2.3.2.1. Changes in Psychological Understanding

The new approach to religious education which appeared in the early 1960s was based upon developments in psychology. Several educational theorists worked on the production of a new method, giving consideration to pupils' emotional and mental developments. In the 1940s and 1950s the Bible-centred approach was extensively used in teaching religion in schools. In the 1960s, instead of the Bible-centred approach, a child-centred approach to religious education was developed by educationalists, and it gained in support as it was put into practice. Harold Loukes and Ronald Goldman were the eminent proponents of the child-centred approach. These two scholars served as the cornerstone of the new religious education structure, to which others contributed.

A child-centered approach is an approach which begins with the emphasis on human experience instead of divine revelation. It also begins with the students instead of the text. It concentrates on what is relevant to them. This approach attempts to investigate what pupils actually learn, instead of what facts may be offered in the curriculum.

Loukes and Goldman made highly successful efforts to turn around the direction of religious education. The main results of their work were that the religious education curriculum introduced a very large component of moral education, and a more thematic approach to the more traditional biblical components.

Harold Loukes and His Contribution to Religious Education

Harold Loukes published *Teenage Religion* in 1961. It immediately drew much attention, and it became one of the most important influences upon religious education in the 1960s. Loukes, a reader in Education at Oxford University, had been appointed to chair a committee. The duty of this committee was to investigate the various approaches to religious education in a limited number of randomly selected secondary schools (Copley 1997: 69). The committee consisted of teachers and other specialists in secondary education. The aim of the research was to evaluate the students' 'understanding' of religious education.

The methods of interviews and written statements were used to obtain information from students aged fifteen or over. Interviews and written questions covered a variety of religious subjects. These questions aimed to inquire about students' ideas relating to God's nature, heaven and hell, suffering, miracles, and other theological issues. Some questions regarding the individual's moral responsibility were also included.

The questions regarding the religious instruction had received critical responses from the school students. They complained that there was too much repetition of biblical stories, particularly a select few which had been taught throughout their primary years as well. In this case, one student pointed out that 'Lessons on the Bible are the same all your life' (Loukes 1961: 80). Some noted that they could not see any relevance in the subject for their future, and still others criticised the fact that more adult topics were not discussed.

As a result of this research, Loukes recognised that religious education did not match the needs of pupils and was having little influence on the majority of youth. He outlined his own observation of religious education in secondary schools. He also recommended that all efforts should be devoted to the child and his needs. Loukes pointed out that the Bible is understood as literally true by most twelve-year olds. However, it is not true for most fifteen to eighteen-year olds, because they are going through an expected period of adolescent doubt (Loukes 1961: 91).

He classified the adolescent problems into three main categories based on the students' comments. These are; personal relations (authority, friendship, sexuality); personal responsibility (money, work, leisure, prayer); and questions about meaning (death, suffering, evil) (Loukes 1961: 103). The remaining part of his book attempts to offer ideas for teachers to use in order to address each of these problem areas.

Loukes suggests that teachers should be creative, bring up themes concerning a problem area, and lead a discussion of both the theme and how it is related to the problem area. He also requests that teachers raise the questions of what the Christian message might be in response to a particular problem.

Finally, he calls for an application of that Christian message to the everyday life of students. For instance, supposing that the topic is work. A teacher would eventually lead the students into a discussion about what such a topic implies for their personal employment choices and their conduct on the job, and relevant biblical stories would be used to support 'Christian' positions.

As has been seen, Loukes maintained a confessional approach, but it was not so dominantly Bible-centred. It was a thematic approach that started with the pupil. He also explained how the Bible should be used in lessons. As stressed by him, the Bible became an instrument through which the central issues (life experience and problems) were addressed.

Loukes did not ignore the teaching of the Bible in religious education. However, he intended to do more for students than simply give them a body of facts. It was assumed that religious education would give them a positive attitude about religion and provide them with a practical moral code for living. The students' responses in Loukes' research showed that positive results were not to be found in the approach of the 1940s and 1950s. He therefore argued that religious education should be re-evaluated much more circumspectly as the decade progressed.

It should be noted that Loukes' approach was not without its critics. The major criticism of his method was that it did not centre enough on the Bible. If students did not acquire enough knowledge about the Bible, they would not be able to use the Bible

successfully in their future life. One criticism came from H.F. Mathews who was a professor of Education at Summerfield College. He commented:

> We may have every sympathy with the youngsters who complained that their adolescent religious education consisted in the further repetition of Bible stories they had heard several times in the primary schools. But Christian religion is based upon the revelation in Scripture, and not merely on general ideas of God and man which may come out in form discussion (Mathews 1966: 56).

Ronald Goldman and His Contribution to Religious Education

Ronald Goldman , professor of Educational Psychology at the University of Reading, was a significant pioneer of developments in psychology of religious education in the 1960s. He applied the reasoning of Piaget to religious education. The two major works which he produced as a result of his studies are *Religious Thinking from Childhood to Adolescence* in 1964, and *Readiness for Religion* in 1965. His sample pupils for research were younger than those in the study of Loukes. However, his implementation of Piaget's theories for religious education and interpretations are important from a religious education point of view at both primary and adolescent level.

Piaget argued for the importance of beginning a child's education by looking at what the child was able to grasp, and that pupils should be educated on the basis of their conceptual ability. The child-centred approach had already been applied in most other disciplines in education, and Goldman believed that such an approach should also be applied to religious education. According to him, religious thinking is not different from other kinds of thinking. " 'Thinking' is defined as what happens inside the mind 'between sense perception and effective action' " (Goldman 1964: 10). He criticised past religious education for teaching children to think incorrectly and develop the wrong concepts, and therefore, inhibiting their religious maturation (Mathews 1966: 81).

Goldman tested this hypothesis by establishing a pilot group of students. These student were aged between six and seventeen and they had IQ scores between 76 and 140. The project was divided into two parts. In the first, he conducted interviews with students were aged and showed them three pictures. These were pictures of parents

entering a church with a child, a child praying at her/his bedside, and a child looking at a large family Bible which had been torn and written on by a younger sibling. Then, each of the students were asked questions about the pictures. In the second part, Goldman also conducted interviews. He chose to read three Bible stories to students and asked them questions concerning these stories. The stories were Moses and the Burning Bush, the crossing of the Red Sea, and the temptation of Jesus.

As a result of this research Goldman accepted Piaget's three stages of developmental thinking and suggested that religious thinking developed along very similar lines. These three stages are: pre-operational thinking, concrete thinking and abstract thinking in adolescence. He puts forward the theory that the first stage in development is the intuitive stage. This stage finishes when children reach the mental age of seven or eight. During the first stage children accept bible stories at their face value, adhering to something in the story from their own experience. The children are unable to accept the analogies that different stories are intended to portray.

The second stage is the concrete thinking stage which covers between the ages of seven and eight and thirteen and fourteen years. In this stage children are able to reason more clearly but still try to interpret bible stories literally. Although both inductive and deductive logic are used at this level of thinking, their scope is limited to 'concrete situations, visual experiences and sensory data' (Goldman 1964: 55).

The third stage is the abstract thinking stage. This stage starts at an age of thirteen or fourteen. In this stage, pupils are able to think abstractly and hypothetically without the limits and constraints of concrete objects. Goldman explained this stage as follows:

> Only after reaching a mental age of 13 or 14 years do young people have the intellectual ability to consider an incident or a situation from the point of view of its underlying meaning, and to make transference needed to deal with symbolic expressions (Goldman 1964).

Based on this study Goldman concluded that religious education had been Bible-centred far too long. It must be reoriented toward a child-centred approach. The Bible could no longer be seen as a book for children. The literature in the Bible was different

and stories were often complicated. Consequently, it simply could not serve as an adequate textbook for religious education. The work for *Readiness for Religion* which was conducted by Goldman advocated the child-centred approach by discussing the psychology, the content, and the methodological bases of religious education. He reached a conclusion that a 'topics approach' to the Bible would be the most helpful to pupils.

Goldman suggested many possible topics, such as light, water and air. He also explained how such topics might be taught. For example, the topic of 'light' could firstly be presented as a scientific subject, and, when the study progressed, it could incorporate religious language and religious materials from the Bible. He issued six small booklets dealing with this topic for students. They were entitled *The Growth of Light, The Sources of Light, The Image of Light, The Path of Light, The Power of Light,* and *The Wonder of Light.* It was his suggestion that, as students read through each booklet, they would think about the scientific and natural truths contained in each. They read about such biblical truths as Jesus being in the 'image of god', or his statement that he is the 'Light of the World' as well. For this teaching hymns, poems, and prayers about light could be used (Goldman 1965: 157).

The above approach allows students to relate something ordinary to the non-ordinary. However, its greatest weakness may be that it is a somewhat indirect approach in the subject of religion. Goldman's real contribution may lie in his overall hypothesis and not in his specific methodology. He claims that younger children can understand biblical stories only descriptively and that it is not until adolescence that teachers should attempt to interpret the stories.

Adolescence presents its own problems. Goldman believes there is the most discontent about religious education in this age group. He attributes this discontent to boredom with the biblical stories taught, and with students' association of religion with tales (Goldman 1965: 165). His child-centred approach advocates that the needs of the adolescents are considered. Firstly, how could religious education be relevant to their lives? Second, he provides examples of appropriate content and viable teaching methods. In his examples of appropriate content he uses both biblical themes and life themes. He insists that the methods used will be sensitive to the students' need for status

during adolescence (Goldman 1965: 187). Goldman also encourages such discussion in religious education and less emphasis upon the conveyance of a prescribed amount of information.

As a result of Goldman's work many educators began to plan major revisions to religious education syllabuses (Mathews 1966: 92). The new approach to religious education proposes teaching from the Bible. It is inappropriate to teach the Bible directly. Thus, the overall aim of the study would be to help each pupil to understand that religion is relevant to his or her life. However, his work was not free of controversy. It attracted considerable criticism, almost from the beginning, focusing on the research structure and implementation (Hyde 1990: 35-43). Goldman had focused on thought and reason, and he treated the skills of students' thinking as the only viable means of analyzing religious awareness.

2.3.2.2.School Council Working Paper No: 36

England experienced significant cultural change in the 1960s, when Britain witnessed a massive increase in immigration from the new commonwealth countries (e.g. India, Pakistan etc.) [1] Most of the immigrants settled in geographically limited urban areas [2] especially London, the industrial areas of the West Midlands, Yorkshire and Greater Manchester. All of this meant that England became a multi-faith society, and that the schools had to deal with an increasing number of non-Christian oriented students. Many schools feared that parents from non-Christian traditions would withdraw their children from religious education classes, and it would create an administrative problem for those attempting to move large numbers of pupils out and away from the campuses. This practical problem added weight to the tide of opinion which wanted to de-Christianize the religious timetable (Kay 1981: 26). It also allowed for a stronger argument to be made for the inclusion of Islam, Hinduism, and Sikhism because these were the primary traditions of the immigrants. Moreover, at that period, it became clear that, besides expanding or changing religious education to a child-centred approach, religious education must also broaden itself to include more than the Christian tradition and its

interaction with Western culture. In this context, one of the most important developers of this multi-faith and open religious education was Ninian Smart [3]. He was professor of religious studies and the head of department at the University of Lancaster and later at the University of California, Santa Barbara. His approach to multi-faith education, including teaching of Islam, was taken into consideration in the following legislation and adaptation of agreed syllabuses. He managed the significant Schools Council Working Paper No: 36 relating to religious education in secondary schools, and also wrote extensively concerning religious education during the 1960s and 1970s (Clarke 1989: 195-196, Bates 1996: 92). In addition to publishing several books, he worked with various LEAs and contributed to the new Birmingham Agreed Syllabus which was published in1975.

Smart made a significant contribution to the discipline in his attempt to define religion differently. He explained the major aspects of his new approach dealing with religious education in *Secular Education and the Logic of Religion* published in 1968. He objected to the idea that religious education was to be equated with Christian education, and wanted to distinguish "religion" from "a religion" (Smart 1968). He believed that religious education in the county schools could be approached as it had been in some of the state universities.

According to him "a religion" meant that religion in the traditional sense of the word, an established belief system. He identified six dimensions which characterize its nature: doctrines, myths, ethics, rituals, experiences, and social dimensions (Smart 1975: 13) These dimensions were developed, and he made more detailed analyses, in several works such as *The World's Religions* (1989). He believed that political ideologies as well as traditional religious systems have these six dimensions. Therefore he reached a conclusion that such ideologies as Maoism and Marxism are important for students of religions. He then defines religion as what it is generally. In this second definition of religion Smart elaborates on how religion also has to do with supplying answers to questions about humanity's existential needs and questions about meaning: by "meaning" Smart is referring to those questions, "Why do human beings suffer, why is

there existence, and why is there death?". When one studies religion, it is not enough to study "religions" and their primary characteristics as noted above. It is also necessary to study "religion" as it relates to questions concerning the meaning of human existence, and its relationship to ultimate values and purposes.

Smart summarizes his two-part definition of religion by concluding,

> I have tried to outline what religious and religion mean. The consequences for religious education are fairly clear: it must concern itself both with religions and with values - and both in a plural, not a dogmatic, way (Smart 1975: 22).

Smart developed his critique about traditional approaches to the study of religion at both school and university level. He stressed that the teaching of religion in English education was suffering from schizophrenia. Although secular universities maintained neutral attitudes, schools were committed by the 1944 Education Act to undertake worship and religious instruction. Furthermore, he criticized the lack of attention both in theology and religious education to Christianity and other religions in their contemporary forms and expressions (Bates 1996: 93). Central to Smart's approach to all belief systems was the aim of achieving empathetic awareness using the Husserlian 'epoche'- the 'bracketing out' of prejudice and preconception.

As far as he was concerned, there should be no difference in the main aims and features of religious education in schools and religious studies in universities. Both should help to stimulate the empathetic understanding of religions and to create certain capacities to understand and think about religion (Smart 1968: 97). He argued that the tradition and establishment of the Anglican Church constituted obstacles to the open, pluralistic study of religion in both universities and schools. Nevertheless, he described English society as 'open and religiously uncommitted' and felt that its universities as well as its schools should be 'secular-that is, neutralist in regard to religious or ideological commitment' (Smart 1968: 90).

Some Features of Working Paper No: 36

A major document in the development of religious education in the 1970s in England was Schools Council Working Paper No 36. This was written by a project team of teachers and lecturers directed by Smart and based in his department at Lancaster University. It constituted a watershed in the development of religious education (Clarke 1989: 2), and for many it clarified problems confronting religious educationists. This working paper represented the thinking of those engaged on the work of the Schools Council Project on religious education in secondary schools.

Working Paper No: 36 produced suggestions for the secondary school curriculum in the context of teaching religion as a subject, or within related fields of study, and analysed various contemporary approaches to religious education. It then took account of such particular problems as the religious needs of minority ethnic groups. On the issue of moral education it also concluded that no adequate moral education could exclude a consideration of morals founded upon a religious view of life, even though moral knowledge was perfectly possible without religion. It finally examined the implication for teacher education of the approach it recommended. It emphasized the necessity for teachers to be educated by the 'open approach' to religious studies of universities and colleges of education if they were to be expected to adopt this method with their own pupils.

After examining the main arguments for the inclusion of religion in the curriculum of maintained schools, Working Paper No: 36 outlined some distinctive approaches to the teaching of the subject as follows:

1. *The "confessional" or dogmatic approach*: This begins with the assumption that the aim of religious education is intellectual and cultic indoctrination. It is often linked with a belief that any other kind of religious education is valueless or unworthy of the name. This has been the traditional view of the Roman Catholic Church in this country, of some Jewish and Muslim leaders, and some Protestants.
2. *The anti-dogmatic approach*: This rules out the subjective element from religious education and conceives it as an academic exercise, dispassionate and objective. The National Secular Society, for example, suggests that the study of religion on these terms should be included as part of the history syllabus. The report of the Committee on Religious Education in the public schools of the Province of Ontario, issued in 1969, also recommends this sort of approach.

3.*The 'phenomenological' or undogmatic approach*: This sees the aim of religious education as the promotion of understanding. It uses the tools of scholarship in order to enter into an empathetic experience of the faith of individuals and groups. It does not seek to promote any one religious viewpoint but it recognizes that the study of religion must transcend the merely informative...(Working Paper: 36 1971: 21).

The last approach is the one favoured by the Working Paper, which claims that some teachers, dissatisfied with the 'confessional' and the anti-dogmatic approach, have been using it 'almost by instinct'. While noting the difficulties inherent in this approach with young children, the Working Paper does not accept assumptions that children should not be confused by being taught to doubt before faith is established as a correct statement of alternatives:

> Fortunately, even in primary school, doubt and faith are not the only alternatives. It has been pointed out that in certain respects young children are even better able than older pupils to appreciate the significance of alternative perspectives. Their imaginations have not yet been compromised by the demands of academic conventionality, and their thought processes have not yet been channeled into standard scholastic habits. Their world is still mostly unexplored and full of promise and they still have the capacity to envisage alternative possibilities. Junior school children, for example, are still activated by the creative spirit of play, which permits them to construct imaginative worlds that are as real as those of everyday existence. Such a spirit is of the very essence in the life of objective rationality. Prejudice and non-objective beliefs are expressions of routine and unimaginative habits of thought (Working Paper: 36 1971: 25).

The Working Paper continuously advocates an approach to religious education which is in line with the approach now recommended in the other subjects:

> In every other subject children are encouraged to question and explore, to take nothing to be true until they can see it to be true (Working Paper No: 36 1971: 27).

The Working Paper discerned three particular approaches to the practice of religious education in the literature of the previous decade:

1. *The 'neo-confessional' approach*: This could be reduced to an attempt to make dogmatic religious education more acceptable by improved methods and techniques. The new syllabuses produced in the 1960s by the Lancashire, London, Northampton and West Riding education authorities, considerably influenced by the writings of R.J.

Goldman, were placed in this category. They all assumed that the purpose of religious education was to inculcate Christianity.

2. *The 'implicit religion' approach*: Those who favoured this approach, advocated by Harold Loukes, regarded religious education as directed primarily toward a quest for meaning in life, through one's experiences and through one's interactions and discussions in the classroom. For Loukes religious education encompasses everything which is of human consequence. He says that the content of religious education contains, '...the depth, the realization of everything, the experience of the whole, the living and the human, alongside the categorization and analysis, the selection and abstraction, that constitute academic disciplines' (Loukes 1965: 98)

The authors of the Working Paper felt that Loukes' approach gave too little place to specifically 'religious' studies in religious education and did violence to the meaning of the word 'religion' by enlarging unduly its scope.

3. *The 'explicit religion' (phenomenological) approach*: This conception, owing much to the advocacy of Ninian Smart, Edwin Cox and J.W.D. Smith, offered an 'open' approach to religious and non-religious viewpoints alike. Smart had defined this approach as follows:

Explicit religion refers to the way religions manifest and express themselves, for example, in their history, in their doctrines, architecture, feelings and so on.

He had also suggested five aims appropriate to this approach:

> First, religious education must transcend the informative.
> Second, it should do so not in the direction of evangelizing, but in the direction of initiation into understanding the meaning of, and into questions about the truth and worth of, religion.
> Third, religious studies do not exclude a committed approach, provided that it is open, and so does not artificially restrict understanding and choice.
> Fourth, religious studies should provide a service in helping people to understand history and other cultures than our own. It can thus play a vital role in breaking the limits of European cultural tribalism.
> Fifth, religious studies should emphasize the descriptive, historical side of religion, but needs thereby to enter into dialogue with the para-historical claims of religions and anti-religious outlooks. (Smart 1968: 90).

The explicit approach, paradoxically, rests on a theoretical base of 'phenomenology' which is primarily concerned with fostering the implicit appreciation and understanding of inward elements of religion. The rationale underlying this approach springs from a long tradition, although it is only recently that it has became well-known. It is significant to analyse closely the presuppositions upon which the explicit (phenomenological) approach rests and its theoretical contributions to the development of religious education (Clarke 1989, 47). The Working Paper: 36 (1971) states:

> In Smart's view the confessionalist approach to religious teaching in schools is neither justified by the pluralistic character of our society nor educationally viable since it breeds resentment in pupils (p.37).

As to the phenomenological approach, references have been made to changes in society and to the fact that this particular approach to the teaching of religious education has been an attempt to answer some of these problems such as the growth of secularism and the growth in the numbers of the immigrant community (Clarke 1989: 60).

Analysis and suggestions of the Working Paper: 36 (1971, 63-66) associated with religious attitudes towards minority groups can be summarized as follows:

It should be remembered that there are non-Christian groups, including immigrants and some indigenous children, that explicitly reject all religion in British society.

One of the crucial points on this issue is mutual understanding between the host society and the immigrants. In order to achieve this aim, the religious dimension should be taken into consideration by schools and immigrants, as well as the host society children who need to understand each other's religious heritage, beliefs, and practices. Because religion plays a much more effective role in the personal and social lives of many immigrants than it does in the lives of most English people, for most of the immigrant groups many customs cannot be separated from their religion (Working Paper No: 36: 63). Distinction of religion from general culture such as Western culture has not been drawn by most of the world's countries. In a word, scores of other differences of customs arise directly or indirectly from differences of religion. Tolerance alone is not enough. Immigrant pupils need to feel that their way of life is understood

and its true worth appreciated. Moreover, it should be possible to devise a framework for religious education in schools which is flexible enough to provide for the religious needs of minority groups as well as giving learning-skills and general background to all (Working Paper No 36: 64-65).

A further focal point is that the common European ignorance and prejudice against other cultures should be eliminated. Education can effect this in schools by providing accurate, sympathetic information about the countries from which immigrants come - not only descriptive facts but the intentions, beliefs, and 'feel' of another culture. Appreciation is the key. Some examples may be given about European culture where some aspects are borrowed from and affected by other cultures. Convenient educational conditions must be established for teachers and pupils so that they can proudly announce 'I am black! I am a Jamaican! I am a Jew! I am a Pakistani!' (Working Paper No 36: 65). Beyond the previous points the attitude of the teacher is vitally important. An informed, appreciative, and sympathetic teacher is best likely to meet the basic needs of pupils in any minority group.

However, the phenomenological approach, which was in the main advocated by the working paper, is not without its critics. For Jackson (1990), many criticisms of phenomenology have been misinformed or directed at poor quality curriculum materials which themselves misunderstand, mis-apply or ignore writing on the phenomenology of religion. Some of the criticisms (Grimmet 1987, Jackson 1990, 1997, Shepherd 1991, Watson 1993) of this approach can be explained as follows:

1. Its lack of concern with issues of truth can easily convey relativism. The attempt to be fair to all traditions, by being equally tolerant of all and non-judgmental, can lead to a form of relativism in which all religious claims are regarded as equally true.

2. Some followers of a religion, such as Christians and Muslims, object to the idea of presenting their own faith as 'one among others'.

3. Its apparent concern with the internal actions of religious practitioners and the observable phenomena of religion can so attract attention to sociological aspects of

religion that they ignore or show a lack of concern for the experiential (inner) dimension of religion.

4. Its juxtaposition of material on common themes from different religions can cause confusion.

5. Educationally, the phenomenological principle of 'bracketing' one's own questions and experience is in direct conflict with the central principle of all child-related conceptions of education, since these theories intentionally advocate the use of children's immediate existential situations and experience to provide a basis for all aspects of learning.

2.3.2.3. Experiential Approach

As a result of criticism of the phenomenological approach to religious education, new approaches have emerged in recent years. The experiential approach is one of them. In 1990 a book was published called 'New Methods in RE Teaching: An Experiential Approach' co-authored by Hammond et al.. The purpose of this approach is not to reject or to exclude the phenomenological approach, rather it tries to compensate for a weakness of the phenomenological religious education that it, at least in practice, tended to focus on doctrines, artefacts, buildings and actions while neglecting the important, perhaps essential, experiential dimension, implicit in all religious traditions. Therefore, it places special emphasis on the intentions of religious practitioners, because without an appreciation of the intentions of religious people the publicly visible phenomenon of their faith is likely to appear meaningless or remote to pupils (Hammond et. al. 1990: 6). It is a method of religious education which focuses on pupils' own capacity to relate to themselves at a deeper level so that they may have some idea of what that is like for other people, and helping them to be more truly present in what they are studying. It should be noted that the intention is not indoctrination, but to increase their insight into other ways of seeing. It also argues that the central tasks of an RE teacher are twofold: to help pupils to learn first; to take seriously their own inner experience and to respect

that of other people; secondly, to appreciate the role of metaphor in interpreting experience (ibid.: 17).

The main strengths of the approach are to move from being content-dominated and to take the teaching of skills seriously, particularly skills of attentiveness, centredness and stilling (Watson 1993: 74).

2.3.2.4. Interpretive Approach

The interpretive approach to religious education emerged from the Warwick RE Project (1990-1993). This project was carried out by a group of researchers directed by Robert Jackson. They argued that the current concepts of religions and religion were modern and post-Enlightenment constructions, so caution in the use of religion should be observed. This approach draws attention to the diversity that is to be found within religions and to the personal and social nature of religious life. With original materials taken from studies of religious communities in Britain it tries to present religious ways of life in the insiders' terms as much as possible (Copley 1997: 169). In order to develop this approach for religious education an ethnographic method has been used (Jackson 1994). The thinking behind the approach taken to studying religions and RE curriculum development has been comprehensively detailed by Jackson's (1997) recent book, *Religious Education: an Interpretive Approach.*

Jackson traces the history of the phenomenological method of studying religions and its implementation in the teaching of religion in schools by Ninian Smart. He notes that, even though many criticisms of phenomenological education are superficial, it is true that the method attributes to religious traditions a permanence and fixedness which they seldom possess. For him, Waardenburg's more recent phenomenological method shows a greater awareness of these deficiencies. His emphasis is on the observer and the student cultivating an awareness of his or her own social and cultural presuppositions rather than seeking to bracket them out, as in the classical methodology (Jackson 1997: 8). Perhaps Waardenburg's emphasis upon the need for continual interpretation of the interplay between the observer and the religious phenomenon leads Jackson to consider the

possibility of interpretive anthropology for religious education. Particularly, he adopts the work of Clifford Geertz (ibid.: 30). He also argues that religious education is not only about understanding religious traditions and possibly learning something from them, but can also be about exploring the pupil's own beliefs, concerns and values, whether or not these link up with religions. It should be noted that it is too early to assess about the impact of this approach on English religious education.

2.4. 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA)

The 1988 Education Reform Act is a large and complex mass of legislation. Ministers and other spokesmen of Government presented it as the successor to the great 1944 Education Act which set up the legal framework within which education has developed since the War.

As far as schools are concerned, the 1988 ERA incorporates some aspects of two contradictory trends. On the one hand, power is passed over so that schools are established more as semi-independent businesses than as sub-units of a bureaucracy. Parents' opportunity to choose schools is strengthened, and the Act opens up the possibility for schools to 'opt out' of local authority control following a parent referendum. On the other hand, power is centralized. The power to determine the national curriculum is only given to the central authority. Actually, before the 1988 ERA, although the requirements of examining bodies had some influence on what was to be included or not included in syllabuses, Britain has never had a closely defined curriculum for its schools. Of all the subjects, only the curriculum of religious education has been defined by syllabuses. But it is decided locally rather than nationally (Beattie 1992: 6).

One of the innovative features of the Act is that the Secretary of State for Education and Science is entitled to produce the National Curriculum which not only explains the general framework of the curriculum, but also its content and method of assessment.

According to the Act, school subjects can be divided into three categories: core subjects (mathematics, English, science), foundation subjects (history, geography,

technology, music, art, physical education) and basic subjects (unspecified except for religious education). The Secretary of State is empowered to draw up the content of study, attainment targets and arrangements for assessing the extent to which the targets are being attained. Even though religious education is not mentioned as a core or foundation subject, it is given equal status with other subjects (Cox & Cairns 1989: 23, Hull 1989: 5). This is expounded in DES Circular 3/89 in the following terms:

> The special status of religious education as a part of the basic but not the National Curriculum is important. It ensures that religious education has equal standing in relation to core and other foundation subjects within a school's curriculum, but is not subject to nationally prescribed attainment targets, programs of study and assessment arrangements.

This means, the powers of central government are severely limited in the case of religious education. Responsibility is given firmly into the hands of the Local Education Authority. The reasons for religious education not being part of the national curriculum can be explained as follows:

Firstly, it is no doubt partly due to the long-standing responsibility that LEAs have had for the content of RE through the Agreed Syllabus. Secondly, in accordance with the Act, parents have the right to withdraw their children from religious education. This seems to be a significant factor as it would be odd to make part of the National Curriculum voluntary. Thirdly, it would seem to be affected by the position of RE in voluntary-aided schools (for instance, Church of England and Roman Catholic schools) where it is the responsibility of the Governing Body and subject to the Trust Deeds. In addition, RE is free from government control. Being the responsibility of a Local Education Authority means in practice that it comes into the hands of its Standing Advisory Council for Religious Education, known widely as SACRE (Bastide 1992: 14).

However, in 1994 the School Curriculum Assessment Authority (SCAA) published two model syllabuses for religious education to help the agreed-syllabus conference in drawing up local syllabuses (Copley 1997: 178, Hull 1994: 2). Although these model syllabuses are not statutory documents they are used as de facto national syllabuses

(Copley 1997: 186), as well as being supposed to be signs of the future national curriculum for RE.

2.4.1. Religious Education in the 1988 Education Reform Act

The legal framework for RE was established in the 1944 Education Act. Religious education [4] became a compulsory subject in all county schools in England and Wales in this Act. The 1988 ERA made some amendments and clarifications taking into consideration the implementation of RE in the previous period.

The first modification is associated with the name of the subject which was changed from 'religious instruction' in the 1944 Education Act to 'religious education'. The 1944 Education Act used the term 'religious instruction' for teaching about religion in the classroom. The 1944 Act only used the concept 'religious education' for both the worship and classroom teaching and thus had to find another term to refer to classroom activity. Over the years since 1944 teachers and others have fought shy of using the word 'instruction' and the term 'religious education' has become part of the accepted terminology. The change to the almost universal use of the term 'religious education' reflected the broadening role of religion in the school curriculum. This change of terminology was recognised by the ERA, and the word 'education' used for 'instruction' on every occasion (Bastide 1992: 16, Hull 1989: 13).

The second amendment is that the residual influence of the Cowper-Temple clause has been slightly changed. This clause prohibited the use of 'any catechism or formulary which is distinctive of any particular religious denomination'. The new Act has restricted the content of syllabuses in terms of catechisms or distinctive formularies but it is still possible to include the study of such denominational teaching in syllabuses. The manner of teaching RE has been taken into consideration rather than the subject matter. It is allowed to teach that a particular group believes or accepts certain things to be true (Cox & Cairns 1989: 27). For example, when pupils are investigating Roman Catholicism, of course, they need to know what its distinctive formularies are. However, it is not permitted to inculcate the view that such things are true.

The third change occurred in the constitution of the Agreed Syllabus Conferences. Although there were no changes to three of the four members of the panel for syllabus, the fourth member is defined as from 'other religious denominations', these being extended to include such Christian and other religious denominations. This will reflect the principal religious traditions of the area. Before the ERA, other religious denominations were almost always interpreted as merely Christian denominations. So, in reality, this panel was usually made up of Protestant Christian denominations because the Roman Catholic Christians did not attend. In the early 1970s, the Birmingham Agreed Syllabus interpreted the constitution as permitting the attendance at this panel of non-Christian members in the vicinity. The Act made clear the ambiguity of the words 'other denominations'. This implementation is compatible with the intention of the 1988 ERA that religious education should take account of the teaching and practices of the other principal religions represented in Great Britain.

The fourth and the most significant modification is that all new agreed syllabuses must now 'reflect the fact the religious traditions in Great Britain are in the main Christian whilst taking account of the teaching and practices of the other principal religions represented in Great Britain.' This clause is extremely important for several reasons.

Firstly, the Act clearly explained the content of religious education in this way. After the 1944 Education Act, the content of syllabuses usually consisted of Biblical study and Church history. The word 'religion' was only understood as 'Christianity' at that time. In the following years, particularly since 1970, RE has devoted an increasing amount of space to other faiths in response to the changing ethnological situation. This approach gained the approval of Parliament and some study of a number of religious traditions was thus accepted for syllabuses of RE (Hull 1989: 13). Secondly, agreed syllabuses must take account of the presence of other major religious faiths in Great Britain. In this provision geographical context is of notable importance, since the Act requests that the Agreed Syllabus Committee take into consideration the religious picture of Great Britain, not only local religious traditions. For instance, Islam, Hinduism, Judaism and

Sikhism are major faiths in Great Britain nowadays. Therefore, their teaching and practices should not be taken account of only in counties where their presence is strong, but also taken into consideration in an area in which their presence is not significant.

Thirdly, the provision of the Act dealing with RE tells us that Great Britain has a number of 'religious traditions'. The use of plural here is extremely significant because British tradition is not only one tradition. In this country, although Christianity is the main religion, a number of different religious traditions are represented (Hull 1989). Moreover, the Christian traditions as a whole are included within the general category. We are dealing here with a social, cultural and historical phenomenon, of which the Christian expressions are, in the main, most widely represented. In other words, the phrase 'religious traditions' removes the Christian monopoly and religious pluralism is acknowledged.

Fourthly, the verbs used in the Act, 'reflect' and 'take account of', do not give any indication of the balance there ought to be given to the different religious traditions. This does not necessarily mean, of course, that any actual syllabus should be equally weighted between the main Christian tradition and the other principal religions. This is presumably a matter for local agreement. Sometimes more weight would be given to Christianity; sometimes more place would be given to the other religious traditions. It would depend on the composition of the area. For instance, Islam may be a significant religion in a particular area, such as Bradford, London or the West Midlands. It may not be an especially important religion in every rural area and some parts of the country such as East Anglia (Hull 1989: 13-14).

Fifth, Standing Advisory Councils for Religious Education (SACRE)s, which were on a voluntary basis under the 1944 Education Act, became compulsory for every LEA, and the 1988 Act specified how they were to be constituted. The function of a SACRE is to give advice on religious education and religious worship carried out in the schools of the LEAs (Bastide 1992: 200). In addition, it may also advise on teaching methods, choice of teaching materials, and provision of training for teachers (NCC 1992: 7).

A SACRE is to consist of four representative groups and this structure is exactly modeled upon the Agreed Syllabus Conferences. Each SACRE in England is composed of representatives of Christian and other religious denominations which reflect appropriately the principal religious traditions of the area (Cox & Cairns 1989: 53). Within this provision the previous ambiguity on 'other denominations' was removed and non-Christian religions were guaranted representatives, provided they are established in the area (Hull 1989: 25). To fulfill this function the SACRE is obliged to publish a report concerning its activities, and this report should be distributed to schools, the National Curriculum Council (NCC) and local teacher training institutions. Such reports should describe the matters in which the SACRE has advised its LEA during the year. If suggestion was offered, then the SACRE has to indicate why it was offered in the first place (Cox & Cairns 1989: 54). But it has only limited powers to see that its advice is taken seriously.

2.5. Summary and Conclusion

Up to this point the historical development of religious education in state schools has been examined in terms of its legislative aspect and the quality of the subject in England. After a brief reference to the place of religious education in schools before the 1944 Education Act, the provisions of this education act have been investigated. It has been shown that religious education became compulsory in state schools, and the preparation of agreed syllabuses for religious education and the substantial role of the Church (mainly the Church of England) in this process have been recognised by the state. Due to the inadequacy of traditional confessional religious education to meet the changes in the educational and social spheres, significant changes in the method and content of teaching religion have been undertaken. As a result of these developments, the religious education curriculum began to include world religions and adopted a non-confessional method for the teaching of religions. It is also shown that the 1988 Education Reform Act confirmed the place of religious education in state schools and brought in new amendments. Of these, the official recognition of the nation-wide teaching of represented world religions, including Islam, in Britain is particularly important.

Contrary to the Turkish situation, the existence of religious education in state school was not questioned, and did not receive any harsh criticism. At this point, it is believed that the absence of a sharp and revolutionary relationship between the Church and the state in England has played a crucial role. It is evidently indicated in the case of religious education in schools that compromise between the Church and the state is an essential feature of English policy. Much attention had been devoted to improvements in the quality of religious education and to complying with the changing conditions of society from this subject's point of view.

In the 1960s, the adequacy of religious education in schools was questioned on the basis of the changing religious structure and attitude of England and new developments in education. To respond to these challenges, some research was undertaken to make religious education an appropriate subject in terms of the pupil's age and physiological developments. Parallel with the emerging multi-faith society, scholarly attempts have been made to alter the content and method of teaching religion. In this context, it can truly be stated that Schools Working Paper: 36, which was published in 1971, marks a watershed. It mainly suggested that religious education should include world religions in their contemporary forms, with a non-confessional approach for the teaching of religions, and its approach was known as the phenomenological method. In subsequent years, a huge number of Agreed Syllabuses have been prepared in line with the recommendations of this paper. In spite of receiving a certain amount of criticism from some faith communities and scholars, and the invention of new approaches such as experiential and interpretive, it has remained influential up to the present day. Its suggestion concerning the inclusion of world religions in religious education curriculums also received official recognition with the 1988 Education Reform Act. In spite of some opposition and problems, the introduction of world religions in their contemporary forms in RE and teaching them in non-confessional terms is one of the important achievements of English religious education in state schools. With respect to this dimension, England has a distinguished place among other Western European countries.

CHAPTER 3

ILMIHAL-CENTRED APPROACH

3.1. Introduction

As pointed out by Chapter 1 many fluctuations in religious education have been experienced in the Republican history of Turkey. Firstly, as part of the attempt to establish secularism, religious education was gradually removed from the school curriculum during the formative period of the Republic. Secondly, after the Second World War due to the initiation of the multi-party democracy, strong public demands and so forth, religious education was introduced as an optional school subject. Finally, in 1982, the Turkish government upgraded its legal position and it became a compulsory lesson in primary and secondary schools.

Surprisingly, in spite of the existence of some encouraging studies, not enough attention has been given to research aiming to develop the quality and content of religious education. In particular, the researchers have usually been reluctant to conduct a study based on the theory behind Turkish religious education. Certainly, various reasons may be advanced for this reluctance. The following two main reasons provide the best explanation. Firstly, efforts have been focused on the history of religious education, its presence on the curriculum, and whether it should be optional or compulsory, rather than examining the quality and content of religious education. Secondly, it stems from delaying the acceptance of religious education as an academic discipline in the Faculty of Theology. It is a relatively new branch at university level, and it was only included in the curriculum of the Faculty of Theology in 1982 (Asikoglu 1994).

The lack of religious education terminology, approach and theory is perhaps one important obstacle which prevents the conduct of more solid and educational research in this sphere. In the case of England, to describe current or past content or approaches to religious education some concepts such as explicit, implicit, phenomenological approaches /methods have been used in RE literature. In Turkey, it is harder for

researchers into religious education to define academically present and past implementations than for their English colleagues, and to do that they have to give detailed explanations instead of using a one or two word concept. The reason for this is the non-existence of common concepts invented or adopted for religious education among scholars. It is hoped that, if there is a theoretical and conceptual base, researchers for religious education will be much more productive in Turkey. Hence, we believe greater research is required in this dimension of religious education. To help the process of approach and concept development in teaching religion in schools, I will propose a model to define present (implementation in) teaching of Islam from a content point of view. I argue that the concept of 'ilmihal-centred or content approach' will be a suitable concept to describe the content of religious education in Turkey. At this point, it should be clear that the concept of the ilmihal-centred approach will only be used to outline the content of teaching Islam, and other possible content, such as nationalist and civic topics in school religious education, will be excluded. We hope that this effort will make a modest contribution to the study of religious education in Turkey.

This chapter begins with the elaboration of the ilmihal-centred approach. After explaining the features of this approach and its relation to Turkish religious education, a brief comparison will be made between this approach and current religious education approaches. Three selected topics, the Qur'an, hajj and family in Islam will also be examined in some detail in terms of Turkish and English textbooks.

3.2. Articulation of the Ilmihal-Centred Approach

Before trying to elaborate the ilmihal-centred approach, I would like to explain why the concept of ilmihal has been chosen instead of adopting an equivalent term from Western religious education. As pointed out by Bendix (1964), the modernization of non-Western civilization should be explained in its own terms. He argued that,

> countries which come late to the process of development possess social structures which must be understood in their own terms rather than merely as transitional stages to the type of industrialized society exemplified by the English or the American case (p.212).

I suggest that the same assertion is valid for understanding religious education in Turkey. With respect to our case, the use of the word 'ilmihal' will make more sense to Turks than the adaptation of English terms, such as catechesis, implicit etc., because 'ilmihal' has historical roots in the Turkish religious tradition. Now firstly, let us elaborate the ilmihal-centred approach in the context of Turkish religious education.

To begin with, the word 'ilmihal' derived from the Arabic language, and its literal meaning is 'knowledge of circumstances'. It is described as 'a book written to teach principles of religion' by the Turkish language dictionary (TDK Turkce Sozluk 1988). Ilmihal is a book written to respond to the practical necessities or requirements of ordinary Muslims, and it usually aims to provide knowledge in terms of three dimensions of Islam: faith *(iman)*, worship (*ibadat*) and ethics (*akhlaq*). Due to its targeting a wide range of Muslims its language is simple and clear (Bayram 1981: 50). In a sense, ilmihal may be seen as the interpretation of the well-known Hadith of Gabriel from a content and structure point of view.

> One day while the Prophet was sitting in the company of some people, (The angel) Gabriel came and asked, "What is faith?" Allah's Apostle replied, 'Faith is to believe in Allah, His angels, (the) meeting with Him, His Apostles, and to believe in Resurrection." Then he further asked, "What is Islam?" Allah's Apostle replied, "To worship Allah Alone and none else, to offer prayers perfectly, to pay the compulsory charity (Zakat) and to observe fasts during the month of Ramadan." Then he further asked, "What is Ihsan (perfection)?"Allah's Apostle replied, "To worship Allah as if you see Him, and if you cannot achieve this state of devotion then you must consider that He is looking at you."... Then that man (Gabriel) left and the Prophet asked his companions to call him back, but they could not see him. Then the Prophet said, "That was Gabriel who came to teach the people their religion." Abu 'Abdullah said: He (the Prophet) considered all that as a part of faith (Bukhari, vol.1, book. 2, no.47).

As can be recognized from the above, three domains, faith, worship and ethics are stressed by the hadith in the teaching of Islam. Bayram argued that these three realms inherited from this hadith became the embryo for the ilmihal tradition in Anatolia (ibid.: 50). At the same time, the three spheres in Islam loosely reflect the three Islamic disciplines, theology, jurisprudence and mysticism respectively. And ilmihal generally

gives more emphasis to the second domain (worship) because, for practical reasons, Muslims need to learn more about acts of worship.

Historically, the ilmihal entitled '*Menahic-i Seyfi*' written by the scholar Ahi Evren in Persian in 1184 was the first study in the style of the ilmihal tradition in Anatolia. Then, the first Turkish language ilmihal (Mukaddime) was produced by Iznikli Kutbuddin in 1418 (Bayram: 51-52). Afterwards, a very large number of works in the ilmihal form have been written in Turkish history, and a seven century old ilmihal tradition was created to meet the demands of the mass of the Muslim population for the teaching of Islam. Moreover, in the last years of the Ottomans, ilmihal became a lesson name and it was generally included in the newly-established secular primary school curriculum. For instance, ilmihal as a lesson could be seen in the primary school curriculum (ibtida-i mektepleri) in 1892 and 1904, and it was used to define teaching Islam (Akyuz 1989: 251). It was also accommodated in the first year of the Asiret Mektebi, which were opened by the reign of Abdulhamid II to educate the sons of tribal leaders at the secondary school level (Rogan 1996: 93). In addition, Ziya Gokalp, the founder of modern Turkish nationalism, provided a place for ilmihal in his proposed school curriculum (Berkes 1959: 233). As a result, it can accurately be said that the ilmihal approach has a deep and strong historical base in the Turkish religious culture and school education.

Having noted that, in order to explain the content of ilmihal and articulate the ilmihal-centred approach, I will select one representative ilmihal among many ilmihals from the Republican period. This ilmihal is '*Buyuk Islam Ilmihali*' (Great Islam Ilmihali) written by a famous republican Muslim scholar Omer N. Bilmen in 1949. Several reasons may be given for selecting this ilmihal. Firstly, it was the first comprehensive ilmihal in the republican period. Secondly, its framework has provided an example for later (subsequent) ilmihals. Thirdly, nobody can argue that there is a more well-known ilmihal in Turkey. It has sold approximately three million copies, and perhaps after the Qur'an it is the second religious source in Turkey. Finally, the author of this ilmihal, Bilmen, is one of the most highly appreciated and respected religious scholars both

among different Muslim groups and by the state in recent history. The main reasons for this may be his scholarly competence and, more importantly, his attitude to politics, since he paid special attention to remaining steadfastly apolitical. After a brief biography of the author of the selected ilmihal, Omer Nasuhi Bilmen, *Buyuk Islam Ilmihali* will be reviewed to provide a ground for the discussion of the ilmihal-centred approach.

3.2.1. Omer Nasuhi Bilmen

Bilmen was born in 1883 in Erzurum. He attended school in the same city, and then moved to Istanbul to continue his higher education. After a successful academic period in the Medreset-ul Kudat (Faculty of Law), he earned his degree with distinction. In the following years, he became a muderris (professor) in a medrese and worked as a civil servant in various levels of the religious bureaucracy, before finally becoming the head of the Presidency of Religious Affairs in 1960. He died in 1971. He was one of the most productive religious scholars and one of the last representatives of the Ottoman medrese tradition in Turkey. He also strictly avoided engaging in politics throughout his life. Bilmen wrote in different Islamic disciplines and published more than ten books and a large number of articles. The most significant and known three books are; *Buyuk Islam Ilmihali, Hukuk-u Islamiyye ve Istilahat-i Fikhiyye Kamusu* (8 volumes about Islamic Jurisprudence) and *Kur'an-i Kerim'in Turkce Meal-i Alisi ve Tefsiri* (8 volumes of exegeses of the Qur'an) (Yavuz 1993: 207-218, TDV Islam Ansiklopedisi).

3.2.2. Buyuk Islam Ilmihali

'*Buyuk Islam Ilmihali*' consists of ten chapters mainly on three dimensions of Islam. The aim of ilmihal is to provide a basic knowledge about Islam in a descriptive and authoritative manner. It aims to respond to some religious issues in terms of the necessities of ordinary believers in our time. At the outset, the author expresses the goal of his ilmihal in the following terms:

> It is a duty for Muslims to be interested in every type of knowledge. Apart from that the knowledge about religion which is called 'ilmihal', meaning knowledge

> according to the circumstances of people, holds a significant place. In regard to different dimensions of religion, a huge amount of books have been written by scholars in every age. However, they should be updated from the point of view of language of style on the basis of recent understanding without changing the spirit of authenticity of religion (p.3).

The reason for writing this ilmihal was also explained by Bilmen as follows: In spite of the existence of a great number of detailed and specific religious books, no concise religious book had been written to answer the demands of Muslims. "Taking into account this and the request of some friends, I decided to write this ilmihal and I named it *Buyuk Islam Ilmihali*"(p.3-4).

The ilmihal mainly concerns three aspects of Islam, namely faith, worship and ethics, with an appendix on the history of the prophets. It explains these aspects in ten chapters. The length of chapter varies according to subject matter. The longest place was devoted to worship in Islam (five pillars of Islam). Now let us briefly examine the contents of the ten chapters.

Chapter 1 deals with Islamic faith. After a short reference to the classification of religions, the six acts of faith in Islam are explained. They are belief in one God, angels, sacred Scriptures, prophets, life after death and predestination. In this chapter, the six acts of faith are also elaborated in line with traditional understanding. The reasons for every tenet of Islamic faith are given mostly according to the understanding of the Islamic faith community in an exclusive manner.

The second chapter and subsequent four chapters are detailed exploration of the acts of worship (ibadat) in Islam which are often referred to as the "five pillars of Islam" that consist of the declaration of faith, prescribed prayer (Salat), fasting (savm), legal alms (zekat) and the pilgrimage (hajj).

Moreover, we can include the seventh chapter which concerns sacrifice and its types in Islam as an aspect of worship because sacrificing an animal in 'Eid al-Adha' is a religious act. About 360 pages or almost two thirds of the book were devoted to explaining this dimension, (ibadat) of Islam. It appears to us that assigning such a large part of the book to matters of worship stems from their practical importance.

Chapters 8 and 9 offer a body of information dealing with Islamic ethics and moral obligations. The author briefly discusses the issue of the source of ethics and he concludes that without religious support ethics cannot respond to the demands of the people. Thus, only religious ethics meet the requirements of spiritual development of human beings (p.440). Chapter 8 especially provides guidance on what a Muslim should or should not observe in personal life.

The final chapter was concerned with the history of messengers who were mentioned in the Qur'an, and they were mainly treated according to the Islamic sources. Priority was given to the Prophet Muhammed and the lives of 24 other prophets were narrated briefly.

3.2.3. The Features of the Ilmihal-Centred Approach

Next, some features of the ilmihal will be examined in connection with the present implementation of Turkish religious education in Turkey. Firstly, as far as content is concerned, the ilmihal approach is interested in faith, worship and ethics, while ignoring the social and political dimensions of Islam. Although this attitude may be described as a heresy by some Muslims who recognize Islam as a complete way of life, not a religion in the western sense, the prescribed content of ilmihal is certainly consistent with the present content of textbooks for religious education in schools, as the religious education curriculum has included those aspects of Islam that affect the individual and almost nothing has been put into the curriculum about the social aspects of Islam, whose content conflicts with the Turkish understanding of secularism. At this point, it should not be forgotten that selecting the content of the curriculum cannot escape the strong relationship between the state policy and the content of education, and each branch of education takes into account this policy for selecting the content. In a country where secularism becomes a vital feature for education, as is the case in Turkey, the secular state may prefer the teaching of doctrinal and ritual aspects that do not interfere with secular government policies (Tulasiewicz 1993: 21). It can be suggested that, due to ignoring the social dimension of Islam and advocating individualistic religion, the

ilmihal does not also exhibit any contradiction with the Turkish understanding of secularism, and they are consistent in outlook. In Turkey, the permitted preaching of Islam for the Presidency of Religious Affairs draws the boundary between secularism and religion. According to the law of the Presidency of Religious Affairs dated 1926 and the following legislation, its duty was the administration of mosques and the supervision of religious civil servants, and to administer and provide information on all matters concerning the beliefs, rituals and ethics of Islam (Tarhanli 1993: 73). The social aspect of Islam, mu'amalat (civil relations), was distinguished from the faith and ritual, and it was excluded from the scope of the Presidency of Religious Affairs. The correspondence between the ilmihal and the state policy in teaching religion is not a surprise when we take into consideration the nature of circumstances under which this ilmihal was being written, since Bilmen wrote the Buyuk Islam Ilmihali as a result of the Grand National Assembly's request, and it was first published by the state in 1947-1948 (Esenkaya 1994). But this comment should not lead us to assume that the ilmihal was written completely in terms of the desires of the secular government. Of course, Bilmen may take into account some government sensitivity in the matter of secularism. For instance, he did not make any reference to women's veiling in the topic on dress in Islam, in spite of giving plenty of information on secondary subjects concerning Muslim dress (Bilmen: 428-431). As noted earlier, ilmihal was historically aimed to inform and nurture Muslims' individual dimension of religion rather than providing detailed knowledge dealing with Shari'ah, Islamic politics etc.

Secondly, Bilmen's ilmihal follows a confessional approach for teaching religion. A confessional approach means the overt teaching and strengthening of a particular religion, its doctrines and way of life, because it begins with the assumption that the aim of religious education is intellectual and cultic indoctrination. In the case of the Ilmihal, it emphasises nurture in faith, and it assumes a common faith (Islam) as a point of departure, and it is authoritative in its claims. In a sense, it is like a dialogue of believers who suffer from a lack of educational ground. To see the picture more clearly it may be helpful to look at the classification of non-Islamic religions.

At the beginning of first chapter, Bilmen describes a genuine (true) religion as 'a collection of divine commandments and regulations which was revealed by God via his prophets.' According to this definition, religions are divided into three groups in terms of divine religion, corrupted divine religion and non-divine religion. For him, Islam is the only true divine religion, because other divine religions such as Judaism and Christianity historically lost their original forms. He evaluates other religions apart from Judaism, Christianity and Islam as non-divine and religions that were somehow fabricated by human beings. Consistent with the approach presented, the whole book tries to demonstrate the implicit and/or explicit superiority of Islam as against other religious traditions, and to nurture Islam. If it is necessary to compare one issue with other religions, it takes into consideration only Judaism and Christianity in order to do so. For instance, in the last chapter of the ilmihal, in treating the life of Jesus all the information was gathered from Islamic sources, and such claims argued that after Jesus Christianity changed and lost its authenticity, and Jesus was only a prophet (Bilmen: 491-493).

Religious education in schools also advocates a confessional approach in Turkey. In this respect, religious education is probably the adaptation of the ilmihal approach with some amendments. The most accurate definition of the present implementation is neo-confessional. Neo-confessional approach is the confessional approach with a changed style. The style is twofold. First, special attention is paid to pupils' mental and emotional abilities to understand religion within the context of the assumption that pupils will, eventually, accept a religious faith. Secondly, this approach allows 'open' debate and study of other religions, but only as 'tolerated extras'.

Thirdly, the religious issues in the ilmihal have been expressed in the context of their historical forms and generally in very abstract truths rather than making a connection with contemporary religious life. Bilmen advocated following the generally accepted comments of religious scholars more accurately who lived in the early years of Islamic history, and this was demonstrated as a virtue in Islam (p.39-40). The early period of certainty regarding the interpretations and thoughts about Islam was presented

without taking into consideration current modern problems and living reality. Even some minor updating in order to understand an Islamic issue more accurately cannot be provided in the ilmihal. For example, in the section on alms (zakah) the old weight measures such as dirhem and miskal have been used to describe the limit of financial liability to give a religious alms instead of the present weight measure, kilogram, in Turkey (Bilmen: 386). It is also impossible to find any reference with regard to the modern implementation of Islamic duties, and how and to what extent religion is influential in Turkey and the Islamic world. Moreover, in spite of the absence of slavery in our age and its irrelevance to us, plenty of references have been made to it in the ilmihal in connection with various religious issues, since this kind of information unnecessary for the present time, was mentioned in the early books of Islamic jurisprudence. In short, the ilmihal shows little interest in accommodating the living form of Islam and present day realities and problems, and living out daily life as an adherent of a religion. Although there is some improvement in presenting religion in such a way as to take account of its living form, as the religious education curriculum recommends, so as to build up a connection between everyday reality and religious principles, in religious education in schools it can be noted that the textbooks are still mostly based on the promulgation of the historical form of Islam. It is a fact that one of the aims of religious education is to make pupils aware of the religious dimension of life and to help the quest for meaning and purpose in their life. To do so, it is vital to find a link between religion and daily life, because religion is not only a historical reality, but it is also a living fact. In addition, if the living form of religion is presented in religious education, it may be a more attractive lesson for pupils, and educationally it may be easier to justify the place of religious education in state schools. When it fails to realize the above targets many problems will arise and its credibility may be weakened in a secular society. According to survey results in Turkey (Bilgin 1990: 80-81) pupils want to be informed about the present form of Islam and other religions and to have their problems answered rather than to learn about the historical form of religions and ready-made and very abstract truths.

Fourthly, the ilmihal aims to transmit a system of knowledge, beliefs and values via one-way communication with little understanding and constructive critical approach. For it, everything was already done by the previous great scholars, and our duty is to learn or memorize the ready-made knowledge about religion. It would be wrong to assume that the ilmihal encourages the learning or teaching of religion in the context of questioning and presenting a range of arguments on religious issues. According to its approach, reasoning in religious matters can only be used to understand deeply the wisdom of selected and authorized thoughts and interpretations of early scholars. This tendency may also be observed in the understanding of knowledge. The achievement of knowledge is described as attainable through learning the prescribed knowledge without scrutiny and criticism, and the ilmihal discouraged the development and production of new comments and criticisms in religious matters (Bilmen: 406-407). In this respect, this understanding and attitude towards knowledge reminds us of the late Ottoman medrese tradition. According to Atay (1995), the late Ottoman medreses were mainly based on teaching one opinion about any religious issue from one selected book, discarding further opinions and genuine discussions, and different ideas about a particular issue were only delivered to support the approved opinion (p.14-15). Moreover, the fear of anything constituting unbelief (kufr), the medrese agenda dictating religious scholars' discussions and the lack of critical evaluation of religious problems and ideas led to increasing deterioration in the process of learning in the medrese. At the same time the medrese scholars believed that their inherited knowledge could not be challenged by anybody (Gungor 1981: 42-43). Atay is correct in remarking that the mentality of the present religious education has not transcended the old medrese tradition (Atay 1995: 15). It should also be noted that even the taxonomy of teaching Islam inside and outside schools in Turkey has been deeply influenced by the medrese understanding.

Although there is strong criticism among Turkish scholars and intellectuals concerning the medrese understanding of religion, the religious education in textbooks exhibits a similar tendency to the above approach in Turkey. Of course, there have been some improvements in recent years with the development of educational science to

make it more acceptable for our time. However, the main feature of religious education from this point of view did not substantially change up to the present. Therefore, religious education did not provide a place for controversial issues in the curriculum and textbooks, and there has been little in the way of efforts to promote the understanding of and questioning about religion.

Finally, the teaching of a certain legal school is followed to present Islam in the ilmihal. The ilmihal argued that there is almost a consensus among Muslim scholars about the four Sunni schools of law as being the only true and legitimate ways to follow. Bilmen in his ilmihal also assumes that the Turks are the followers of the Hanefi legal school, so he explains religious issues in terms of the methods and interpretations of this legal school. However, he narrates the significance and greatness of the founders of the four Sunni schools from a moral and intellectual point of view. To be sure, the fullest treatment and most extensive appraisal in the ilmihal is assigned to the founder of the Hanefi school, Abu Hanifa (Bilmen: 39-44). If it is necessary to compare views on a particular topic, other Sunni schools' thoughts were used with a total disregard for other Islamic sects such as Shia. It appears to us that the ilmihal tries to give the impression that there is an accurate and final view about any Islamic issue, and this may lead to the denial of the possibility of other options in Islam. In reality, the existence of different degrees of diversity in a religious tradition is a historical fact for every religion. In this, Islam is not exceptional. At the same time, consciously or not, this attitude might cause stagnation in Islamic thought. With regard to the same topic, Atay (1995) suggested that the one important reason for Islamic stagnation is looking at Islam and the main Islamic sources only with the eyes of the scholars of Islamic Jurisprudence. If we understand Islam according to the Qur'an rather than only the narrow ways of scholar jurists, we can achieve a new religious mentality that helps to solve some of the problems of our age (p.11). In other words, it would not be wrong to assume that the chief authority in the ilmihal-centred approach is particularly the ulema (Islamic scholars) of jurisprudence. As a consequence of the aforementioned attitude in the Turkish religious understanding, the religious education course follows a similar trend and the majority of

religious topics, such as the five pillars of Islam, have been presented in line with a particular Islamic legal school, that of the Hanefis. Due to the use of Islam as a factor in support of national unity and to counteract the destabilising effects of modernization problems, the state has tried to conceal the fact of religious disagreement as far as possible, so in religious education the policy has been to avoid all mention of controversial themes (Wielandt 1993: 54). However, an appropriate way should be found to present religious diversity, while taking into account the sectarian and other sensitivity in Turkey, because the denial of reality is neither a genuine solution nor a scholarly method.

In the light of evidence that there are similar features between the ilmihal and the present religious education in schools, we can more strongly define the content of teaching Islam in religious education in Turkey as 'ilmihal-centred'. This approach is confessional, informative, educationally weak, theological in an attempt to be consistent with the Turkish state's secular policy and with mostly traditionalist features. To be sure, we do not generally consider teaching and studying religion in universities to be extremely different and more pluralist and educationally competent than in schools, since, as it is stressed by Smart (1968), there is an organic connection between the teaching and study of religion in all forms and stages of education (p.9). A country like Turkey that is secularist and democratic cannot isolate itself from the changes in the modern world and in Turkish society in the realm of religious education. So, a shift is necessary in religious education in Turkey from theological and strictly secularist bases to a more educational and pluralistic understanding to avoid narrow religious and secularist interpretations. Religious education should increasingly serve to embrace all the religious and educational dimensions of reality in the society. However, to do so the historical background of the country and the present circumstances dealing with religion and religious education should certainly be taken into consideration. For instance, the adoption of a phenomenological approach for Turkish religious education may appear an appropriate recommendation, and even the result of the implementation of this approach in the English context may be successful. But this may not be the right solution

for Turkey, because the historical experience and current situation is not the same as that of England.

3.3. The Place of the Ilmihal-Centred Approach in Current Religious Education

It is believed that to make a comparison between the current religious education approach in England and the ilmihal-centred approach will help to clarify the ilmihal-centred approach. Before doing that, a brief explanation will be given about religious education approaches to create a background. There are, basically, four broad approaches to religious education in England. First, there is the confessional approach which assumes that the object of religious education is to initiate pupils and young people into a religious heritage and to pass on the beliefs of teachers or the religious community. One form of this approach can be recognized in the 'catechetical' theory which emphasises Christian education and nurture in the faith and is traditionally found within the Christian Church, but has found its way into schools in the Catholic religious education in schools. Moreover, the Bible-centred approach can be included in this category, which is currently considered an unreasonable approach for state schools in England.

The second is called the 'objective' or 'anti-dogmatic' approach. It is based on the assumption that religion is a significant area of human experience which deserves to be studied, so pupils should know what religious people say and do. However, care should be taken to limit this to an objective, dispassionate giving of information. The subjective aspects of religion are to be avoided.

The third approach attempts to ensure an emphasis on the process of personal development as well as the content of implicit religious education. It mainly focuses on those human experiences which all human beings share and which give rise to the fundamental questions of life with which religions deal; experiences, for instance, connected with relationships, growing up, and the inevitability of suffering. This quest for meaning and purpose has been called the implicit religion approach.

The fourth is the phenomenological or explicit religion approach. It stresses that schools exist to help pupils understand the world in which they live, and it uses the tools of scholarship in order to enter into empathetic experience of the faith of individuals and groups. It also does not seek to promote any one religious viewpoint, but it recognizes that the study of religion must transcend the merely informative.

It seems to us that among the above approaches, the ilmihal-centred approach can more accurately be compared with the confessional approach. In this category, there are the Bible-centred and the catechetical approaches which were born and developed in the Christian tradition in England. They are very similar to the ilmihal-centred approach. Firstly, they have a long history of teaching religion in common with the ilmihal-centred approach whereas the other three approaches are relatively recent inventions in religious education. In other words, they represent a traditional way. Secondly, a high degree of absolutism and aiming at the promotion of a particular religious tradition are an important characteristic of both. One seeks to promote Islam and the others Christianity. Thirdly, they generally follow the sacred authority rather than a secular one. For example, in the case of the Bible-centred approach, the Bible is the authority, the Church is the authority for the catechetical approach, and the religious scholars (ulema) have the same function in the ilmihal-centred approach. They also advocate knowledge-based learning in the educational process, and suffer from a lack of emphasis on child-centred learning. In educational terms, they mostly use the recently discredited behaviourist learning in education instead of constructivist theory for learning that is attractive in the present education system.

3.4. The Issue of the Taxonomy

As a result, the concept of the ilmihal-centred approach has been developed to describe the present provision for teaching Islam in Turkish schools as far as its content is concerned. To be sure, this concept reflects features of the Turkish understanding of religious education in its historical, theological and educational aspects, and it thus helps us to explain (understand) teaching Islam in a particular context. It is known that

teaching content and the approach to Islam may be subject to variation according to different societies and contexts. When we look at the teaching of Islam in England, this is confirmed, because the reasons for teaching Islam, the theory behind it and the cultural context are quite different from Turkey. Before turning to discuss this particular issue, a brief reference will be made to religious education in state schools in England to understand the teaching of Islam more comprehensively. According to the 1988 Education Reform Act, the religious education syllabus should 'reflect the fact that the religious traditions in Great Britain are in the main Christian, while taking account of teachings and practices of the other principal religions represented in Great Britain (Education Reform Act 1988, Section 8(3)). For the first time in law, this legislation stated that religious education had to give attention to the religious plurality of the nation (Jackson 1997: 1), and that the subject required consideration of the non-Christian religions represented in Great Britain. Islam is also the largest minority religion in Great Britain. As pointed out by Hull (1996), British religious education has tended to emphasize curriculum rather than method, and as a method of teaching the system approach, which aims to teach a number of religions separately and systematically, one by one, is main and indispensable at least in the secondary school. This approach is also recommended by the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority (SCAA 1994). This approach is generally, rather widely, described as being the phenomenological method (Hull 1996: 173). In other words, religious education in England is pluralist and non-confessional, and in contrast to Christianity, which is the main religion in England, Islam is only one of the other religious traditions. It is assumed that the minority position of Islam and the understanding of the English religious education will show some differences in teaching Islam compared with Turkey in terms of content and approach. In order to illustrate and analyze the differences and similarities in presentation of Islam in the selected textbooks from both countries, representative topics from three dimensions of Islam have been chosen. These topics are the Qur'an, hajj and the family in Islam. In our investigation, we have considered the taxonomy of the ilmihal-centred approach for teaching Islam. The selection of this approach leads us to the question of

taxonomy in teaching Islam. Therefore, firstly, this issue will be examined in accordance with the selected textbooks.

3.4.1. The Taxonomy for Teaching Islam

The ilmihal-centred approach covers three main areas in teaching Islam: faith, ritual and ethics. They provide a realistic check list of aspects of Islam. This taxonomy for teaching Islam in the selected Turkish textbooks can be easily recognized, and the religious education curriculum advocates the same taxonomy. At that point, it should be noted that the religious education curriculum topics in Turkey are almost identical with textbook topics for religious education. In other words, it would not be incorrect to say that the topics of the textbooks are the same as the content of the religious education curriculum. However, it is almost impossible to find a taxonomy agreed by everyone for teaching Islam in England. Rather there are numerous taxonomies for it. This may stem from the following two main factors: 1) non-availability of the national curriculum for religious education, and 2) non-existence of an official authority which regulates and governs textbooks for religious education.

When we turn to the selected textbooks for Islam in England, we can see that each textbook author has generally adopted a different taxonomy for teaching Islam. The distinctions among the textbooks appear particularly in the order of topics and the emphasis given to some subjects. For instance, some textbooks start with the life of Prophet Muhammed, others with Qur'an or Muslim community life etc., and again one textbook pays special attention to the five pillars of Islam, another discusses the importance of family life in Islam. With regard to Turkish religious education, it should be noted that a casual overview of the selected textbooks' content reveals that every textbook's content includes the three dimensions of Islam offered by the ilmihal centred approach. Moreover, the School Curriculum Assessment Authority Model Syllabus 2 suggests almost the same taxonomy as the ilmihal-centred approach in regard to teaching Islam, and it outlines its main teachings as follows: a) tawhid (oneness of Allah), b) iman (faith), c) ibadah (worship/ belief in action) and d) akhlaq (character and moral conduct) (SCAA 1994). As can be recognized, if we consider the topic of

tawhid is classified in the dimension of faith by the ilmihal-centred approach, this model almost matches the Turkish model. However, it is known that there are some differences in content for each domain between the taxonomy of SCCA model syllabuses 2 and the taxonomy of the ilmihal-centred approach. Compared to the Turkish textbooks and above-mentioned approach, the model syllabuses 2 and the selected textbooks for Islam in England also include more topics, particularly about social aspects of Islam.

Secondly, selected representative subjects for faith, ritual and ethical aspects of Islam will be examined on the bases of the selected textbooks from both Turkey and England. They are the Qur'an, Hajj and family in Islam. We tried to establish the following two main criteria to select a representative topic for every aspect: 1) sufficient presentation in both countries' textbooks, 2) easy educational relevance for pupils' learning.

3.4.2. The Qur'an

The study of sacred scriptures has a central place in religious education. They play an integral part in religions and for a satisfactory knowledge of religion it is necessary to have some ideas of their origins, their relationship to the doctrines, their contribution to the moral code, their use in worship, and how they are understood and valued by believers. In the case of Islam, the Qur'an is the holy book and it has a central importance for teaching Islam. In Turkey, four textbooks give an explanation of the place and significance of the Qur'an in Islam and Muslims' life. With respect to the selected English textbooks for teaching Islam, although the amount of space given varies in different textbooks, all of them give some topics about the Qur'an. Both countries' textbooks mostly presume learning about the Qur'an rather than learning the Qur'an or learning from the Qur'an. The selected textbooks from both countries provide some knowledge regarding the nature of the Qur'an, its place in Islam, and its relevance for Muslims. Now let us examine the presentation of the Qur'an by both countries' textbooks.

The Qur'an has been mainly treated under the title of 'faith for sacred books' by the selected Turkish textbooks. Firstly, after the vitality of revelation (vahy) for human beings is mentioned, the concept of sacred book is defined by Bolay like this: "it is a written or oral revelation given by God to his prophets throughout history" (p.10). And Muslims believe their own and all revelations that had come to earlier prophets to be sacred and holy. However, the Turkish textbooks give main priority and emphasis to the Qur'an among other sacred books such as Torah and Gospel. They argue that all holy books except the Qur'an were distorted and corrupted by people, and the validity of the other sacred books expired with the revelation of the Qur'an. The following quotation elucidates more clearly this point: "We believe that the validity of other holy books' commands ended with the revelation of the Qur'an" (Bolay: 10). Similar expressions can be found on various occasions in the textbooks. In other words, the traditional Muslim outlook about the Torah and the Gospel can certainly be observed, and this attitude is also one of the clearly confessional features of the Turkish textbooks. As far as the English textbooks for teaching Islam are concerned, it is impossible to note the same or a similar tendency because Islam and other religions have been treated in the context of world religion approach, and, according to the 1988 Education Reform Act RE in England, this does not allow for the promotion of any religious tradition in state schools.

Although Turkish textbooks did not make any reference to the issue 'whether or not Muhammed wrote the Qur'an (origin of the Qur'an)' almost every English textbook addressed this issue. They explain that Muhammed did not, according to Muslim belief, write the Qur'an, and he simply repeated the message from Allah, and it is the word of God. The reason for this is, perhaps, to adjust the traditional Christian distortion about the origin of the Qur'an, since some Christian scholars claimed that Muhammad wrote the Qur'an with the assistance of the Christian and Jewish Scriptures. Moreover, some English textbooks use inaccurately the plural form of the 'scripture or holy book' to describe the Qur'an. Possibly, it may stem from the Christian understanding of the scriptures, which is testified to immediately by the use of the plural form, scriptures, when referring to the Christian tradition.

The issue of learning and reading parts or all of the Qur'an by heart and its reason in Islam demands attention in the textbooks. The majority of the selected English books for Islam pay attention to this issue and provide an explanation about it, and its importance for Muslims' life is also mentioned. The subsequent statements are examples about how and where the Qur'an is used by Muslims.

> Every occasion which is of importance to a Muslim - a wedding, a funeral, the naming of the baby, all such occasions begin with words taken from the Qur'an (Hunt:.73).

> Some families read from the Qur'an either just before or just after one of the five daily prayers (Rudge: 33).

> The surah, which Muslims know best is the first. They recite it five times every day (Keene: 24).

> I recite from the Qur'an each night before I go to bed. The act of reciting brings a sense of completeness. I feel a unity of my physical and spiritual body and a sense of being united with my creator. The Qur'an has the power to transform me. I will often recite the Qur'an from memory as I walk. It is remarkable how it creates peace and harmony within you (Brine: 18).

> When asked which was her favorite part of the Qur'an what a young woman answered; "I read Sura Yasin every day. People say it helps to make the day go by very easily. It is called 'the heart of the Qur'an'. The Prophet encouraged Muslims to read this chapter regularly (Aylett: 11).

The above last two quotations are expressions of two young Muslims' daily life experience about the Qur'an. I appreciate this method; certainly it avoids the Qur'an being viewed as a rule-book and it helps pupils to understand the daily use of the Qur'an. In addition, the selected textbooks in England mostly emphasise the place of the Qur'anic teaching to guide every Muslim. Some English translations of verses and short chapters, have also been given by them, the first chapter (Fatiha) being the most frequently presented sura from the Qur'an.

In contrast to the Turkish textbooks, the concept of 'hafiz' is one of the commonly presented points in the English textbooks under the topic of the Qur'an. Thompson explains the meaning of the 'hafiz' like this:

> When someone has learnt the whole Qur'an by heart, he or she is called a hafiz (p.37).

The other books give the same definition in different words, and being hafiz is considered a great achievement. Ardavan says that to mark this achievement the title 'hafiz' is used before the name (p. 5).

Some textbook authors explain where Muslim pupils learn to read the Qur'an. For instance, Ardavan's book, after noting the possibility of the study of the Qur'an, as part of the normal school courses for a country where the majority of people are Muslims, such as, Iran, Pakistan, it acknowledges that, in countries where Islamic Studies is not part of the curriculum, children may go to special classes, which are usually held at the local mosque after school finishes or at weekends. And it narrates a pupil's experience (implicitly from a British Muslim) on learning the Qur'an as follows:

> I started mosque school when I was five. I used to go for two hours after my ordinary school finished. It was quite hard work learning the alphabet and at first I used to get very tired. But I was proud when I started to learn the surahs by heart when I was about six. I felt very grown up. I left mosque school before I went to secondary school...(p.4).

Surprisingly, Turkish textbooks have hardly discussed any of the aforementioned issues about the Qur'an. However, it is a fact that learning short surahs from the Qur'an by heart is a part of the national religious education curriculum, and there are many (perhaps thousands) of official and unofficial Qur'anic courses to support reciting the Qur'an and being a 'hafiz' in Turkey. The title 'hafiz' is a well-known and respected name among many Turkish people. The use of the Qur'an on various occasions is also a tradition for the majority of Turks in our time. Thus, with respect to this issue, it can be suggested that they fail to reflect the present reality about learning the Qur'an and to relate pupils' life to the presentation of the Qur'an.

Apart from that, similar knowledge about the Qur'an is provided in both countries' textbooks. Both describe showing respect for the Qur'an in two ways: a) its constant use, and b) treating the actual book with great care. Some ways to show respect for the Qur'an are:

a) The Qur'an should be read and recited frequently with an effort at understanding it.

b) It should be carefully wrapped in cloth and placed high up in the room.

c) No one can talk, eat, drink or make a noise while it is being read in public.

d) The hands should be washed or a full bath taken before handling the Qur'an.

Those common issues that are addressed by both may be summarized mainly as follows: 1) It is emphasized that the Qur'an is the word of God and it has been passed down to the present without any changes and corruption. 2) Brief explanations dealing with the content of the Qur'an and terms, such as surah, ayah are given. 3) The language of the Qur'an is Arabic and its translation is not the same as its significance in Arabic. 4) The compilation of the Qur'an as a book after the death of Prophet Muhammed is widely explained.

Visual Content

According to a Chinese proverb, "a picture is worth 10,000 words" (Larkin & Simon 1987, 65). It is sometimes true. Without doubt, visual experience has place in the learning process. So, alongside the verbal presentation, visual presentation should be provided in teaching religion, and, as a significant part of teaching resources, textbooks should certainly not ignore this dimension to improve understanding in religious education. As children today live in a visual world, books need to build on this. The visual impact of books and the relation of this to learning deserves careful exploration. Therefore, let us see how Turkish and English textbooks employ pictures about the Qur'an.

It is sad to report that there is only one symbolic picture of the Qur'an among the four Turkish textbooks concerned with this topic. It is inserted on the first page of the chapter entitled 'Faith for Sacred Books', and it shows the first revealed five Qur'anic verses and the cave on Mount Hira (Tunc: 47).

All selected English textbooks except one use one or more illustrations regarding the Qur'an, and these help to learn and develop the understanding of the importance of

the Qur'an for a Muslim. We can also say that the majority of pictures have a logical connection with the text. Where pictures are closely related to the text, they can add something to the text (Buckler & Astley 1992: 409). The content of the most commonly presented picture in the selected textbooks is that of a boy or girl reading/reciting the Qur'an. Apart from this, pictures illustrate the various occasions for learning the Qur'an such as family circles, mosque schools, and the first two decorated pages of the Qur'an are presented in the textbooks for Islam. Only one author, Thompson, draws a map which illustrates main areas of Arabic-speaking people in connection with the language of the Qur'an in her textbook. It can be observed that pictures of pupils and adults reading or learning the Qur'an have generally been chosen from Muslims originating from the sub-continent with a few exceptions such as a picture showing a Chinese Muslim reading his Qur'an (Brine: 18). The reason for this may be the population of the British Muslims is mainly made up of the Muslims from the sub-continent, and this choice may be designed to increase pupils' understanding of their multi-faith environment and to help the imagination about the issue. But, as pointed out by Hayward (1986), this type of selection could lead to a monolithic presentation of Islam. It should also be noted that no significant 'hidden agenda' of the pictures could be observed. The following selected pictures which have accompanying captions will contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of visual presentation of the Qur'an.

Picture	**Captions**
The veiled girls with their Qur'an in India	With their carefully wrapped Qur'ans, these girls are off to learn how to read and pronounce the Arabic words of Allah's revealed book (Knight,23)
A boy is reading the Qur'an	The Qur'an is always treated with respect (Maqsood, 45)

	Why do you think children and young people are taught to know the Qur'an off by Heart? (Keene, 25)
A girl is reciting her Qur'an	All Muslims are expected to read the Qur'an and learn at least some of it by heart (Aylett, 11).

3.4.3. Hajj

As a part of the five pillars of Islam hajj (pilgrimage to Makkah) is one of the best-illustrated subjects in English textbooks. The huge majority of selected English textbooks devote some place to this Islamic ritual with plenty of visual illustrations, but the context and content of presentation of hajj varies in the textbooks. The majority of textbooks evaluate hajj in the context of five pillars of Islam following a classical Islamic taxonomy. The issue of Hajj is also considered in the context of Eid al Adha and in the turning in the direction of Kibla by other textbooks.

As far as the content of hajj is concerned, common approaches provide some knowledge about the main components of hajj and its implementation in selected English textbooks. The majority of textbooks attempt to explain the historical roots and importance of some parts of hajj referring to the story of the building of the Kabah and historical experience of Haajar and Isma'il. For instance, Ardavan tries to build up a connection between observance of sa'y when pilgrims walk quickly seven times between two small hills in Makkah known as as-Safa and al-Marva and commemoration of Hagar's search for water for her son, Ismael (p. 37). Rudge provides in depth historical information about the Ka'bah and the hajj, narrating three stories. The first of these deals with Adam and Hawa (Eve). According to this story, after leaving the garden Adam arrived at Makkah and built the Ka'bah as a first building used for the worship of Allah. Then, as a result of the acceptance of Adam's prayer by God his sin was forgiven by God and he met with Hawa in Arafat. The second story intends to explain the rebuilding of the Kaba'h by Ibrahim and his son, Ismael. After building the Kaba'h they

prayed to God and went round the Ka'bah seven times. This book expresses the relationship between this historical event and the performance of hajj in our time. The third story concerns Muhammad's last pilgrimage. Particular emphasis was given in this event on the 'farewell sermon' (p.47-55). It should be noted that Rudge is not alone in addressing the issue of the farewell sermon, and other textbook authors also include some extracts from this sermon.

The use of such points as illustrations aids understanding the meaning of hajj, and its religio-historical roots. However, this and giving some basic information in a catechetical manner about the performance of hajj cannot be considered as sufficient in religious education, because it is expected that the presentation of hajj in textbooks should acknowledge what it means to perform a hajj and how it is realized in our time, importantly its association with pupil's understanding. Let us see how these dimensions are illustrated by English textbooks.

Firstly, some textbooks give updated factual knowledge concerning how many Muslims go to hajj every year, how they arrive at Makkah, recent events about hajj. It is hoped that the following examples will illustrate this dimension of presentation:

> ...So the riot that took place on the night of July 31st in which 402 people died...The Sunday Times has pieced together the events that left 275 Iranians, 85 Saudis and 42 others dead and 649 injured. Our investigation suggests that the violent demonstration by Iranian pilgrims was pre-planned, but that the Saudi police over-reacted in their efforts to maintain order' (Thompson: 65).
>
> Every year, about two million Muslims travel from all over the world to make hajj (Penney: 18).
>
> Before modern transport it sometimes took months, perhaps years, of hard travel to get to Makkah and back. Nowadays many pilgrims fly in to the Hajj Terminal at Jeddah airport' (Maqsood: 66).

The meaning of hajj for Muslims receives particular attention in the English textbooks. Hajj is generally described as an expression of the unity of all Muslims throughout the world. At any hajj there are the representatives from every country in which Muslims live. Keene expresses a hajji's (pilgrim) impression about this issue thus:

> There were all kinds of people on the hajj - men and women, black and white, young and old, rich and poor. That was the first thing I noticed. I also discovered that everyone had gone with the same purpose in mind - to renew their commitment to Allah. I did that, too. The great joy for me was to travel with so many other Muslims brothers and sisters. We had only one goal (p.75).

Among other rituals of hajj wearing ihram receives particular attention in terms of its symbolic meaning for Muslims. The first obligatory rite of hajj ihram is the wearing of special clothes by pilgrims before reaching Makkah. All normal clothes must be put away. Male pilgrims put on just two sheets of unsewn white clothes, one wrapped round the waist, the other over the left shoulder. Women wear a plain undecorated ankle-length, long sleeved garment, leaving only their hands and faces bare. Ihram is an important symbol for Muslims. According to selected English textbooks (such as Maqsood, Thompson, Rudge, Ardavan) wearing of this simple form of dress symbolises the following meanings:

-All Muslims are equal before Allah.

-Muslims have put off all that connects them with their usual lives, in order to concentrate totally on Allah.

-Dressed so simply, it is a sign of humility before God.

-White is a symbol of purity. It is a reminder that Muslims must try not to sin.

-Ihram reminds Muslims of death, when all 'disguises' of rank, wealth and appearance are left behind.

It is obvious that such presentation prevents hajj being understood by pupils as a number of strange actions and rites, since the symbolic meaning of rites of hajj is explained. Moreover, some textbooks try to show some snapshots from pilgrims' experiences, and even some Muslim pupils' reflections about hajj or direct experience. Certainly, I appreciate this method, because it makes learning about hajj more exciting and meaningful for pupils. Perhaps it may also encourage building a bridge between possible pupils' previous experience of an ordinary journey and this holy journey. The following representative examples will illustrate these points:

Knight narrates the hajj experience of a German boy, Hasan, with his family. After explaining different stages of performing hajj by Hasan, he concluded that;

> On Hajj I forget about everything else -school, home, sport. Being on hajj put Allah at the center of everything. When I came back to Munich, all my friends said I had changed. They said I was more kind and not so sarcastic (p.39).

Ardavan points out how Muslim children begin to learn about the hajj and its importance for Muslims in the following terms:

> They [Muslim children] will almost certainly see pictures of the Ka'aba in Makkah in their own homes, at the mosque and even on stamps from Muslim countries. They will be told the stories about Prophet Ibrahim and his wife Haajar... They will hear stories from their own parents or from relatives returning from the hajj about their experiences in Makkah (p.33).

Three Turkish textbooks make a reference to hajj. Sener & Karmis's textbook devotes the largest space for hajj in the context of five pillars of Islam, and this book is concerned with the following issues about hajj: definition of hajj, for whom hajj is an obligation (fard), three obligations (fards) for hajj and a brief quotation from the farewell sermon of prophet Muhammed. It is worth mentioning that this textbook presents hajj in a catechetical manner in which it only outlines certain rules dealing with hajj without understanding. This information also particularly reflects the thought of the Hanefi school. Let me illustrate this with one example; Under the title 'for whom hajj is an obligation' Sener & Karmis mention numerous conditions. One is that a woman must go on hajj with a mahrem such as her husband, brother, father. This is the Hanefi law school's condition for the performance of hajj by women. However, according for instance to the Shafii school of law this condition is not necessary for women, and even the Presidency of Religious Affairs in Turkey issued a fatwa in line with this. This indicates how much this textbook retains the features of the Turkish understanding of ilmihal such as focusing on regulations for hajj with little understanding, only taking into account one Islamic school of law without considering the recent fatwa of the Presidency of Religious Affairs. They also do not provide any reflection of the contemporary practice of hajj by Turkish people. In reality, every year more than sixty

thousand Turkish Muslims go to Makkah for hajj, and almost every Turkish pupil has some experience or observation from their family or relatives. Bolay (pp.27-28) explains the benefits and symbolic meaning of hajj in quite similar terms to the English textbooks for Islam.

As far as the visual aspect is concerned, the weakness of visual presentation of the Turkish textbooks can again be seen in their treatment of hajj. Only one picture, which illustrates the tawaf around the Ka'aba, was inserted. By contrast, the English textbooks include plenty of pictures which mostly show snapshots from different parts of the hajj, and hajjis (pilgrims).

3.4.4. The Family in Islam

Turkish and English textbooks generally present the family in Islam in terms of a particular national tradition. This means that English textbooks take into account Muslim minority experience in England, and Turkish textbooks consider the present Turkish tradition in family life. For instance, a Muslim marriage ceremony is narrated in both countries' textbooks in terms of their traditions. Moreover, priority and emphasis in this issue are somewhat different in the two countries' textbooks. Possibly in order to provide an accurate picture of Muslim family in England and prevent possible misunderstanding in a non-Islamic environment, selected English textbooks put more emphasis on some topics such as extended family, arranged marriage, and the role of women in the family, whereas these issues do not receive too much attention from selected Turkish textbooks. The two countries' textbooks pay enough attention to the importance of family in Islam and its significance for society. Almost every selected English textbook addresses the issue of the extended family and its importance for Muslims. They try to evaluate 'respect for the elderly' in the context of extended family structure, and they also do not forget that in this respect the issue of the Muslim family is different from the Western family structure. This type of family is promoted to some extent, and the good side of this family structure is explained by the textbooks. They also cite the Qur'anic verses and hadiths to show the importance given to respect and care for elderly people. When we look at the Turkish textbooks' presentation the picture

seems to be different. For instance, Sener & Karmis define family as an sacred institution which consists of mother, father and children (p.74). While they strongly advise care for the elderly with supporting religious references, no reference is made by them to the need to support extended family. Perhaps Turkish textbooks implicitly advocate the nuclear family considering recent changes in family structure in urban Turkish society. At this point, it should be noted that an extended family does not mean a more Islamic family , rather its existence owes much to the tradition of a society.

The most commonly mentioned issue by English textbooks is that of arranged marriage. Without exception every textbook selected makes a reference to this issue to a greater or lesser extent.

With the intention of preventing a negative image about arranged marriage they explain the spirit of arranged marriage and present it as not an inaccurate method to find a marriage partner as might be supposed by outsiders. They even present how arranged marriage works well compared to Western style marriage with supporting evidence of the lower percentage of divorce among Muslim families. As pointed out by the majority of English textbooks in this marriage 'love comes after the couple get married not before'. The following reflections from young Muslim girls concerning arranged marriage will help to understand this:

> I don't think that an arranged marriage is such a bad idea. It worked for my mum and it has worked for a lot of people in our community. In western cultures, there's a lot of emphasis on romantic alliances, whereas we think there's a lot of logic involved in choosing someone to marry...(Ardavan: 46).

> I do not see why an arranged marriage should not work for me. Though I have grown up in England, I have no objection if my parents arrange my marriage. I know that they will tell me all about the boy and even allow me to get to know him within permitted situations (Ashraf: 95).

With respect to this issue, selected English textbooks deserve some criticisms. Although a few textbooks make clear that there is no reference to arranged marriage in the Qur'an, the majority of them implicitly give the wrong impression by drawing a picture of this kind of marriage as ideal in terms of Islam. They also underestimate the

role of love in marriage. It appears to us that lack of individualism and relatively high religiosity are more important factors in explaining the low level of divorce in Muslim societies rather than arranged marriage. However, selected Turkish textbooks are not concerned much with arranged marriage, and they only mention the type of marriage in contemporary Turkey.

Possibly through the influence of feminist discourse, a considerable place is devoted to the role of women in the family and rights of women in the marriage contract in an apologetic manner. It is intended to indicate that Islam does not subordinate women in family life with quite selective arguments and examples. But, doing this leads to the emergence of an image of the Muslim woman as seeking rights from her husband rather than forming a close component of a family.

> When she marries, a Muslim does not take her husband's surname. Any money or property which she owns before the marriage remains hers. So does any money which she earns if she goes out to work after the marriage. She does not have to give it to her husband unless she wants to (Penney: 38).

> ...A sensible bride includes in the [marriage] contract certain conditions that could help her if she later wished to start divorce proceedings herself...The husband should provide his wife with a helper, since cooking and cleaning are not part of her obligations. She is the supervisor of the housework (Maqsood: 100-101).

When we look at selected Turkish textbooks we observe that they seem to be eager to treat the family as a whole without paying particular attention to the role of women. Bolay (p.49-50) clearly explains the conditions of happy family life under the following titles, using religious and modern arguments:

1. Emotional Conditions
2. Social Conditions
3. Economic Conditions
4. Ethical Conditions

Both English and Turkish textbooks deal with the responsibilities of families towards their children. A Turkish textbook's authors summarise these responsibilities as follows: To provide necessities of children in religiously allowed ways; to introduce

them to national and spiritual values; to contribute to their achieving a good quality of profession; to bring them up with good morals (Sener & Karmis: 6).

Finally, with respect to visual portrayal, unfortunately no picture of the family life has been observed in selected Turkish textbooks. By contrast, to support text and imagination a large number of pictures from different stages of Muslim family life have been inserted by selected English textbooks, and the majority of them were taken from English Muslim minority families.

3.5. Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter, it is suggested that the concept 'ilmihal-centred approach' is an appropriate term to describe the present teaching of Islam in state schools in Turkey. In order to support and establish this argument introductionary information about the representative ilmihal in Turkey, '*Buyuk Islam Ilmihali*', and its author has been given. Afterwards, the main features of the ilmihal-centred approach have been illustrated in terms of their relevance to present Turkish religious education in schools. Moreover, after a short comparison between this approach and extant English religious education approaches three selected topics, the Qur'an, hajj, family in Islam, have been examined in terms of selected textbooks' presentation.

Firstly, an attempt has been made to articulate a model which aims to define and explain the present teaching of Islam in Turkish schools, and it was named 'the ilmihal-centred approach'. It is believed that this will contribute to studies of curriculum development in Turkish religious education. It will also make the understanding of the teaching of Islam in Turkey easier for scholars.

Secondly, it is evidently shown that the ilmihal-centred approach is consistent with the Turkish understanding of secularism in the teaching of content of Islam, because both mainly promote the teaching of faith, ritual and ethical aspects of Islam while neglecting the social dimension of Islam. Further detailed presentation about similarities between content of the ilmihal-centred approach and the understanding of secularism can be observed in the following chapter (Chapter 4).

Thirdly, although a great number of changes and developments in the role of religion in society and education such as closing of the medreses, and introducing religious education in schools have been undertaken in Republican Turkey, no substantial shift in the quality of teaching of Islam has been noted. We can understand from the ilmihal-centred approach that the traditional medrese understanding is exercising a great impact on the teaching of Islam in state schools from the point of view of content and method.

Fourthly, this approach in religious education can only be compared to the Bible-centred or catechetical approaches which were influential before the 1970s in state schools in England. From a comparative perspective, the considerable differences between non-confessional English religious education presenting the contemporary form of Islam and the ilmihal-centred approach in Turkish religious education are evident on examining the topics of the Qur'an, hajj and family in Islam in terms of selected Turkish and English textbooks. It should also be noted that certain improvements have been realised in the treatment of the family in Islam in Turkish textbooks. It is believed that substantial improvements in the teaching of Islam in Turkey are required to meet the necessities and cognitive abilities of pupils and for religious education to be educationally a more acceptable curriculum subject. Generally all Turkish textbooks and some English textbooks should take into consideration the presentation of the contemporary form of Islam and build up a connection with pupils' understanding.

CHAPTER 4

SECULARISM IN TURKISH AND ENGLISH RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

4.1. Introduction

As a part of modernism secularism is one of the dominant philosophical and epistemological orientations in the modern world. Although secularism originated in the West it has made such an impact that it may be considered a universal phenomenon which has influenced the thinking and way of life of people and nations all over the world. The process of secularization also has made a great impact on different realms of modern culture such as education, politics and religion. It is particularly obvious that secularization has a direct bearing upon religion and religious learning. The implications of secularization may be observed in the content, aim and method of learning in state religious education. Therefore, the study of secularization in state religious education is essential in order to understand the nature of this subject in a given country. Such an undertaking can provide advantages in two ways. In the first place, it gives an opportunity to look at secularization from a micro-perspective which may aid in the understanding of secularization from a macro-perspective. In the second place, it helps to explain recent changes in religious education and their relationship with the wider society, since schools, at least, provide a reflection of society on a limited scale. As far as the present thesis is concerned, the question of secularization has an immediate concern with the objectives of this research. Firstly, to a certain extent discussions concerning confessional and non-confessional approaches in religious education are the results of debates about what kind of religious education in state schools is appropriate or acceptable in a secular society. Secondly, that diversity in the understanding and implementation of secularism in Turkey and England is one of the indicators for diversity in the teaching of Islam.

It should be noted that the experience of secularization is not exactly the same for every society in the world. Rather, secularization works in different ways in different contexts. In line with this, the impact of secularization on religious education will vary

from one country to another. The purpose of this chapter is to explain the secularization trends in religious education in Turkey and England. It will start with a brief review of secularization theories and their relation to Islam. Then the implications of secularization will be examined in terms of the textbooks' presentation, with particular reference to the teaching of Islam.

4.2.Secularism and Islam

In any discussion of the relationship between secularism and religion two important questions emerge: how we define secularism and how we define religion. In this context, to provide a general background for the analysis of secularization in the textbooks on Islam in Turkey and England, secularization and its relationship with Islam will be elucidated.

Secular comes from the Latin root *saeculum,* and in origin it could signify a great length of time or it could be used as a religiously negative term signifying 'this world'. By the Middle Ages its ecclesiastical usage is found in the term 'secular clergy' referring to those priests not subject to monastic vows (Martin 1982:48). In the seventeenth century the notion 'secularization' was used to indicate land transferred from ecclesiastical to civil control, and it had generally a neutral meaning. It then lost its neutral meaning and was used with militantly atheistic associations in the West (Hill 1973: 229). As a policy of religion it was developed particularly after the French and American revolutions of the late eighteenth century in the Western world and later adopted in many countries all over the world (Westerlund 1996:3).

To make a single comprehensive definition of secularization is not possible. So, rather than attempting to do so, to give a few different meanings of secularization may provide a more valuable approach. Historically, 'secularization' is a product of modernization, and it initially occurred within the ambit of Christian societies and was then exported with modification to other societies (Martin 1978:2). In this sense Shiner has pointed out three important characteristics of secularization: (1) desacralization or decline in the role of religion in defining the social world, (2) the process of structural

differentiation by which religious and secular social institutions become distinct and autonomous, and (3) the transference of religious knowledge and activities to the secular domain (Rosette 1985:222).

Secularization may also be classified as containing two main group meanings. The first group deals with the sphere of religious institutions, and the second group is concerned with the sphere of thought and attitude (Martin 1982:48). In Berger's terms there are two types of secularization: objective and subjective. He argues that objective secularization means that churches have abandoned areas which were once under either their control or influence, and that religious influence has also declined in all areas of the culture, from art to the physical sciences. He explains subjective secularization as a secularization of consciousness, that the modern West has produced an increasing number of individuals who look upon the world and their own lives without the benefit of religious interpretations (Berger 1969: 108).

Taking into account the above classification, the definition of secularization can be broadly divided into three categories. The first group meaning is concerned with the ecclesiastical institution, and especially with any decline in its power, wealth, influence, range of control and prestige. In this respect one of the most conventional definitions of secularization is the separation of Church and state or religion. In its ideal form it is a rejection of Church domination over society through the totalisation of the sacred, and the loss of Church's influence and power primarily over the State apparatus and the professions. In its extreme form, it is an ideology, "a new closed world-view which functions very much like a new religion" (Cox 1965:21). It was put into effect most consistently in revolutionary France during the 1790s and has become a world model. Secularisation as a separation of Church and state is an ideal type rather than "a description of governing reality" (Cox 1965:22). For instance, France can be considered as a main example for this category because of its legal separation of church and state. However, in practice, public funding for church schools as well as systems of chaplains in the army and the prisons violates the purity of the separation (Nielsen 1995a: 106).

The second meaning of secularisation is "the differentiation of religious ideas and institutions from other parts of the social structure" (Hill 1973: 238). According to this definition, religion lost its function as a primary source of legitimization for the whole society. Rather, it became increasingly a matter of private choice, restricted to the domain of religiously interested participation. As a result of this process, religion mostly loses its public role, and, as a corollary, society looks elsewhere for the sources of its authority.

Some reflection of this classification on policy towards religion means differentiation of religion and politics. This might be a more functional definition of secularism. It suggests a process through which religion and politics are differentiated but not necessarily separated. Religions and/or religious groups may be influential in the political process, and without religion acting as a functional alternative to politics some political movements acquire a religious coloring (Martin 1978: 31). However, no particular religion or religious groups is able to expand its ideology over the rest of society. The system is secular in opposition to the totalisation of the sacred, not in opposition to the sacred per se. In this system, the sacred and the profane are somewhat distinct but the boundaries between the two are amorphous and permeable. The profane intrudes into the sacred and the sacred into the profane every day (Greely 1982:1). In this system, the discourse of transcendence and its paradoxical relations with the temporal are very much alive and meaningful.

Secularization can, thirdly, be defined as the removal of the use of religious beliefs, concepts, and language in a given culture where previously they were used and influential. In other words, secularization is a process by which the significance of religion has become less meaningful and more marginal in the main centers of modern culture. This definition is consistent with that presented by several scholars such as Bryan Wilson and Peter Berger.

Wilson (1982) defines this term as follows: "..a process by which religious institutions, actions, and consciousness, lose their significance. What such a definition does not imply is that all men have acquired a secularized consciousness. It does not

even suggest that most individuals have relinquished all their interest in religion, even though that may be the case. It maintains no more than that religion ceases to be significant in the working of social systems' (p. 149-150). As a result of the steady accumulation of empirical knowledge, the increasing application of logic, and the rational coordination of human purposes an alternative vision and interpretation of life has been established (Wilson 1985: 13).

Berger gives a similar definition for secularization as "the process by which sectors of society and culture are removed from the domination of religious institutions and symbols" (Berger 1969:107).

However, David Martin has attempted to understand secularism by looking at the variances among cultures. He suggested that secularization is not so much a scientific concept as it is "a tool of counter-religious ideologies" (1965:169). By this he means that such "isms" as Marxism, rationalism, and existentialism have tended to use secularization to strengthen their own ideologies, and there has been an attempt to substitute the ideologies for outmoded religious expressions. He has also challenged the widely-held secularization assumption that there had once been a time of great faith in the West, however, for various reasons that began to diminish and the secularization process gained strength. Martin could not support the thesis that modern societies are actually witnessing "any increase in general skepticism;" rather, they remain "imbued with every type of superstition and metaphysic' (Martin 1982:113). And his other challenge to general secularization theory has not been to conclude, as others have, that the secularization of religious institutions is the same thing as the "decline of religion". Moreover, he does not accept that secularization is inevitable for human history (Martin 1978:12). Perhaps one of the sharpest critiques of secularization theory came from Stark. He argues that there is nothing new with secularization, and it is part of a normal cycle of religious development. He also suggests that science cannot fulfill many central human needs and desires. It cannot remove all suffering and injustice in this life, it cannot offer an escape from individual extinction, it cannot make human existence meaningful. Only God can do these things in peoples' eyes (Hamilton 1995: 176, Stark

& Iannocone 1994). Consequently, Stark & Iannocone argued that the secularization thesis has been falsified - that the evolutionary future of religion is not extinction (Stark & Iannocone 1994).

Having noted that, let us examine the relationship between secularization and Islam. It is a fact that the question of compatibility or incompatibility of Islam with secularism is a very difficult issue. The difficulty stems from applying a concept originating in a different socio-historical context to any phenomenon. In the case of secularism this arises because secularism came into existence and developed in the almost entirely Christian-populated environment in the West, even though there have been attempts to apply it to other countries, including Islamic countries, as a world model in our age. Moreover, although Christians often recognise secularism as the antithesis of religious intolerance most Muslims see it as the antithesis of religion. Its Western and perhaps Christian associations also make the word 'secularism' more problematic for Muslims (Zebiri 1998). Moreover, it should be noted that to some extent Islamic historical experience and discourse dealing with temporal power is not identical with the Western experience of Christianity.

In this context, any comparison between Islam and Christianity and their relations with politics tends to begin with a claim that the absence of an ecclesiastical system in Islam makes the separation of religion from politics problematic, if not impossible (Smith 1974:13-15, Zebiri 1998). Such claims are based on the assumption that Islam does not recognise any distinction between sacred and temporal affairs and considers such distinctions heresy (Rahman 1979, Lewis 1993:181). Following Arkoun's cogent line of analysis, it might be argued that this is a half-true fact. It is true because Islam does not indeed recognise any boundaries between the sacred and the temporal. It is half true since this is not a characteristic specific to Islam. No religion, in fact, does recognise such boundaries. But "such a distinction does exist de facto in all societies even when it is negated and hidden in a religious vocabulary" (Arkoun 1988a:69). The problem, then, is not the recognition of that distinction but is about how a particular religion comes to terms with this de facto existence.

To argue that no religion recognises any distinction between the sacred and the temporal, but such distinction is negated and/or hidden in religious vocabulary, leads us to the most difficult, but equally important, distinction between religion as a "symbolic system of the sacred" and religion as an "ideology in everyday reality".

Religion as a symbolic system of the sacred is "a body of symbolic, evocative propositions on the human condition" (Arkoun 1988b:85) which, as "an all-embracing function of man's spiritual life", addresses our "ultimate concerns", about "the fundamental problems of meaning". Religion as an ideology, on the other hand, "is a conceptual vision claimed by a social group to protect its identity and, eventually, to expand it to other groups" (ibid.: 85).

Religion as a symbolic system of the sacred is a "discourse of transcendence" and of "absoluteness" which "opens a space for the promotion of the individual beyond the constraints of hierarchies and inequalities" in everyday life; lets the individual become "an autonomous and free person" (Arkoun 1994: 57). The "discourse of transcendence" in this respect, is human consciousness which enables mankind to search for an ultimate goal in life in order to transcend the constraints of everyday reality. It provides "a grounding for the beliefs and orientations of men in a view of reality that transcends the limits of the empirical here and now of daily experience" (O'Dea 1983: 6).

Whether it is expressed in religious or secular terminology, the fundamental characteristic of transcendence is its opposition to temporal order. Transcendence as an ideal form of human condition can exist only in a state which is radically alien to this world of which it is not a natural part. Paradoxically, the transcendence must be embodied in some kind of sociological or organised form if it is to have any relevance to this world. However, during the process of being organised, the transcendence has to compromise on its ideal form and take on the characteristics of this world. Niebuhr (1959) states:

> No idea can be incorporated without the loss of its ideal character. When liberty gains a constitution, liberty is compromised; when fraternity elects officers, fraternity yields some of the ideal qualities of the brotherhood to the necessities of government (p.4).

As transcendence becomes organised in order to have any relevance to this world, it perceives and legitimises the world from the perspective of an organisation. Thus, the transcendence turns into an ideology which takes over the positive view of personhood and redefines it within the re-established new hierarchies and inequalities. The symbolism of transcendence in this development "deteriorates into legal codes, mechanical rituals, scholastic doctrines, and ideologies of domination" (Arkoun 1994:21). This is a paradoxical relationship between sacred and temporal from which no religion has been able to escape. As Bellah points out:

> Every religion seeks to proclaim a truth which transcends the world, but is enmeshed in the very world it desires to transcend. Every religion seeks to remake the world in its own image, but it is always to some extent remade in the image of the world. This is the tragedy of religion (Bellah 1957:196).

On this point, there is no difference between Christianity and Islam. The difference is between the historical-social circumstances in which the discourse of transcendence in each religion came to terms with the facts of the temporal. Islam, unlike Christianity, was born outside of two powerful empires, and it rapidly grew up and gained early political success (Gellner 1981:2-4).

In Christianity, the development of an ecclesiastical system provided its creative symbolic capital of transcendence with an ideological mechanism to come to terms with the facts of the temporal order, and to define it in terms of an ideological framework of an ecclesiastical system which, as Smith pointed out, "posits a structure that is within society but clearly separate from it, and internal ordering of the church is at the heart of the system" (Smith 1974:6). This means that, as an entity separate from society, the ecclesiastical system or the Church has its own interests to follow and its own ideology to legitimise these interests in religious terms. In this development, the "symbolic capital" of the transcendent carried in religious discourse deteriorated into ritual behaviour, legal codes, and monopolies of coercive power exercised by the Church in alliance with the state (Arkoun 1994:19). The church fulfilled the demands for legitimisation of the ruling class and the demands for compensation of the dominated. Between these two demands for legitimisation lay the legitimisation of the ecclesiastical system and its own interests. Religion tries to maximise its own interests and,

thus, to dominate the entire society. Therefore, the acceptance of distinctions between sacred and temporal does not necessarily give way to the defining description of the boundaries between these two spheres with one belonging to the Church and one to the state. By contrast, such acceptance can also become a starting point of justification for the Church to expand its hegemony over society which is the definition of a theocratic system. Here, the development of the ecclesiastical system in Christianity, and the acceptance of the distinction between sacred and temporal, is very much at the heart of theocracy as well as at the heart of the development of secularism in the West (Oktem 1994: 38-40).

By the same token, it can be suggested that the absence of an ecclesiastical system in Islam proves its unsuitability not only to secularism but also to theocracy. One should be reminded, however, that the discourse of transcendence and its positive view of personhood is regularly taken over not only by an ecclesiastical system, as in Christianity, but also by the state itself, as in Islam. With the rise of the imperial Umayyad state, the symbolic creativity of the Qur'anic discourse was utilised for the construction and imposition of the state's coercive power (Arkoun 1994: 22) to attach any meaning to our life.

The paradoxical relations between the discourse of transcendence and the temporal are essential to human life and cannot be thought in abstraction. To try to do so leads us either to the "totalisation" of life or its "particularisation". In both cases, we end up undermining the middle ground upon which our very existence depends.

According to the classification of secularization, Islam's relation with it exhibits different responses. With respect to secularism in the second category, which is differentiation of religious ideas and institutions from other parts of the social structure there is nothing inherent in Islam that makes the one antagonistic to the other. It may be argued that secularism in the second category finds its roots in the Qur'anic discourse [1] and Prophetic tradition [2] which reject the totalisation of transcendence by addressing the "middle ground" between this world and the other world. Islam, in its classical and Ottoman version, was well adapted to the institutional differentiation of the structures of state and religion (Lapidus 1992: 18, Bolay & Turkone 1995: 26-29).

When the above argument is accepted, it can be further argued that, because of its rejection of totalisation, Islam is inherently immune to the secularization process.

Immunity to secularization requires an adaptability to secularism, that is to say, an adaptability to the institutional differentiation of the structures of state and religion. Although Islam proved its adaptability effectively in the past, saving the sacred from being compromised by the profane, the fundamentalist trends in contemporary Islam put it at stake by seeking to unite religion and politics as if they can be separated or united at will. In fact, to speak of unity is the admission of a conceptual separation in the first place and in this case it is probable that religion would be subordinated to the state (Gellner 1981:68). Thus, fundamentalist Islam becomes not only antagonistic to secularism but also prone to secularization, a process in which fundamentalists willingly play their part by emptying Islam of its values as a place of transcendence (Roy 1994).

4.3. A Brief Reference to Secularism in Turkey and England

The secularization experience of Turkey and England exhibits some important differences in terms of its emergence and influence at the individual and social levels, albeit something is common to both. In Turkey, secularism came into existence as a vital part of modernism efforts, and after the establishment of the Turkish Republic it became the state policy in the matter of relationship between religion and other social spheres, such as politics and education. The role of Islam in the state was redefined, and some attempts were made to reduce Islam to the role of religion in a modern Western nation-state. In spite of providing Islam with a role at the individual level, its public function such as political ideology, cultural and communal identity was strongly disapproved of (Kushner 1986, Tapper 1991). Secularism has been preserved as a constitutional principle and pillar of the Turkish Republic. Secularism has also been one of the words most frequently used by politicians, elite and media. In line with other social areas, its vitality in education has repeatedly been emphasised by the education acts. As far as religious education is concerned, noted in the first chapter, the issue of secularism became a matter of debate during the introduction of this subject in state school. The national religious education curriculum also acknowledged the significance

of secularism, and particular attention was given to the teaching of religion in line with Turkish secularism. Depending on its importance for Turkey, separate topics were devoted to the meaning and development of secularism and its connection with Islam in the religious education textbooks.

Contrary to England, the fact that there is so much emphasis and explicit reference to secularism in education and other social domains indicates its delicate position in Turkey. Possible reasons for such stress are twofold. Firstly, in Berger's terms the objective aspect of secularization obtained a considerable success with the Republican reform, and Islam has been marginalised in the public domain. But development and success in the subjective aspect of secularization (the consciousness of the people) is not consistent with the objective side of secularization. To put it another way, the majority of people's religiosity at least at the subjective level is not in decline, whatever the secularization thesis says, in Turkey. Even opposite trends can be observed. Secondly, in recent years Turkey has experienced an Islamic revival in various areas, and the place of Islam again has become a burning issue. Growing religiosity at the individual level and its reflection in some public domains implicitly lead to questioning of the secularism. For this reason, increasing priority has been given to the principle of secularism. In this context, education and religious education in particular have been used as a powerful vehicle to promote secular features of the Turkish state and prevent religious fundamentalism.

Secularist thought began to appear within the Enlightenment in Europe as a consequence of conflict between the Church (mainly Catholic) and state. During this process, the authority of the church weakened and religion started to be privatised. The state began to find alternative sources of legitimacy, and wider sectors of society and culture developed their own foundations of legitimacy. Due to the absence of any consensus about the relationship between belief, institutional church and Christianity in the social and political life of the nation two models emerged. In the first model, the strong secularist trends in the intellectual world and politics, along with anti-clericalism, were followed, and complete separation between religion or church and state was put into effect. France is the best example for this. In the second one, particularly in Protestant Europe, an important part of

society believed that some form of tie between the nation and its Christian heritage needs to be retained (Nielsen 1995a). England can be considered in the second category. Although there were no major clashes between religion and state compared to the Catholic countries, England has experienced a form of secularization like other Western European nations. Signs of secularization such as decline of religious practice and weakening of the authority of the Church were observed in England (Martin 1978: 155). According to a widely shared view, England is now a much less religious society than it was previously (Bruce 1995).

Turkey and England provided a space for religious education in their state schools in terms of their understanding of secularization. Naturally, it is believed that the impact of secularization can be observed in religious education in both countries with different emphases. Whereas in England Smart (1968) and Smith (1969) elaborated the place of religious education in a secular context, no research on secularism in religious education was done in Turkey. Furthermore, recently, Pulley (1989) investigated the secularization of religious education in state schools in terms of selected religious education syllabuses in England. He concluded that there have been observable secularizing trends within the religious education curricula from 1944 to 1985.

4.4.Criteria for Discussing Secularization Trends About Islam

Secularization trends in selected Turkish and English textbooks on Islam will be analysed in terms of two criteria. The first criteria is concerned with the content of the teaching of Islam, and the second deals with the method of presentation of religion. However, the establishment of comprehensive criteria for textbook analysis is difficult, if not impossible. The difficulty stems from two sources. First of all, the concept of secularization lacks a standard definition, and implementation of secularism is variable from one society or country to another, since every country has its own reason to introduce a secular approach in general and in particular for education. Our case is not an exception in this respect. Despite the acceptance of secularism by England and Turkey, its historical development and present application is not the same in the two countries. Whereas secularisation was begun and developed in a natural way in England with Christianity being the religion for a huge majority

of people, when borrowed from the West this concept was imposed by those in power rather than as a consequence of its historical development in Turkey as a country whose population is mostly Muslim. The second problem arises from the significance of Islam and the reason for teaching of Islam in secondary schools in the two countries. Although Islam is a minority religion and given limited space within RE in England, it is a majority religion in Turkey and, consequently, more importance and place have been given to it in the RE curriculum. Besides these difficulties, it should not be forgotten that the existence of some common features for both states is a reality. Turkey and England are secular countries and teaching Islam, less or more, has been accommodated in RE syllabuses. Our main aim is not only to show or prove similarities in Turkish and English textbooks but it is also to find out what differences exist in the presentation of Islam in selected RE textbooks, and to investigate the reasons for such differences.

The first aspect is the content of the teaching on Islam, and the second deals with the method of presentation of Islam in selected textbooks. As pointed out by Tulasiewicz (1993), the secular state may prefer to teach the doctrinal and ritual aspects of religion in religious education while ignoring a social dimension which conflicts with the government view (p.21). With respect to the content, I have sought to establish whether Islam is presented as an individualistic religion with concentration on faith and ritual dimensions only or as an individualistic and social religion, since, according to Muslims, Islam is a complete way of life, not just a religion in the Christian sense or in the secular sense. It penetrates all areas of life, and, as a way of life Islam guides Muslims, not just in matters of worship, but in daily matters as well (Bowker 1995: 32). Therefore, it might be suggested that absence and failure to emphasise the social aspect of Islam in the content of textbooks imply a secular approach.

The second criteria concerns the method used for the presentation of religion. One of the main features of a secular approach is to be non-judgmental because it assumes an ultimate relativity in world-wide faith. The notion of absolute truth is seen as illegitimate and is rejected because there is no criterion by which to judge truth beyond the individual's perception. In a secular context there is no locus for the question of the ultimate rightness or

wrongs of such an activity. By contrast with a secular approach, a religious (sacred) approach can give validity to judgement and it implies a context in which absolute truth exists. That is, there is something within the nature of being itself which can be said to be true and which is not dependent upon any one individual's perceptions or ideas about truth because truth stands alone (Pulley 1989). Therefore, religious education having solely a religious aim or promoting a particular religion is difficult to justify in state schools according to secular educational principles today. In religious education terminology, it is a matter of whether a confessional or a non-confessional (educational) method is used to present Islam in the textbooks.

4.5. Secularization Trends in the Teaching of Islam in Selected Textbooks

4.5.1. Content of Islam

Let us examine the content of Islam in both countries' textbooks in terms of our first criterion. To do so the following topics have been selected as appropriate to show secularization trends: the definition of Islam, life of Prophet Muhammad in the Madinah Period and the concepts of Ummah and Shari'ah.

4.5.1.1. Definition of Islam

According to the English textbooks, Islam derives from the Arabic word s-l-m and it has two basic meanings in Arabic: submission and peace. The majority of textbooks prefer to use the meaning 'submission' and they define Islam in terms of this meaning as a submission to the will of God. A few textbooks' authors, such as Knight and Ashraf, use the second one which means 'peace'. Knight explains that "Islam is the state of peaceful obedience to Allah's guidance" (p.6). And Brine defines Islam as containing both meanings: "Someone who is seeking to become peaceful and submissive" (p.8). Throughout the textbooks special stress has been given to point out that Islam is not only a private matter between followers of Islam and God, but encompasses all aspects of life. The following are some examples of such explanations:

Islam is a complete way of life (Brine: 54).

> Most Muslims believe that their faith is not merely a private thing between themselves and Allah. They often say that their faith should colour all aspects of life, both private and public. This means that Islam is not only about what happens in their personal lives. Nor is it just about what happens in their families or mosques. It has to do with every aspect of life, both inside and outside the Muslim community (Hunt: 7).

> It [Islam] refers to a complete way of life from birth to death and even to life after death. It tells those who accept it what they should believe, how they should behave with other human beings, with all other living creatures and also with all natural objects so that they may obtain spiritual peace through obeying God's will (Ashraf: 2).

In the Turkish textbooks, Islam is the name of the religion which has been brought by the last prophet Muhammed and this name was given by Allah. Its literal meaning is 'submission', 'peace', salvation, safety (security). Allah chose Islam as a true religion for human beings. A quotation from the Qur'an is cited; "The only true faith in God's sight is Islam" (3:19). As a logical conclusion of this Qur'anic verse it is obvious that other religions will not be accepted. (Bolay: 2).

Turkish textbooks seem to be eager to define Islam without considering its social aspect. It is possible to observe this attitude in selected Turkish textbooks. The following quotations show this:

> Islam is a set of complex beliefs and types of behaviour founded by Allah, and it provides happiness and salvation in this world and the life after death (Ayas & Tumer: 9).

> Islam is a divine law revealed by God that is chosen by the free will of individuals, and it gives this-worldly and other worldly-happiness and salvation (Tunc: 113).

On the next page of the above definition, further explanation follows about 'divine law'. Divine law has been divided into three main spheres of beliefs, rituals and moral principles (Tunc:114).

4.5.1.2. Prophet Muhammad

Belief in the culmination of prophethood in Prophet Muhammad is an essential part of the Muslim creed. Muhammad is the final and complete manifestation of the perfect man (al-insan al-kamil), the most comprehensive example of prophethood. However, according to

Islamic interpretation, Muhammad is considered only as a human being who has lived like any other person. The following Qur'an verses:

> Say; 'I am but a mortal like yourselves. It is revealed to me that your God is one God. Let him that hopes to meet his Lord do what is right and worship none besides his Lord (18:110).
>
> Muhammad is the father of no man among you. He is the Apostle of God and the Seal of the Prophets. God has knowledge of all things (33:40).

In this belief, Muslims do not in any way underestimate his personality. On the contrary, in this way his followers are denied any rapturous enthusiasm and thereby prevented from weakening or undermining absolute monotheism, the true essence of Islam. At the same time Muslims see the human being Muhammad as having the highest possible qualification for a man, being brought into the immediate vicinity of God, becoming his interlocutor and receiving his message, and he is known as the Prophet and is the living embodiment of the Qur'an. So, God tells believers that the Prophet is the supreme example and the ideal model for humanity. To obey his instructions willingly is to gain the love of God; and to love him wholeheartedly is to love God and so be granted the gift of inner illumination. In short, Muhammad's life is the supreme norm of life for Muslims, and he is both human and spiritual, but his humanity is dominated, motivated and controlled by his spirituality. "Fealty to him is fealty to God".

Having noted the place and importance of Prophet Muhammad for Muslims, some explanation with regard to dimensions of his life will be given to establish the criteria for analysis. His prophethood can be divided into two main periods: Makkan and Madinan. The former period began in his fortieth year when he received the first revelation through Gabriel. The next 13 years was a period of preaching, at first secretly, but later on, openly, leading people away from idolatry to worship of the one Deity. Due to the increasing number of his followers, the establishment of tribal leaders of Quraysh became afraid of his growing influence and they did not accept the message of Islam. Moreover, they tried to kill him. Therefore, he had to migrate to Madinah. This migration is known in Islamic history as Hijrah (migration). This event indicated the outset of the later period, and it continued up to

the death of Muhammad. The ten years of the Madinan era was the period of establishment of religious community and expansion, warfare (jihad) and the final conquest of Makkah. This means that the Islamic community witnessed the establishment of state in the lifetime of its prophet unlike other religions such as Christianity. As is pointed out by Lewis (1993), for Muslims, Muhammad's career as a soldier and statesman was not additional to his mission as a prophet. It was an essential part of it. In fulfilment of that mission, he became the head of a state and the founder of an empire (p.135). This historical reality expresses the fact that the Prophet Muhammad merged temporal and spiritual power in his personality, and he exercised both together. At that point, his life in the Madinan period is an accurate example to show this worldly interest of Islam, and in recent years proponents of political Islam seem to be eager to make reference to this period. The attempt to ignore or to diminish the importance of Muhammad's exercise of temporal power in the presentation of Muhammad might be a sign of secularisation in textbooks. At least, this negligence implicitly shows a tendency that there is no need to expose the political aspect of Muhammad's life because this kind of perfect example is not compatible with secularist thought. Taking this into account, the image of Muhammad in the Madinan period will be considered.

English textbooks give a place to the following issues relating to the life of Muhammad in Madinah: the Hijrah (migration), the acceptance of the Hijrah as marking the beginning for the Muslim Calendar, establishment of the Muslim community in Madinah, Constitution of Madinah, battles and conquest of Makkah, and finally the death of Muhammed. Three out of twelve textbooks did not include a separate treatment of the life of Muhammad. However, some of them, such as Brine, treat his life story under other relevant topics. It should be stated that, in spite of ignoring the political dimension of Muhammad in one in three of the textbooks, the majority of them pay enough attention to the political dimension of his life and they reveal clear and historically acceptable knowledge about it. Ashraf even makes a title out of this period of his mission: "Hijrah and first Islamic State". The following quotations clearly illustrate the importance given to the political aspect of his life.

> ... with the establishment of the first Islamic state, the religion became more organised, with detailed instructions about prayer, fasting, charity and pilgrimage. He was also

asked for advice on how to behave in all spheres of life, such as work, leisure and family relations, and he answered either with quotations from the Qur'an or with sayings of his own (Thompson: 29).

Muslims do believe that Muhammad was the ideal human being. He was perfect. He lived out his whole life in harmony with God. He was not only a spiritual figure, but also a statesman and great political leader of the Muslim community For this reason, stories about the Prophet's life and teaching are believed to be crucial ways of learning how to live as a perfect Muslim (Brine: 22).

...Muhammad renewed Islam in Arabia and established the first Muslim state (Watton: 95).

... The Prophet became the city's (Madinah) political chief as well as religious advisor (Maqsood: 16).

Muhammad himself, while living in Madinah, ruled the small Muslim community he had formed, making political as well as religious judgements (Hunt: 22).

On the Turkish side, although a chapter on Muhammad's life is provided in only two textbooks (for third lower secondary and first upper secondary levels), the others provide some knowledge about him under different topics. Surprisingly, under the title of "Life of Prophet Muhammad" the authors of one textbook, Ayas & Tumer, treat solely Muhammad`s Makkan period without any reference to his life in Madinah. Thus, Figlali`s textbook remains the only textbook that illustrates his life as a whole. The content for the life of Muhammad in the Madinan period is similar to English textbooks with two exceptions. These are the Constitution of Madinah and establishment of Islamic community. And events and developments in the Madinan period are demonstrated in a way that offers no explanation for political mission in this textbook.

4.5.1.3. The Concepts of Ummah and Shari`ah

Ummah and *shari`ah* are two important key concepts among others for the understanding of Islam as a complete way of life. For Nielsen (1995b), Shari`ah may also be considered as a useful starting point to understand Muslim responses to the modern world. The existence of such concepts is an indication that Islam is not only an individualistic religion in a Western sense but it is also an everyday social reality that encompasses whole

spheres of believers' lives and provides a common consciousness among its followers wherever they live. Now let us see how ummah and shari'ah are presented in textbooks.

The English textbooks' discussion of ummah and its function in Islam will first be examined. Ummah is defined as a world-wide Muslim community consisting of followers of Islam and a community in which every aspect of life is shaped by Islamic ideas. In the first category the definition of ummah is more general and it represents a psychological feeling of warmth towards other Muslims, and awareness and sympathetic appreciation of the existence of fellow Muslims throughout the world. In the second category definition, as the subsequent example illustrates, *ummah* is a society which is governed according to Islamic principles.

> Many Muslims believe that the whole life should follow the guidance of the Qur'an. This means that ideally a Muslim needs to live in a community in which every aspect of life is shaped by Islamic ideas. The umma is that community. Muslims believe this is the only way in which real peace and harmony in a community is achieved (Brine: 54).

The first category definition can also clearly be observed in the following quotations in the majority of textbooks.

> Ummah is the feeling of warmth and brotherhood that one Muslim feels towards another (Keene: 35), and it (ummah) is now used to describe the world-wide community of Muslims. Their common beliefs go beyond any differences that they might have (Keene: 38).

> Muslims regard all followers of Islam as being members of one big family. This is called the Ummah. The idea of Ummah is very important, and helps to explain why Muslims are so concerned about other Muslims wherever they live in the world (Penny: 36).

According to the textbooks, the ummah came into existence as a community under the political leadership of Muhammad in the state city of Madinah and then it is used to describe those who, despite living outside Madinah and under politically different authorities, still belonged spiritually to the same ummah (Ashraf: 41, Keene: 38).

Hunt pays attention to the difficulty for non-Muslims in understanding the Muslim sense of community (ummah) as a community without any organisation or leader (p.55). Some religious events such as religious festivals, use of Arabic, turning in the direction of the Kible in prayer, and performing the hajj are seen as a realisation of the spirit of ummah in the

present time. Particularly, authors treat hajj as an excellent expression of the spirit of ummah. For instance, Thompson emphasises this point:

> Ka`ba (Hajj) is a perfect expression of the Ummah, the Islamic community. It is the world-wide fellowship of Muslims which transcends race, nationality, colour, sex and language. There are many indications of this brotherhood within Islam, but nowhere is it more obvious than on the Hajj (p.70).

Moreover, in the context of ummah some authors built up a connection between ummah and the Caliph *(Khalifah)*. The word 'caliph' means 'successor' or 'vice-regent'. After the death of Muhammad his four closest companions ruled the Islamic community and two powerful Quraysh dynasties (Umayyad and Abbasid) then took over the office of caliph. Afterwards, the caliphate passed to Ottoman Turks and it was abolished by Turkey in 1924 (Ashraf and Thompson). Knight also points out in her textbook that for many Muslims a strong religious and political leadership from a good and scholarly caliph is necessary today (p.12).

As far as Islam is concerned the ummah should be guided by the will of God. Human beings only achieve real peace and harmony with a pattern of life which is shaped by the will of God. This includes every aspect of life such as business, health, politics and town planning (Brine: 55). The name of this pattern is *Shari`ah.* Shari`ah is based on the Arabic word for 'road'. It is seen as a road that leads from God and to God (Brine: 55), and "a clear straight path; the way in which God wants men to walk". The Shari`ah covers both public and private life. So, there was no distinction between civil and religious law in Islam. There is only one law that is the Shari`ah (Watton: 55). The following examples indicate more clearly how this concept is defined.

> Shari`ah is the code of law and behaviour which has been derived from the Qur'an and Hadith. This code of law has been built up as wise teachers have applied the principles of Islam to new and different situations (Hunt:13).

> The shari`ah encompasses both public and private life. It has laws which you could expect to be made by the political authorities, as well as rules for areas of life. It teaches Muslims how Allah wants them to live the whole of their lives (Thomson: 98).

> The Shari`ah is the code of behaviour for a Muslim, the law that determines the rightness (halal) or wrongness (haram) of any particular action. It gives a criterion for

judging all behaviour and conduct, and relationship with other individuals, with society as a whole, and your own self (Maqsood: 82).

Furthermore, plenty of examples regarding the application of Shari`ah in practice such as criminal codes, business and food have been accommodated in the majority of textbooks. They also explore the contemporary position of Shari`ah. Our observation shows that two extreme examples have been given of all Muslim countries. At one extreme, Turkey tried to be a modern European state, and it has done most to Westernise its law and the code of Shari`ah was banned, and after the Second World War, Turkey became a member of NATO. But, as stressed by Watton, "all attempts to remove Islam from the political scene in Turkey have failed and during the 1980s there has been a growth of Islamic fundamentalism" (Watton: 56). Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and Iran are presented as at the other extremes, since they have adhered to Shari`ah laws most strictly and applied them most widely. Among them Iran is the only country to make Shi`i Islam the state religion (Thompson: 80).

As far as Turkish textbooks are concerned, no definition and information dealing with the ummah and Shari`ah have noted through whole textbooks from first level lower secondary to last level upper secondary. These concepts were not even criticised, or viewed in a negative sense in a single paragraph. In other words, the social aspect of Islam is totally ignored. After a pupil reads all the religious education textbooks, the following image of Islam may be created: Islam is an individualistic religion which encompasses only faith, worship and some moral code. There is nothing in Islam about a ban on interest, instruction for women's dress etc. Nor do the textbooks discuss the Muslim community in the world.

The results of textbooks' analysis suggest that, despite giving much emphasis to the political dimension of Islam, selected English textbooks mostly presented the social aspect of Islam in a way in which the image of Islam matches with Islamic sources. However, this dimension of Islam is almost ignored and Islam is exhibited as a private matter in Turkish textbooks. Since in the Turkish textbooks Islam is defined in terms of only faith, worship and moral principles, the Prophet's life story is portrayed in a way compatible with this Islam. This means that Prophet Muhammad is presented as a spiritual figure rather than having both a spiritual and temporal personality. And there is no place granted to such concepts as

Ummah and Shari`ah for the sake of being consistent with the individualistic image of Islam. From the content point of view, this analysis reveals that Turkish religious education textbooks display a more secularist tendency in terms of the given criteria. In this respect English textbooks for teaching Islam show less of a tendency towards secularization.

A question arises as to why the social aspect of Islam is not discussed in religious education textbooks in Turkey in which 98 % of its population is Muslim. This result may be surprising only to a person who has not enough knowledge of the Turkish context. As previously noted, secularism is a concept for the understanding of developments in modern Turkey, and it was conceived of as an effective measure in changing Turkey from a society where religion controlled all matters of daily life. For this reason, the state advocates secularism in every state apparatus, including education. If anything appears to contradict Turkish secularism, it is considered necessary for it to be removed from the school curriculum, even religious education textbooks. Already, as we can see in the earlier chapter (Chapter 1) about optional and compulsory religious education debates, the primary aim in introducing religious education is not to teach Islam as a complete way of life. In this context, Turkish secularists have supposed that teaching the social dimension of Islam would be a threat to secular principles. For instance, due to the memories of the discarded past, the ummah and the Shari`ah are undesirable concepts in textbooks because, as a result of the Turkish revolution, the Shari`ah and the Caliphate that was a symbol of the unity of the ummah at least among some Muslims were eliminated. It seems to me that teaching the social dimension of Islam in textbooks might arouse secularist anxieties as leading to an interpretation of Islam as an ideology, and this comprehension would violate secularism. In addition, as Islamic revivalism is also present in Turkey, as pointed out by Wielandt, expositions and justification of secularism were dealt with in greater detail than ever before in religious education textbooks during the 1980s (Wielandt 1993: 54).

Of course, the above issues are of no significance for teaching Islam in England. Its main purpose is to accommodate Islam into the religious education curriculum in England so as to promote mutual understanding and awareness in a society which consists of different faiths and atheists. In England religious education uses a non-confessional method and the

1988 Education Reform Act prohibits promoting any religion, including Christianity, in RE. And because of neutrality towards denominations this method can be accepted as secular.

Moreover, because of the importance of secularism for Turkey, religious education textbooks devoted plenty of topics to secularism. In this presentation, they explain the meaning of secularism, its historical development in Europe and Turkey, and its main features in terms of Turkish understanding. Particular attention was given to the Turkish experience of secularism and its benefits for Turkey. The attempts have been made to justify the secular state involvement in religious services such as governing and sponsoring the Presidency of Religious Affairs and compulsory religious education in state schools in Turkish textbooks. Finally, they provided arguments to prove the compatibility between Islam and secularism. In this respect, the following three main arguments are worth mentioning: the existence of broad freedom for religions in Islam, the absence of an ecclesiastical class in Islam and the acceptance of consultation in the state administration in Islam.

4.5.2. Method of Presentation for Islam

Now let us examine the aim and method of presentation of Islam. Due to Christianity being a majority religion in England, nobody expects to encounter the promotion of Islam and its superiority over another religion in textbooks. At this point, the reasons for teaching Islam and the style of its presentation are certainly significant for the study of secularization trends in textbooks. First of all, let us look at the reasons for teaching Islam according to the textbooks.

Islam is the second largest religion in England and the world after Christianity. English textbooks' authors usually provide, at the beginning of textbooks, reasons for studying Islam. The intention in teaching Islam is generally to help understanding Islam, and give the main teachings of Islam. Acceptance of 'understanding' as a goal in teaching Islam is quite important, since to understand a religion a person has to try to place him or herself in other people's position. It is different from knowing because knowing something does not necessarily mean to understand. Understanding also possesses an educational character rather

than nurturing and preaching a particular faith or ideology. Moreover, some authors like Watton and Brine put forward conflicting ideas about Islam to develop the capacity of understanding and discussing. Watton explains this point in his textbook about Islam in the introductory section:

> As this book is intended to help students understand Islam, it does not only give the fundamental teachings of Islam, but also conflicting ideas of modern Muslim scholars and Western scholars. Most Muslims would disagree with such ideas as they believe there are no conflicts or divisions within Islam.

However, sometimes to give conflicting ideas may lead to making a judgement and to cause some misunderstanding about Islam. This result is undesirable from the secular and educational perspective, as well as from the religious perspective. For example, after giving Muslim scholars' opinion in regard to the originality and non-change of the Qur'an through history, Watton provides Western scholars' thought dealing with corruption and changing of Qur'an (p.5).

Hunt and Brine explain the goal of the textbooks for Islam as follows:

> ...This book in the series, *Muslims* is designed to help you to develop your understanding of the way Muslims behave and what they believe (Hunt: 5).. 'without any assumptions being made about any teacher's or pupil's acceptance of the Islamic religion now or in the future' (Hunt: 79).
>
> In this book we will explore the things which Muslims value and think are important. We will be hearing from Muslims about their own views and trying to understand the answers they give (Brine:5).

Thompson states that the reasons for studying Islam might be considered from a Western point of view at the beginning of her textbook in the following manner:

1. Islam is the fastest growing religion in the world. It is surely worth discovering why this religion is so popular.

2. Islam is now the second largest religion in Britain, so it cannot be ignored

3. It is necessary to know about Islam in order to understand world affairs.

4. If you are not a Muslim, the study of Islam is bound to challenge your own beliefs and values. In looking at those which are different from your own, you will see things in a

new light. You will be encouraged both to evaluate the importance of Islamic beliefs for Muslims, and also to state your own opinions.

5. If you already have a grounding in Christianity and Judaism, then you will find Islam quite easy to understand, since there are some identical points in the three religions. (Ix-x).

The evidence from the above statements and treatment of Islam through selected textbooks suggest that Islam is mostly studied from a secular point of view with educational goals. There is no intention to support one religious tradition over another. It can also be noted that the question of the truth or falsity of Islam and an expression of correctness of one set of ideas over against another set is not to the point. It is not a true indication of reality to say that Islam is intentionally treated from another religious point of view and making even some implicit comparison with Christianity or other religion to demonstrate inferiority of Islam, although there may be some maintenance of traditional misunderstanding, distortion and stereotype media presentation on Islam. Moreover, beliefs, modes of worship and attitudes about Islam have been displayed from a Muslim point of view without making any outside judgement and such phrases as 'Islam teaches...', 'Muslims believe..." etc. have always been used by authors. At the same time this implies the use of a phenomenological approach in textbooks. According to the Working Paper: 36, the aim of a phenomenological approach in RE is to promote understanding rather than promoting any one religious viewpoint. It is also suggested that phenomenological (explicit) religion is to take account of feelings and the standpoint of the believer and is not just informational in an external sense, for the experiential dimension of religion lies at the heart of the analysis (p.21). The usage of a phenomenological approach is a further indication of secularism in English textbooks because, as Grimmit (1987) accurately describes the use of this approach as a consequence of the study of religion outside the context of the faith community and placing it within the context of secular education (p.43).

Religious education in Turkey is more than Islamic education, and every aspect of its organisation in schools is the responsibility of the secular Turkish government. In other words, no religious community has the right to join a panel involved in the preparation of the religious education curriculum and its teaching practice. RE in schools is under the

provision of the secular state. So, the study of religious education is considered outside the context of the faith community. In this sense, we may expect to see the treatment of Islam and other religions from a secular point of view. This means the observance of neutral and non-judgmental attitudes towards religions, and the absence of promoting any religion and denomination in RE curriculum and its textbooks. Taking into consideration these facts, now let us examine Turkish textbooks. For a preliminary examination, it might be a good starting point to look at the stated aim of RE and the teaching of other religions than Islam. Due to there not being any explicit reference to these issues in textbooks, some data from RE national curriculum will be given to understand the aim of RE. The new updated 1992 National Curriculum for Religious Education states the common goal of religious education as follows:

> In the primary and secondary school levels the aim of religious culture and ethical knowledge is to provide enough knowledge about religion, Islam and ethics for pupils consistent with the general aim of Turkish national education and Ataturk`s secular principles. Thus, it helps development of national solidarity, Kemalism and a loving human being from a religious and moral point of view, brought up as a person with good character and virtue.

In addition to this, the syllabuses explain that some place for Christianity, Judaism and other religions has been granted to develop pupils` minds positively from religious and cultural aspects, and to gain a more tolerant and sympathetic attitude towards believers of non-Islamic religions. It also provides an explanation about the reasons for giving more place for Islam; these are owing to Turkey`s being 99 per cent Muslim in its population and to the special importance of Islam for national culture.

In spite of being over-coloured by nationalistic targets and suffering from a lack of component educational aims, the stated goals for RE reveal that there is no evidence to violate secular criteria, since they exhibit a non-judgmental, non-confessional and neutral approach towards religions and specifically Islam. Neither does it give an image which promotes Islam. Other principles for RE in the agreed syllabuses follow almost the same lines. However, an indication of a trend somewhat contradicting these principles can be noted in the minor part of the syllabuses. For example, a confessional attitude is shown

towards the teaching of RE in lower secondary school by saying that "the aim of RE is to inform students that Islam is the last and the most advanced religion".

Having noted that, the presentation of religions in Turkish textbooks may be examined in terms of secular criteria. Although more emphasis and space have been given to Islam, other religions have also been included in textbooks. This is understandable, and inclusion of non-Islamic religions may suggest that religious education and Islamic education are certainly not synonymous and that a secular approach is introduced in textbooks. But it does not itself show a secularization because the question of how other religions are studied is extremely significant at that point. Are they studied from a non-biased perspective, through objective analysis comparing one with another, none superior to another or not?

Two textbooks which are for the first year of lower and upper levels provide an independent textbook unit for other religions. Furthermore, some information about non-Islamic religions, particularly Christianity and Judaism, has been provided to make comparison with Islam in various textbooks. The following non-Islamic religions have been given a place in textbooks: primitive religions, Buddhism, Hinduism, Confucianism, Judaism, Christianity and pre-Islamic Turkish religion. Ayas & Tumer and Sener & Karmis point out in their textbooks that religions can be divided into two main categories: divine religions and non divine-religions. The principal criteria for this classification is whether a religion relies on divine revelation or not. Sener & Karmis state this idea thus: "Human beings can find the existence of God with their reason, and religions rise in accordance with the faith on God. Some religions were human beings' invention, and others were founded by God and their messages were sent by God via prophets. The former are called 'non-divine religions or false religions', and the latter are called 'divine or true religions'" (p.2). According to the textbooks, divine religions are Judaism, Christianity and Islam, and non-divine religions are outside of these three religions such as primitive religions, Buddhism, etc. The priority and chief emphasis have been given to divine religions, and one topic about some common aspects among the three religions was inserted by Ayas & Tumer (pp.64-67). It seems to me that this categorising of religion is almost a reflection of classical Muslim scholars' classification for religions. This leads us to a matter of falsity or truth of religion. A secular

approach to religion certainly does not allow this type of classification because underlying secular assumptions about religion are not interested in making judgements about religion and it speaks descriptively. Such textbooks show the absence of a phenomenological approach to the study of religion because of looking at religion solely from the perspective of a religious tradition.

Ayas & Tumer are the only textbook co-authors who give information concerning non-divine religions which are major world religions, Confucianism, Hinduism and Buddhism. They elucidate these religions in a descriptive way that provides brief data about their emergence, doctrine, scripture and worship from their point of view without making any reference to their contemporary forms. No criticism of these religions from a Muslim or other different perspective is apparent. In this sense, they have employed something like a phenomenological approach towards these religions. But this image does not represent a genuine picture of them because, according to the classification of religions given, it implies that, in a context in which these religions are already non-divine or false, to make any comparison or even criticism from an Islamic perspective is valueless in dealing with them or they are even unworthy of criticism.

With regard to divine religions, Islam has naturally been given more priority, and more detailed knowledge provided. Before looking at the treatment of Islam specifically, we can briefly examine how Judaism and Christianity are presented. Under the title of Judaism and Christianity in two textbooks, some descriptive information on the history, doctrine, scripture and worship of Christianity and Judaism has been given, mostly from the aspects of their tradition. Intentionally I used the word 'mostly' in the last sentence, as the text gives evidence from Islamic sources particularly in Sener & Karmis's textbook to explain some points dealing with them. The following examples clearly illustrate this:

In regard to Jewish scripture Sener & Karmis state: "The main source of Judaism is Torah, and its authenticity could not be protected by Jews. Major changes have occurred in the present Torah" (p.3). The same author offers Qur'anic verses to deny Christian belief on the nature of Jesus in which he is son of God. 'The Qur'an says; "Whereupon he (Jesus)

spoke and said: 'I am the servant of God. He has given me the Book and ordained me a prophet" (19:31-32)' (p.4).

Throughout the treatment of Islam in other textbooks the same trend about Judaism and Christianity may also be observed. For instance, "Torah was given to Moses, Psalms was given to David, Gospel was revealed to Jesus, and Qur'an was revealed to Muhammad. The first three of them were changed during history" (Tunc: 49). In addition, Bolay says that "As Muslims we believe in the authentic version of sacred books which were sent by God, and we believe in the last Book, the Qur'an" (p.10).

As far as Judaism and Christianity are concerned, some issues especially in regard to scripture in both religions were presented from an Islamic point of view and certain judgements made about corruption of these religions. But restricted language has been used such as phrases 'according to Islam, Christianity or Judaism is...", 'Muslims believe that Judaism..." rather than that the scriptures of both religions were changed. Similar phrases on the outlook of Muslims to Judaism and Christianity certainly can be found in the textbooks for Islam in England.

With regard to Islam, huge amounts of knowledge were given, and it is presented internally as a possible and desirable way of life. A certain degree of indoctrination and promotion of Islam can be observed, and the method of expression with reference to Islam is more sympathetic in style. For example, textbooks treat Muhammed as "our prophet", Islam as "our religion".

However, as has been noted earlier, the Islam that is promoted is not a complete way of Islam. This Islam is an individualistic Islam, broadly ignoring its social dimension in Turkish textbooks.

In conclusion, non-Islamic religions are generally externalised as a possible personal religion. A certain amount of knowledge about other religions is given, but very little understanding. As is stressed by Smart (1968), understanding of religion and preaching it is quite different. It is one thing to present a faith sympathetically but openly (by showing an appreciation of the alternatives to it); it is quite another thing to teach people that it is true while remaining silent or prejudiced about alternatives. It is one thing to present

understanding; another to preach (p.97). In our case, Islam thus becomes the only believable and reasonable religion. In other words, we can say that Turkish textbooks possess a confessional peculiarity in terms of their style of presenting religions. But a restriction about this conviction is helpful to understand the Turkish confessional approach accurately. In spite of its confessional nature a huge amount of secular topics were included and commitment to any religion, including Islam, was strictly forbidden in the RE textbooks and syllabuses. Classification of religion from one religious tradition's point of view, an interest in the falsity or truth of religion and somehow promoting a particular religion, Islam, indicate that Turkish textbooks show trends contradictory to our secular criteria. Though this is not consistent with the secular criteria, it does express some part of textbooks and RE syllabuses.

4.6. Summary and Conclusion

This chapter began with a brief discussion about the different meanings of secularization and their impact on religion. Divergent arguments about the secularization thesis have also been mentioned. The issue of the relationship between Islam and secularism which historically emerged in a Christian context in Europe has been addressed from a sociological perspective. A brief reference was made to some features of secularist thought in Turkey and England and their relevance to religious education. Then, two domains have been selected to indicate manifestations of secularization in teaching of Islam in both countries in terms of the textbooks' presentation.

It is clear that secularization has had some impact on the limited context (teaching of Islam) in selected textbooks in Turkey and England. However, secularization operates in different ways in the two countries. According to the first domain, which deals with the content of Islam, the impact of secularism has been strongly noted in Turkish textbooks, and this attitude has played a considerable role in shaping the content of Islam in religious education. In English textbooks, the reflection of a secular tendency has been observed in terms of the second domain which concerns the method of presentation of Islam. In other words, English textbooks adopted a non-confessional method in their presentation of Islam.

Without seeking compatibility with religion, religious education has been treated as a discipline which primarily deals with religion as a social phenomenon. In line with this, the priorities and necessities of a country received special attention when designing the teaching of Islam in both countries. At this point, Turkish textbooks showed their secularism in the matter of definition of the content of teaching of Islam. As far as possible authors of textbooks tried to present Islam as a religion of individuals while ignoring the social dimension of Islam, since it is considered that teaching of the social aspect of Islam exhibits a contradiction with the secular understanding of the Turkish state. This selective attitude about the content of Islam may be surprising, and one may consider this as state interference in religion in a secular state religious education. But when we take into account the Turkish understanding of secularism and its implementation, this approach is understandable and it does not contradict secularization, since providing a space for the social aspect of Islam in textbooks helps to recall discarded religiously-dominated memories of the Turkish past. It is also consistent with the ilmihal-centered approach in religious education. Moreover, due to the vitality of secularism in Turkey separate topics have been devoted to explaining the importance of secularism for Turkey and its meaning in religious education textbooks.

In England, both individual and social aspects of Islam have generally been presented in a manner acceptable to Muslims in selected textbooks for Islam. This is compatible with the phenomenological approach in English religious education, because it is required to teach religions in their followers' own expressions. Otherwise, interference with drawing up the content of a course on Islam violates this secular approach. Due to the prevailing secular non-confessional presentation of Islam, historical Western prejudices and distortions especially those relating to the doctrinal dimension of Islam, mostly disappeared in selected textbooks. As a result, pupils gained more opportunities to hear the original voice of Islam, and religious education in state schools became a more acceptable curriculum topic for the Muslim community in England. To be sure, this contributes to the promotion of a multi-faith approach in religious education.

CHAPTER 5

CHRISTIANITY IN TURKISH RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

5.1. Introduction

In recent years a considerable number of studies have appeared investigating the question of the relationship between Christianity and other faiths. Some writers have also addressed the question of the relationship between Christian faith and one other particular world religion. In this context, there are various studies of the relationship between Christianity and Islam, which investigate the historical development of Christian perceptions of Islam, and demonstrate a recent Christian re-thinking about Islam (Goddard 1996: ix) . It is also true that significant attempts have been made to re-evaluate the relationship between Christianity and world religions represented in England, of which Islam is one, and to include and to discuss them more fairly in religious education curricula and textbooks in schools since the 1970s.

When we look at the other side of the coin, much less attention has been devoted to the Muslim view of Christianity. The Christian knowledge of this issue is often limited to the view that the Qur'an and the classical period of Islamic thought have provided the answers. Not much attention has been given to the recent writings of Muslims working on Christianity. [1] Goddard's (1996) recent seminal work on Muslim perceptions of Christianity aims to fill this gap, and to trace the development of views of the Christian faith, and to help Christians appreciate how they and their faith are perceived by others. As he mainly concentrates on Egypt in the modern period, other Muslim countries' perceptions of Christianity remain peripheral in this study. For example, there is only one paragraph on how Turks perceive Christianity (Goddard 1996: 168). [2] The same author has also examined the more recent development in the Muslim perceptions of Christianity in the context of Pakistan and India (Goddard 1994).

With regard to this, the same lack of attention can be recognized in terms of religious education syllabuses and RE textbooks in schools. Textbooks for religious education have an influential role in the shaping of perceptions and attitudes about any

religion, including Christianity, because of their extensive usage in school education. Textbooks containing distortions and prejudices may develop a negative image about a particular religion and intensify conflict, while factual, sympathetic texts may help to create a more positive image about a religion and lessen conflict. Therefore, there is the need for research exploring the presentation of Christianity in Muslim countries' textbooks. In order to fill this gap, in this chapter the presentation of Christianity will be examined with reference to selected religious education textbooks in Turkey. As a background to this, the issue of teaching non-Islamic religions in Turkey will be elucidated.

5.2.The Study of Non-Islamic Religions in Turkey

The history of teaching non-Islamic religions dates back to the late Ottoman Empire. In spite of the multi-faith experience of Ottoman society (Bilgin 1993b: 24), compared with the classical period of Islam, studies of the history of religions did not take place until the late Ottoman period. The book of '*Tarih-i Edyan*' (History of Religions) written by Ahmed Mithat Efendi in the late nineteenth century is generally recognized as a first significant study in this field. In the wake of the Westernization process in the Ottoman Empire, lessons in the history of religion were included in the curriculum of the Faculty of Letters at the University of Istanbul in 1874, and its teaching scope was extended after the Second Constitutional Period (1908-1918) (Kucuk 1991: 275-277). Courses have been included in the curriculum of all Faculties of Theology from 1949 in modern Turkey. Under the same title, history of religions, it was also placed on the curriculum of the Imam-Hatip Schools at the secondary school level. Apart from that, the compulsory religious education curriculum for secondary schools which was prepared in 1982 provides an opportunity for teaching non-Islamic religions, and in line with this, textbooks have included the presentation of Christianity, Judaism and other non-Islamic religions.

Less interest, however, has been shown in the question of how non-Islamic religions should be treated and which method should be employed to present them in

religious education. This appears to be one of the most neglected issues among Turkish scholars with only a few papers dealing with these questions. The subject has been briefly touched upon in a number of general studies on religious education. Moreover, it would be inappropriate to assume that, in terms of teaching non-Islamic religions, no difference has been observed at university level compared to study of religion and teaching religions in schools. The following explanations clarify the lack of interest in the study of non-Islamic religions among Turkish scholars.

1. *Theological understanding of other religions*: The inherited medrese understanding of religion has remained prevalent in contemporary religious studies in Turkey. As pointed out in Chapter 3, the inherited understanding of religion (Islam) defines non-Islamic religions as either corrupted divine religions or non-divine religions. On the basis of this outlook, a confessional method was adopted to study other religions. The main purpose of this method was to draw a picture underlining the superiority of Islam over other religions.

2. *Priorities in the study of religious education in Turkey*: Due to many fluctuations in the role of religion, and late recognition of the importance of studies of religious education in modern Turkey, this area has received little attention from academic researchers. Recently, some illuminating works have been produced by Turkish scholars with priority being given to the study of teaching Islam in schools. It is projected that in the near future more research will be undertaken in the area of teaching non-Islamic religions, particularly Christianity and Judaism. This is also expected to establish a stronger educational base for religious education in Turkey. A much clearer distinction will also be drawn between the role of the school in religious education and the role of the mosque (also the role of the Presidency of Religious Affairs in the Turkish context) which is expected to lead to a fairer treatment of non-Islamic religions.

3. *Practical importance of the study of non-Islamic religions for Turks*: Turkey cannot be considered a multi-faith society in comparison to Western Europe. The existence of the limited number of Christians and Jews is a reality, and there are approximately 260.000 Christians and 50.000 Jews (Contemporary Religions 1992:

475). However, the huge majority of the Turkish population (98-99 %) is, at least nominally, Muslim. Moreover, non-Muslim minorities, according to the Lausanne Treaty, have their own community schools in Turkey. Therefore, there is no practical urgency and pressure to research this area, as occurred in England following the massive immigration from Commonwealth countries in the 1960s.

Having noted that, some opinions regarding the treatment of other religions and reasons for including them in the content of religious education will be explained on the basis of the extant literature, and then the provision of the religious education curriculum dealing with this issue will be explained. Bilgin (1990) argues that "religious education can only be possible within the context of religious commitment, and the religion to which Turks are committed is Islam because religious education cannot take place without the interpretation of religion and this will be directly based upon the understanding of religious commitment"[3] (p.30). The logical consequence of this viewpoint may be the portrayal of non-Islamic religions in terms of the Islamic perspective. Tumer (1991), who is a professor of history of religions and author of one of the official religious education textbooks, appears to accept this view, suggesting that "In teaching another religion, the example of the Qur'an should be followed, since it provides a knowledge about other religions. Islam respects other prophets and holy books" (p.354). In regard to the same issue, Aydin (1991) offers a slightly different method pointing out that "Knowledge about living world religions and their teachings should be given on the basis of their own sources and the perceptions of their followers". He then continues that "religions mentioned in the Qur'an should be treated separately and they should be taught in light of the Qur'anic viewpoint" (p.274). It seems to us that Aydin's suggestion for teaching non-Islamic religions contains some contradictions. When he is saying that other religions should be taught in their own terms, he offers a quite positive approach compared with the present confessional method for teaching religions. However, in the second part of his statement he presents a different point of view, because he recommends the study of non-Islamic religions in the light of the Qur'anic understanding, and this indicates a retreat from his first suggestion. Compared to the idea of teaching non-Islamic religions merely in terms of

Islamic understanding without giving any opportunity to present non-Islamic religions in their own terms, Aydin's suggestion has some positive potential.

It seems that the presence of non-Islamic religions in the content of religious education was largely approved by Turkish scholars and included in the religious education curriculum. But the question of how and to what extent they should be portrayed remains contested. It remains for us to explain briefly the main arguments from the scholarly writings (Kucuk 1991, Bilgin 1990, Tumer 1991 and others) to justify teaching other religions in religious education. These are:

1. Nowadays, we are living in a globalized world, and communication among people has dramatically increased. To get real knowledge about other people's beliefs it is necessary to understand them.

2. One way to respect other people's faith is to have some knowledge about their religion. Otherwise, we cannot avoid some misunderstandings which preclude us from respecting their beliefs.

3. The Qur'an contains mention of non-Islamic religions, their prophets and scriptures.

4. To know other religions is necessary 'to defend' a religion accurately (In the Turkish case it is Islam).

Apart from that, there is provision in the Turkish religious education curriculum for some of the points mentioned, and reasons are given for introducing non-Islamic religions in the following terms:

> ..During the preparation of the religious education curriculum the possibility of the existence of a small number of pupils who belong to Christianity, Judaism and other religions was taken into consideration. In line with this view, to support the national and general culture, commensurate with the length assigned to each religion, knowledge has been provided about Islam, Judaism, Christianity and other religions respectively. This knowledge will undoubtedly extend the world of pupils' faith and culture and it will enable them to behave more tolerantly and sensitively (sympathetically) towards followers of other religions (M.E.B. 1992).

Let us now investigate the presentation of Christianity by examining examples from the selected Turkish religious education textbooks. We will ask: Does it really help

to develop a more tolerant and sensitive attitude to followers of other faiths as set out by the curriculum?

5.3. The Image of Christianity in Selected Turkish RE Textbooks

Before turning to the presentation of Christianity, brief comments about other non-Islamic religions will be provided. It suffices to say that the portrayal of Judaism is almost the same as Christianity, which will be explained in the subsequent part of this section in terms of selected Turkish textbooks. Therefore, attention will be devoted to the presentation of religions classed in Turkey as non-divine. Textbooks for the first year of upper secondary give a place to the following religions: primitive religions, Buddhism, Hinduism, Confucianism. They elucidate these religions in a descriptive way that provides brief data about their emergence, doctrine, scripture and worship from their own point of view without making any reference to their contemporary forms. No criticism of these religions from a Muslim or other perspective is apparent. In this sense, they employ something like a phenomenological approach towards these religions. However, this image does not represent a genuine picture of them because, they are already non-divine religions in terms of the Turkish textbook's classification of religions. The other possible reason for this attitude is the non-existence of any direct reference in the Qur'an dealing with these religions, unlike Judaism and Christianity.

In this section, besides the official textbooks, private textbooks on secondary religious education in Turkey will be included to analyse the given topics. The reasons for this is the assumption that, compared to the official textbooks, they provide more information about certain aspects of Christianity and a quite different visual content, and are to some extent distinctive in their manner of confessional approach. It is also worth noting that there is no separate textbook devoted merely to Christianity as is available in England to present a single religion. Two possible methods for discussing Christianity can be observed in the textbooks. The first is to present Christianity as a separate topic, and the second is to provide some information in order to make a comparison or to explain some aspects of Christianity under different topics. A review of the whole of the

selected textbooks reveals that the former method is employed in the treatment of Christianity in the textbooks written for the first year of lower and upper secondary school. Particularly, in the upper secondary texts, Christianity is widely explained. At this point, it should be noted that there are some distinctions between the first year of lower and upper secondary school textbooks about the portrayal of Christianity. The former level's textbooks provide minimal coverage of Christianity (about one to one and a half pages), largely use Islamic sources, and seem eager to show the corruption of Christianity. The latter level's textbooks give more place to Christianity (approximately seven pages) and make a reference to a certain extent to Christian sources. Moreover, only this level's textbooks include some knowledge concerning 'non-divine' religions such as Hinduism and Chinese religions. It is believed that the reason for these different features in the presentation of non-Islamic religion stems from the criteria for pupils' age. It is assumed that older pupils can more easily understand other religions. The latter type of presentation of Christianity can be found in various levels of religious education textbooks and under different titles, and comprise the following topics mentioning Christianity: 'The story of prophets in the Qur'an', 'Belief in holy books', 'Turkish contribution to Islam'. After the detailed portrayal of Jesus, the role of Paul in Christianity and of the Scriptures, and other subjects making reference to Christianity in the Turkish religious education textbooks will be briefly explained.

5.3.1. Jesus

It appears that the first year of upper secondary textbooks (official and private textbooks) firstly narrate the different stages of the life of Jesus in terms of Christian sources or at least, in a generally acceptable manner as far as Christians are concerned. But, lower secondary stage textbooks mainly follow an Islamic confessional method to portray the life of Jesus without providing any factual knowledge based on Christian sources. The main themes addressed in the textbooks can be summarized as follows: The unique birth of Jesus, his childhood (even a story concerning the escape of Jesus to Egypt to prevent his being killed by King Herod was briefly mentioned by Pakdil et al.),

his baptism and mission given by God, his healing of the sick, Jesus' relation to the Jewish community and his crucifixion. The textbooks always use respectful language concerning Jesus, and they recognize him as a great prophet and put at the beginning of his name the title of 'Hz.' that is mostly used in Turkish to show respect to Prophet Muhammed. Among the above points, the issue of the Jews' response to Jesus' mission receives a particular attention, and the Jews' negative attitude to Jesus is strongly criticized by the textbooks.

Secondly, in the process of the presentation of Jesus, some controversial points distinguishing Islam and Christianity are emphasized, and Islamic answers to them are given by the textbooks. These controversial points can mostly be divided into two main categories: his birth and crucifixion.

In order to understand the possible reasons for focusing on these two points, while almost ignoring Jesus' teaching and other parts of his life, it is necessary to look at the Qur'anic teachings concerning Jesus and the features of Turkish religious education. As far as Jesus is concerned, the Qur'an focuses on the events of the birth and crucifixion of Jesus, and describes them Islamically, to correct alleged 'corruption' in the earlier scriptures. The other underlying reason stems from the character of religious education in Turkey. As pointed out earlier, religious education retains a confessional character in Turkey. The main assumption of confessional religious education is implicitly or explicitly to claim that a believed religion is the only true religion. In the case of Turkey, when we investigate non-Islamic religions we should keep in mind this point. With respect to Jesus, the consequence of this method in Turkey leads to the inclusion of subjects of controversy between Christians and Muslims in teaching Christianity. In terms of generally accepted Islamic thought, the dispute between Christianity and Islam about Jesus is a crucial one. Possibly, textbooks emphasize these two issues to indicate a true Islamic view on them and to implicitly challenge Christian claims.

The birth of Jesus: The Turkish textbooks argue that, in relation to the nature of Jesus' birth without a father, Jews and Christians adopted two extreme attitudes to explain this miracle. On the one hand, according to the textbooks, the Jews did not want

to accept this miracle and even some Jews accused his mother, Mary, of committing adultery. The textbook writers strongly deny this type of accusation about Mary and try to offer some explanations from an Islamic point of view. Some textbooks also respond to the Jews' allegations against Jesus' mother by reference to the Qur'anic verses, and obviously condemn the Jews' attitude.

> He (Jesus) preached to men in his cradle and in the prime of manhood, and shall lead a righteous life. 'Lord', she said, 'how can I bear a child when no man has touched me?' He replied: 'Such is the will of God. He creates whom He will (3:47-47).

On the other hand, Christians are portrayed as developing another extreme interpretation. The birth of Jesus without a father caused them to believe him to be the son of God. In regard to this, one textbook says:

> The special feature of Jesus among other prophets is to be born without a father. This natural superiority of his birth caused the corruption of the Christian faith later. Christians gave him an attribute of God (Gulle et al.: 16)

The textbooks broadly suggest that Islam followed a middle way on this issue. Islam approved his prophecy and original birth and respected him. However, it strongly opposed claims that he was the son of God.

The Crucifixion of Jesus: The importance of this event in Christianity was generally admitted by the textbooks. They narrate that, according to Christians, the huge majority of Jews did not accept Jesus' mission and they were provoked to hostility, because of his outspoken criticism of the religious authorities of his day. At the end, Jews complained about him to the Roman governor, Pontius Pilate, and persuaded the governor to execute Jesus. He died on the cross, and was resurrected three days later. Jesus then lived with his disciples for forty days, and he advised them "to struggle in the name of the Trinity". Finally, he was lifted up to his father (God).

The religious education textbooks state that Islam rejects the death of Jesus on the cross, and a person with a resemblance to him was executed instead of him. They refer

to supportive verses from the Qur'an by way of explanation. The Qur'an says about this issue:

> They declared 'We have put to death the Messiah, Jesus the son of Mary, the apostle of God.' They did not kill him, nor did they crucify him, but he was made to resemble another for them (4:157-58) [4].

Although there is no obvious evidence to support the denial of the crucifixion of Jesus, one textbook cites the following Qur'anic verse:

> He said: 'Jesus, I am about to cause you to die and lift you up to Me. I shall take you away from the unbelievers and exalt your followers above them till the Day of Resurrection... (3:55).

5.3.2. The Role of Paul in Christianity

After Jesus [5] Paul is the most frequently mentioned person in Turkish textbooks. They particularly emphasize his key position in the formation of Christianity and his significance for Christians. However, it seems likely that this extensive presentation of Paul does not have the broad aim of describing his important place in the Christian understanding. Rather, it aims to show how Paul had a key role to play in the corruption of Jesus' original message in various ways. Some Turkish textbooks implicitly show him as a scapegoat for the corruption of Christianity. The following illustrations from textbooks will make clear the image of Paul in Turkish religious education.

> At the time of Jesus, Christianity had a small number of followers, and it was then spread by his disciples. At that point, the role of Paul [Form of his name in Turkish is Pavlus] should not be forgotten, since he was an active enemy of Christians at the beginning, and then converted to Christianity, and gave a direction to the disciples of Jesus. Contemporary Christianity generally depends upon his interpretations (Ayas & Tumer: 43).

> After Jesus, his disciples went to different places to spread his teachings. Paul, who is author of many parts of the New Testament, argued that he had received a message from Jesus after his separation from this world. It seems that some unusual differences in Christian doctrine compared with other divine religions stem from the production of Paul (Celebi et al.: 40).

> The disciples of Jesus were not able to read and write. Paul was born in Tarsus in which was a bridge between Eastern and Western faiths and cultures, and he was

an educated man. The most important writer of a Gospel, Luke, was his student. He was also author of the majority of letters in the New Testament (ibid.: 44).

In addition, Pakdil et al. provide further information concerning the life of Paul. Their textbook explains that Paul was a son of a Jew, had an interest in philosophy, and knew Greek. It also points to Paul's dramatic conversion experience through a journey between Jerusalem and Damascus in 37 CE, and how through this journey, as claimed by Paul, he directly received the knowledge of the Gospel from Jesus (p. 48).

According to the majority of the textbooks, afterwards, Paul undertook a number of missionary journeys to spread Christianity outside Jerusalem and Palestine among non-Jews. He was persecuted by the Roman State. They also argue that the faith of contemporary Christianity depends to a great extent on Paul's teachings in matters of faith, worship and Church regulations.

Ayas & Tumer reveal that the thought of Paul widely affected the agenda of the Christian Councils. For instance, "the controversy of the source of the Holy Spirit which prepared the division of the Church between Catholic Church and Orthodox Church stemmed from Paul" (p.44).

In order to understand the close relationship between university teaching of religion and school teaching of religion in Turkey it is helpful to look at the way Paul's image is presented as follows:

Tumer and Kucuk (1988) in their widely used textbook for the history of religions at the university level emphasize the role of Paul in the formation of Christianity and the corruption of Christianity. They assert that "...In short, Christianity is generally a product of Paul. If the interpretations and teachings of Paul are excluded from Christianity, Jesus is a prophet; God is one; eating the meat of the pig is forbidden, circumcision is necessary..." (p. 138-139).

We understand from Goddard's (1996) work that the roots of this kind of negative perception of Paul among Muslims go back to the classical period of Islamic thought, and there are some supporters of this idea among contemporary Egyptian religious

scholars, such as al-Saqqa, and Hasan Hanefi. For example, `Abd al-Jabbar, the classical period Muslim scholar, says:

> ...So the Law was abolished in order to procure the adhesion to Christianity of the Gentiles, and the chief villain of the piece was Paul... (Goddard 1996: 27).
>
> Paul emancipated himself from the religious practices of Christ and accepted those of the Romans...(ibid., 27).
>
> The principal agents responsible for corrupting Christianity were not the evangelists: they were Paul and the Emperor Constantine" (Robinson 1991: 47).

Among contemporary Muslim scholars, al-Saqqa and Hanefi put forward their arguments about the same issue. Al-Saqqa argues that "...Jesus himself taught that God is one, but Paul changed that, and he also abolished the Christians' belief in a prophet to come [6] ..." (Goddard 1996: 76), and "...Paul corrupted Jesus's message to make it universal and to include in it the idea of redemption..." (ibid.: 81). Hanefi also says that "Mediation, redemption, salvation -all these categories are forged by dogmatic theology inaugurated by Paul, who was motivated by a sense of guilt towards the Christians..." (ibid.: 147).

The importance of Paul is acknowledged by Christians. However, they do not reach a negative conclusion about his position such as that presented by Muslims. Paul is defined as the most powerful human personality in the history of the Church, and the influence of Pauline thought has permeated all subsequent theology. He was also responsible for the transformation of Christianity from a Jewish sect to a gentile movement by the end of the first century, and suspension of the Mosaic Law. Due to his role in the abolition of the Law, he faced opposition from the Jewish Christians and this event is narrated by the New Testament. In his Jerusalem journey, he was met with a hostile reception. Accused of transgression of the Law, he was beaten by the mob and only rescued by Roman soldiers who put him under protective arrest in the castle (Acts 21. 27-36) [7] (The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church 1963: 1029-1030; The Encyclopedia of Religion 1987: 348-349).

5.3.3. Scriptures

The most impartial and accurate presentation about the Christian Scriptures compared with other selected textbooks is given by Ayas & Tumer's textbook. It tries to provide factual knowledge about the Bible. According to it, the holy book of Christianity consists of two sections. The Old Testament has 39 books, and the New Testament has 27 books. The former is used by the Jews as well as Christians. However, the term Old Testament is only used by Christians, not Jews. The New Testament contains the four Gospels, the Acts of Apostles, twenty one Letters and the book of Revelation. The Gospels give information about the followers of Jesus, the life and teaching of Jesus. "On the basis of chronological order" [8], the four Gospels are: Matthew (Matta), Mark (Markos), Luke (Luka) and John (Yuhanna) (p.46). Pakdil et. al. also argues that, although Christians accept the Old Testament as sacred, they do not generally follow the teaching of it. At the present day, Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant denominations shape their faith and worship in terms of the four Gospels (p.49).

However, the majority of textbooks focus on the four Gospels, the issue of their originality and when and how these Gospels were selected by Christians in history. Some textbooks indicate some confusion and exhibit inaccurate information about this. Let us illustrate attitudes towards the Christian Scriptures with a representative sample. For instance, Sener begins with the following description to explain the Christian Scripture:

> The name of the book which was revealed by Allah to Jesus is Gospel (Incil). This holy book was corrupted by religious scholars as happened to the Torah. Four centuries after the birth of Jesus, due to the existence of a number of Gospels which contradicted one another, Christians were unable to decide which one should be followed. So, the Council of Nicaea was convened in 325 and the number of Gospels reduced to four [9] (p. 4).

There are some inconsistent statements among the textbook writers about the number of Gospels before reduction. One says that there were sixty Gospels (Pakdil et al.: 49) and another mentions more than one thousand Gospels (Dilaver et al.: 6). Even

one textbook adds the Barnabas Gospel to the four approved Gospels, and it is claimed that "the Church does not recognize the Barnabas Gospel, because it explains oneness of God and predicts the coming of Muhammed" (Gunduz et al.: 6). Moreover, the same textbook presents inaccurate information about the Scripture in saying that "the sacred book of Christianity is Gospel (Incil). The other name of it is the New Testament" (p.6).

The huge majority of Turkish textbooks operate with the assumption that the Gospel was revealed to Jesus by God, as the Qur'an was revealed to Muhammed, and then, after Jesus, it was forgotten and corrupted by people. One textbook even explicitly argues that "the Gospel (Incil) which was brought by Jesus could not be protected, and after Jesus the Gospel was forgotten or corrupted by people" (Cetin et al.: 32). It is likely that the singular use of the Gospel in the Qur'an is an important factor in shaping the Muslim understanding of the Christian Scripture as being like the Qur'an. In other words, without taking into consideration Christian understanding of scripture, they try to transfer an Islamic understanding of scripture to illustrate the Christian Scripture. Further, owing to the Qur'anic emphasis on the Gospel (Incil), all attention is given to the Gospel, ignoring other parts of the Christian Scriptures.

The arguments presented by the textbooks to show the corruption of the Gospels can be illustrated as follows:

1. Some members of the Church argue that Christian Scripture (sic) contains some errors and non-scientific and non-logical points. They even discuss whether or not Jesus actually lived. These are the signs of the corruption (Ayas & Tumer: 44).

2. There are some contradictory statements among the four Gospels.

3. The Gospels describe some events which took place after the time of Jesus. (As explained the above Turkish textbooks assume that there was a Gospel at the time of Jesus).

Apart from that, the Trinity and Christian Sacraments were briefly mentioned without any significant explanations. Although the Trinity is criticized and described as one of the important signs of corruption in Christianity, no attempt has been made to define the Trinity. Only Ayas & Tumer provide a brief explanation which can be

acceptable to Christians as an effort to define the meaning of Trinity. With respect to Sacraments, textbooks also failed in giving any explanation as to what constitutes a sacrament. They simply listed the names of seven sacraments in Christianity, and they admit that all Christians recognize at least two sacraments, Baptism and the Eucharist. The Catholics recognize seven. Sadly, the majority of the important Christian teachings such as ethics have been neglected by Turkish textbooks, and in most cases, a simplistic method has been used.

5.3.4. Priesthood in Christianity and the Relationship Between Muslims and Christians

The second way of presenting Christianity is to provide brief references to it under different topics in Turkish textbooks. The main target of this type of presentation is not to give information about Christianity, but to clarify the position of Islam and its superiority. This form of textbook portrayal can be discussed under two main headings: Priesthood and confession in Christianity and the historical relationship between Muslims and Christians.

First of all, in order to explain Islam and its features, a certain number of explicit and implicit references to Christianity have been made in order to compare some issues with Islam in the textbooks. Consistent with the above, the aim of this style of presentation is to show how Islam is an appropriate religion for human nature, and superior to Christianity or in some cases to Judaism. In this context, special attention has been given to two concepts in Christianity. These are; Priesthood in Christianity and Confession (Penance). Turkish textbooks tried to find a connection between the concepts. So, as we can see, they mostly treated them both in the same context. The subsequent important point should be kept in mind to understand the textbooks' presentation about Christianity. When textbooks refer to Christians in discussing this issue or the majority of other issues, it should be understood to mean the Roman Catholic Christians, rather than Protestant denominations. For instance, confession

(penance) and other-worldly features of Christianity which are criticized by textbooks were already rejected by the Protestants.

Turkish textbooks suggest that the priestly way of life is absolutely forbidden by Islam. They also generally argue that priesthood is not consistent with human nature. Even the last year of the upper secondary textbooks devotes space to a topic entitled 'There is no priesthood in Islam'. A textbook describes priesthood as follows: "It is a way of life in which priests avoid this-worldly affairs and do not marry" (Celebi et al.: 58). At this point, it should be noted that textbooks mostly do not make any distinction between the concept of priesthood and monastic life. The role of priests in the case of mediation between God and people (sacramental penance) and introducing some new religious commands is criticized. The following Islamic argument is put forward to respond and compare to this Christian understanding: "There is no confession in Islam. However, there is forgiveness from God. No one has the right to mediate between God and people" (Celebi et al.: 5, Gunduz et al.: 7, Dilaver et al.: 9). Moreover, in terms of the Gospels they mostly argue that Christianity does not concern itself enough with this world, and to support this argument some reference to the Gospels was provided (Matthew, 5/36-45, Mark 10/21, Luke 12/29-34). Celebi et al. state that on the basis of the Qur'anic verse (57:25) there is no priesthood in early Christianity and it was introduced later.

Afterwards, the Turkish textbooks present Islam as the religion most compatible with human nature, and they state that Islam followed a middle way in dealing with the relationship between this world and the other world. In addition, because of people's being granted free-will, they particularly emphasize the importance of individual responsibility in Islam. They also suggest that the reform movements in Christianity had been influenced by this Islamic view.

Furthermore, the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church has been criticized, for preventing scientific development in the medieval period, and textbooks have described as unacceptable the Church's authority to express a view directly in the name of God.

Secondly, Turkish textbooks evaluate the historical relationship between Muslims and Christians in the context of Turkish history. Firstly, they briefly mentioned the reason for the Crusades and the role of Turks in protecting Islam against Christians. It is hoped that the following two quotations will help to understand this argument.

> Due to the rapid spread of Islam, the Christian World became extremely worried about it. In order to prevent the spread of Islam, the Christian World applied all possible methods. The Crusades came into existence as a result of this worry and fear (Pakdil et al.: 111).

> The attacks of Christian Europe (the Crusades) which intended to destroy the Islamic world were precluded by the efforts of Turks (Gundesli et al.: 122).

Secondly, the subject of Turkish tolerance towards Christians was explained by the textbooks in a few sentences, providing some historical examples, such as giving full religious freedom to the Orthodox Christian Community after the conquest of Istanbul by the Ottomans. With respect to this issue, surprisingly, one textbook author makes a reference to the contemporary relationship between Muslims and the followers of other religions under the topic of 'Secularism'. He states:

> The huge majority of Turkey's population are Muslims. However, besides this we have citizens who belong to the other religions. They carry out their duties as citizens, and they freely practise their faiths and express their thoughts under the secular Turkish State (Gundesli et al.).

5.3.5. The Visual Content

The official textbook for the first year of upper secondary only contains two black-and-white pictures on Christianity. The first picture illustrates an infant baptism and the second is a painting which shows Mary and Jesus. As far as the private textbooks are concerned, we can observe that there is an improvement in the quality of pictures from black-and-white to colour, and more importantly, a difference in content of pictures about Christianity. The most common pictures are the illustrations of Ayasofya (Sophia) Church and Sumele Monastery in Trabzon (Trebizond) which is in a province in the north-east of Turkey. Some other pictures presented are: the picture of a Syrian Orthodox (Suryani) priest in front of the church, the house of Mary in Efes (Ephesus), a

painting from Antalya Museum showing the Last Supper of Jesus and an illustration of a speech by Pope Paul. The picture which illustrates a church and mosque among trees on the slope of a hill in a small Anatolian town is quite impressive, and it serves to demonstrate peace and harmony between Christians and Muslims. This depiction of Christianity in these textbooks' pictures indicates that Christians have lived in Turkey in the past and they continue to live in Turkey today. It can also be considered as a first step to presenting living forms of Christianity.

Unfortunately, there is no interrelation between pictures and text, because the textbooks do not make reference to the existence of Christians in Turkey. To be educationally more effective, the connection between visual content and text should be provided. With this feature, the visual content of private textbooks on Christianity is educationally better than the content of the text. It should be noted that there is no evidence of any hidden agendas in the pictures.

5.4. Summary and Conclusion

So far, two main issues related to the teaching of non-Islamic religions have been examined in the case of Turkey. Firstly, to provide a background for the presentation of Christianity in the textbooks, the study of teaching of non-Islamic religions in schools has been briefly investigated to explain the following points: where non-Islamic religions are being taught in Turkey, and the reasons for this teaching in schools and the national religious education curriculum, and to give a broad overview of the attitude of Muslim scholars towards the teaching of non-Islamic religions and their suggestions about which method should be implemented to teach them in schools.

Secondly, the presentation of Christianity has been examined in terms of selected Turkish textbooks. Particular attention has been given to three issues: Jesus, the role of Paul in the development of Christianity and the Scriptures, which were frequently dealt with and emphasized by the textbooks. Moreover, other themes presented about Christianity have been briefly mentioned, as well as its visual presentation.

The results can be summarized as follows:

First of all, a confessional method guides the portrayal of Christianity in the textbooks. They mostly present Christianity according to the Islamic understanding of religion, and its key concepts such as prophethood and scripture rather than treating Christianity in its own terms. In this context, the dominant influence of the Qur'an and the traditional Islamic viewpoint about ahl al-kitab (possessor of the holy texts) is obvious. And this approach, as pointed out by Goddard (1996), "contains positive and affirmative statements but to them adds cautions and statements rejecting certain things associated with Jesus and with Christians" (p.1). There are also significant distortions and abbreviations in relation to key aspects and content matter of Christianity.

Secondly, in the limited space given to Christianity, plenty of controversial issues which distinguish Christianity from Islam have been included. If we take into consideration the policy of avoiding controversial presentation about Islam and even social and nationalistic themes in Turkish religious education, this different attitude towards Christianity is somewhat surprising.

Thirdly, no attention has been given to presenting the contemporary and living dimensions of Christianity. Such questions as to what it means to be a Christian in our time, how Christian faith influences their family, social life and so on, as well as the relevance of Christianity to pupils, were sadly neglected. Instead of doing that, all efforts were devoted to explaining Christianity from a historical point of view.

Finally, this presentation of Christianity in school books indicates that religious scholars of universities play an important role. It is also a fact that the majority of features of the ilmihal-centered approach can be seen from that. However, the end result is far from the purpose of the national curriculum of religious education concerning teaching of non-Islamic religions, which aims to advocate more tolerant and sensitive behaviour towards followers of other religions.

Christianity undoubtedly deserves better treatment in the Turkish textbooks. To realize this, it may be necessary to avoid inclusion of controversial issues on Christianity as much as possible, and Christianity should be demonstrated in its own terms and space given to living forms of Christianity in the Turkish religious education textbooks. It is

believed that this improvement and shift concerning teaching of non-Islamic religions is necessary from a religious studies point of view, and these textbooks' presentation does not fulfill the target of the religious education curriculum. It should also be noted that Turkey is a secular state and secularist thought requires the impartial treatment of non-Islamic religions. In addition, when we take into consideration the desperate intention of Turkey to be a full member of the European Union, the importance of learning fairly about living Christianity will increase.

Under these circumstances, in order to obtain fair treatment of Christianity and other non-Islamic religions, it may be suggested that Turkish religious education should adopt a fully non-confessional method, as has been experienced in England. However, at least at the present time, this suggestion does not seem to us realistic, taking into account the conditions of Turkey. To understand this conviction clearly, it is helpful to make a brief reference to the non-confessional experience of religious education in the English state schools. The following two reasons among others were influential in adopting the non-confessional method of teaching religions in state schools: the multi-faith experience of England owing to immigration and the dramatic increase of the numbers of atheists and agnostics. In Turkey, the former cannot be seen, and the latter can be realized in exactly the opposite direction, which is an increasing interest in religion. Moreover, this approach receives a lot of criticism in England, and there are Church schools as a further option to acquire a confessional religious education within school education. It also needs to be remembered that one part of religious education consists of religious worship which has a broadly confessional character of Christianity in England. When the legal provisions of Turkish education, and particularly religious education, are taken into account, the absence of the above options can easily be recognized in Turkey.

In the light of these results, at least at this stage, it would be appropriate to suggest that while Islam continues to be taught in a confessional manner, more factual knowledge depending on Christian sources and terms should be given to demonstrate Christianity as a living world faith in the Turkish textbooks. Doing this, in the process

of the presentation of Islam, special attention should be paid to avoid subjects of controversy between Christianity and Islam. It is believed that religious education at secondary school level is not a convenient place to discuss highly controversial theological issues between Christians and Muslims, especially given the limited space devoted to Christianity in textbooks. Certainly, the textbooks' classification of religions as divine or corrupted divine religions should be abolished. Finally, it is worth noting that to implement the above suggestion there is no need to make any amendment in the Turkish religious education curriculum.

CHAPTER 6

SOME INADEQUACIES AND INACCURACIES IN THE PRESENTATION OF ISLAM IN SELECTED ENGLISH TEXTBOOKS

6.1. Introduction

Textbooks occupy a highly important and visible position in school education. As a part of the religious education process, textbooks are widely used in schools. In the case of teaching Islam in English schools, textbooks become more significant because of Islam's position as a minority religion and the consequent limited knowledge and understanding of RE teachers of Islam by comparison with Christianity, such that they have to rely heavily on the literature. Therefore, it is apparent that incompetent textbooks about Islam can cause misunderstanding and continue the traditional distortion and negative media presentation of Islam.

In order to avoid a stereotyped presentation of Islam, which is one obstacle to be overcome to prevent mutual misunderstanding between Muslims and Christians and to reflect the non-confessional character of English religious education, textbooks are to be expected to present accurate and adequate knowledge about Islam, and reflect actual Muslim beliefs. In addition, educationally they should be relevant so as to engage the pupil's interest. It is assumed that compared to previous times some improvements in textbooks for Islam have been realized in recent years because of the shift in English religious education from a confessional to a non-confessional approach, implementing world religions. However, some aspects of inadequate and inaccurate presentation on Islam have remained and further improvements are therefore necessary. It is expected that the indication of these problematic points may contribute to adequate teaching of Islam in schools. Therefore, the present chapter will try to show the inaccurate and inadequate perspective of Islam in selected English textbooks. First, extant literature relevant to our topic will be briefly reviewed.

6.2 Literature Review

Hayward's (1986) article is, perhaps, the best of extant literature in terms of providing very clear criteria to evaluate textbooks on Islam. In the preparation and evaluation of textbooks on Islam she recommends us to take into consideration the following three points: accurate knowledge, the believing Muslim, and the engagement of the pupil. Afterwards, this paper analyses the selected textbooks written for use in religious education (only books published since 1980) in terms of their aims, style, content and learning experiences. The paper includes a representative illustration from selected books. Hayward pays attention to analysing the content of books, and she tries to show the breadth and depth of their content by illustrations, as well as making suggestions about how visual content should be included. The results of this study indicate the existence of some traditional misunderstanding and distortion in various aspects of textbooks' presentation, and the inappropriateness of transferring Christian understanding to explain Islamic concepts such as scripture. Moreover, she argues that textbooks written by Muslim authors are much more positive, but they suffer from insufficient educational relevance for the pupil.

Burke (1986) aims to consider the suitability of textbooks on the Prophet Muhammed and the Qur'an in Islam. After stressing the importance of these two concepts in Islam, he attempts to check the accuracy of factual and other statements dealing with them, and uses Buhl's articles on the Qur'an and Muhammed from the Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam as a scholarly view. The two concepts are divided into various sub-titles to measure whether or not particular aspects of these two concepts have been satisfactorily presented by Muslim and non-Muslim writers in their textbooks. Burke illustrates the results of his analysis as a table about the Qur'an and Muhammed under three main categories which are; no mention, unsatisfactory mention and satisfactory mention for each heading, and he generally describes these tables' illustrations without making any significant explanation about reasons for a certain type of presentation. His investigation reveals that very few textbooks are adequate for their purpose, and it argues that Muslim writers' textbooks are more satisfactory than those of

non-Muslims, so it recommends greater involvement of Muslims in the textbooks' preparation process. It seems to us it suffers from the author's heavy dependence on only one source on Islam to measure the accuracy of the Qur'an and Muhammed in selected English textbooks. It also appears that there are somewhat irrelevant references between textbooks' analysis and their general usage in classroom out of context.

Sharifi (1986) assesses the life of Prophet Muhammed in terms of British textbooks. To do so, he set up three criteria for assessing these books, and the features of these criteria are as follows. The first stresses objectivity such that textbooks' presentation of Muhammed is based on the authentic Islamic sources rather than the writer's subjective judgments and interpretation. The second criterion is the quality of discernment required to understand properly the nature of prophethood in Islam. The last one is to be aware of the main aim of religious education. According to his classification, textbooks were divided into three groups on the basis of their divergence from his criteria. Most of the article was devoted to books designated under 'Group A', which are almost wholly incompatible with the established criteria. He strongly criticizes the presentation of Muhammed in these textbooks, and illustrates distorted points with appropriate quotations. Textbooks which are under this category explicitly give an extremely negative image of the life of Prophet Muhammed and his mission. For instance, they express denial or doubt with regard to his prophethood, and almost no reference is made to any spiritual aspect of his life, calling attention to him only as a statesman or worldly figure while ignoring his spiritual mission. The books in the second category are not exactly consistent with given criteria, albeit there is a great deal of improvement. Afterwards, Sharifi briefly explains the main features of the books which are considered as reliable, mostly written by Muslims. Having noted that, it is necessary to mention Sharifi's perception of textbooks. When we look at textbooks selected for this assessment, surprisingly, we can recognize that it is not possible for the huge majority of the selected textbooks to be named as textbooks, since, a textbook is a book written for instruction at a particular school level. It is more accurate to describe the selected literature by Sharifi as books, mostly scholarly books, on Islam and Prophet

Muhammed. The further point is about the dates of books being written. Some of them were written before 1950, and the others are mostly not recently produced. Therefore, the third criteria, awareness of the main aim of religious education, has almost no scholarly basis for assessing textbooks, because the multi-faith concept of religious education in England is quite an innovation compared to the majority of older textbooks.

Fellman's (1992) article, based on his master's thesis, aims to illustrate the image of Islam in eighteen selected Finnish textbooks for religious education. He employed a qualitative content analysis method in his investigation. He describes the purpose of teaching religion in Finnish schools as a part of the peace education of the school. Fellman argues that as a theoretical base he mainly used Michel Foucault's understanding of knowledge which defines knowledge as a process of selection, the contents of which are defined by those in power. However, it seems difficult to say that he successfully illustrated the relationship between this theory and its implementation in textbooks. In this article, he reaches a conclusion that the images of Islam presented in selected textbooks are mostly negative and they do not provide a fair description of Islam. He also argues that the textbooks mostly present a Finnish/Western interpretation of Islam. By comparison with the portrayal of other world religions such as Judaism and Hinduism too much emphasis was given to the social and political aspects of Islam. This paper suffers from not providing any quotation to illustrate arguments on the presentation of Islam.

Falaturi's (1990) pamphlet entitled 'Islam in Religious Education Textbooks in Europe' is the most comprehensive research in this area. This pamphlet indicates the findings of the Cologne school textbook project about the portrayal of Islam in European textbooks. This research project, supported by the Georg-Eckert Institute for International School Textbook Research, aims to give a positive impetus to encouraging multicultural understanding (Hock 1993). This project intends to scan, as much as possible, the school textbooks for religious education, geography, history and other subjects in addition to syllabuses, and to outline the general image given of Islam

through details expressed in European school curricula. For this purpose, this research selected seven dimensions including God, the Quran, Muhammad and Umma to portray the image of Islam given by textbooks. Quotations have been particularly selected to demonstrate traditional errors and misunderstandings. This is made through scholarly criticism based on knowledge of Islam and its main sources, the Qur'an and the Tradition of the Prophet. Then fundamental and typical mistakes and errors are discussed in the pamphlet. It concludes that the image of Islam in textbooks is, generally, one-sided and negative, and does not correspond to the present standard of research in seeking to convey knowledge about Islam. It is also reported that in a few recent publications there is some progress towards giving a positive image of Islam, but it is far from being a substantial shift in attitudes towards the accurate portrayal of Islam. The results of the study have been widely distributed in Germany and it is expected that publishers will revise their textbooks about Islam in line with the findings of this research.

6.3. Inadequate Presentation

Adequate treatment of a religion is important to promote understanding and positive image of any religion in religious education. The word 'adequate' can be described as meaning that 'the selection and treatment of topics should be based on a well-balanced sense of relative importance, within the Islamic tradition and in a world-wide context'. Particularly in a country where religious education is intended to advocate religious understanding and tolerance and contribute to the development of a multi-faith approach in education, as is the case in England it is naturally expected to treat all religions presented fairly and adequately, and put much emphasis on this issue compared to the traditional confessional approach in religious education. Otherwise, one of the significant premises of the non-confessional method in religious education will be questioned, and this may lead to doubt about the possibility of the implementation of a non-confessional method in practice. However, in reality not everything works in terms of a theory. Hence, some inadequate presentations of religion come into existence in

different ways such as in textbooks and teaching practice in the classroom. The treatment of Islam by selected English textbooks is no exception. Although notable efforts have been observed to improve the adequacy of presenting of Islam in textbooks in recent years some points still needed improvement. In this context, a review of selected English textbooks revealed that an inadequate presentation of Islam was mainly concentrated on three issues. These are; the life of the Prophet Muhammed, the role of women in Islam and the use of force in Islam. In this section, they will be examined in turn in terms of their presentation in textbooks.

6.3.1. The Life of the Prophet Muhammed

A tendency to give a central position to the personality and life of Muhammad in understanding Islam can be observed in western and Christian writings on Islam. This extreme focus on Muhammad may be the result of the Christian perspective, because Jesus occupies an extremely central role for the understanding of Christianity, but it is different in Islam. The possible comparable equivalent of Jesus in Islam may be the Qur'an. It is expected that textbooks' authors will consider this point when they are writing about Muhammad. In spite of achieving a notable improvement on this issue, some selected textbooks continue this inherited attitude, and they begin with Muhammad to introduce Islam and the emphasis on his life creates an imbalance..

It is pleasing to report that the majority of selected English textbooks on Islam try to present the life of Muhammad from an Islamic perspective, and to discard implicit discussion and claims such as 'authenticity of prophethood of Muhammad' and 'founder of Islam'. However, some inadequate presentation and distortion on this issue does exist. The review of selected textbooks indicates that these inadequate presentations are mainly focused on two points: the idea of the influence of Jews and Christians, and an imbalance between Muhammad's prophecy and his leadership in the Medinan period. Therefore, these two points will be examined.

With respect to the influence of Christianity and Judaism, some textbooks either make an explicit reference to borrowing something from Christianity and Judaism or

imply their possible influence while showing an eagerness to present some events that are generally used to prove Muhammad's borrowing from Christianity, particularly for example his meeting with Bahira (Arian monk) and Waraqa ibn Nufal who was a relative of Muhammad's wife, Khadijah. Let us see some examples from the textbooks:

> Muhammad could have been influenced in his beliefs by the religions of Judaism and Christianity, which also teach that there is only one God. He would have come across these religions on his travels outside Arabia, besides which there were some Arab tribes which had converted to Judaism, and there were a few scattered Christian monasteries and holy men in Arabia, seeking the peace and seclusion of the desert (Thompson: 26).

> Muslims believe that a Christian monk had foretold that Muhammed would become a prophet (Aylett: 4).

> After the shattering first experience of revelation by Muhammad, 'She [his wife, Khadijah] wrapped him in the thick cloak he used as a blanket and helped him sleep. She had a cousin called *Waraqa ibn Nufal* who had always been a seeker after truth. He had become a Christian and produced a translation of the Gospels in Arabic. He was now nearly 100 years old, and blind, but Khadijah respected his judgment above all others. Waraqa was quite sure that this was no evil demon, but that God indeed sent His revelation to her husband (Maqsood: 9).

Secondly, during the narration of the life of the Prophet Muhammad in Medinah some textbooks over-emphasise the worldly aspects of his career, such as his leadership and military success, while totally or substantially neglecting Muhammad's spiritual dimension. The agenda of the Medinan period in his life concerned mainly the establishment of the Medinan Islamic state, organisation of the Muslim community, the unhappy resolution to the conflict with the tribes of Jews, a number of battles against the Makkan polytheists, and the conquest of Makkah. Undoubtedly, they were part of the early Islamic history and the life of the Prophet Muhammad, but the mission of Muhammad was not limited to them. At the same time, he was a prophet, receiving revelation from God. He also tried to raise the moral standards of the Muslim community and encourage them to seek to be perfect human beings in line with God's message. Therefore, underestimation of this dimension of his mission can be considered

as an inadequate presentation of Muhammad's life, and a balanced presentation between his spiritual and temporal missions is expected from every school textbook in England.

6.3.2. The Role of Women in Islam

A common topic in the presentation of Islam in the western world, mostly because of missionary writings since the nineteenth century, has been the position of women in Islam. A negative picture has frequently been presented. In recent years, chiefly owing to the emergence of feminist approaches in religious studies alongside other social sciences, the issue of women has also received undue attention. The continuing influence of this new current can be seen in religious education and textbooks. Compared to other world religions, greater emphasis was given to the role of women in Islam by selected English textbooks. Generally this over-emphasis on women in textbooks also serves to create negatives image about women in Islam rather than preventing some misunderstanding and distortion on the same issue.

It appears that most often an author of a textbook implicitly assumes that the modern western woman is the model. She is free, liberated and progressively narrowing the gap of discrimination in competition with her male counterpart. By the same token, the majority of the selected textbooks indicate a tendency for women in Islam to be evaluated in terms of criteria established by a western perspective. Generally they concentrate on the phenomena which show the disadvantaged position of women in Islam in the individual, family, social, legal, private and public Islamic life. Single phenomena about women are outlined in one or another Islamic country and these phenomena are then generalised without giving different examples from the same country or other Islamic countries. In the main, they also do not discriminate between Islamic understanding and the customs or usage of the various peoples. Such presentations have certainly created new distortions and the continuance of traditional misunderstandings about the same issue, rather than proving an opportunity to understand Islam in its own context. Having noted these general remarks about the

treatment of women by selected English textbooks, some specific points presented will be examined to illustrate inadequate treatment of this issue.

Firstly, over-emphasis was given to the issue of involvement of women in worship with men and the attendance of women at mosques by the majority of textbooks. Although information presented about this issue is mostly accurate in terms of Islam, the intention seems to indicate discrimination between man and woman in worship in Islam. For instance, Thompson mentions four times differences between men and women concerning only prayer (salah). Let us see the following quotations:

> Women do not have to attend mosques, and often their family responsibilities will prevent them from doing so.. (Thompson: 3).
>
> ...Women are not obliged to attend [the Jum'ah prayer] because of their domestic duties (ibid.: 14).
>
> ...Women are encouraged to pray at home (Aylett: 14).

Secondly, Muslim women are presented as in a disadvantaged position in society and family without any control over their own lives. In particular, the visual presentation of the textbooks serves to confirm this image and gives a stereotypical image of Muslim women, with a few exceptions. Women in the text and more importantly in pictures are demonstrated as human beings who pray and look after their children at home while following the code of Islamic veiling. They also seem to be eager to show a monolithic style of veiling, presenting pictures of Muslim women wearing the black shader and wearing the hijab covering all parts of the body except their eyes in a similar fashion. Undoubtedly, such a presentation may lead to a stereotypical image of Muslim women. Of course, hijab for women is important in Islam, but there is no one style approved for wearing in Islam by women. A great variety of fashions in terms of various cultures and times can be followed by Muslim women at the same time as observing the code of hijab. The implementation of the code of the hijab in a particular country may be different from another. Therefore, textbook writers should avoid a simplistic and stereotyped presentation, and as far as possible provide pictures from different cultures and styles of Muslim dress. A growing involvement and influence of Muslim women in

education and social life, and various professions, should also be found some place in selected English textbooks.

Thirdly, almost every textbook selected addresses the issue of polygamy in Islam. The textbooks also provide information on the present situation of polygamy among Muslims. The intention of the majority of them appears to be to preclude misunderstanding about this issue, but there is doubt concerning the extent to which this aim can be realised. Mainly the selected textbooks state that polygamy is allowed in terms of the Qur'an and they cite relevant verses from the Qur'an. Then, they discuss the possibility of the implication of polygamy in our age, and give reasons for the rare incidence of polygamy at the present day among Muslims. However, the question of adequacy when almost every textbook selects polygamy for presentation and places emphasis on it remains to be answered, since is polygamy really such an important issue as to deserve such focus in every textbook? The following examples will help to understand the treatment of polygamy in selected English textbooks:

Hunt defines polygamy as 'the practice of allowing a man to have more than one wife - referred to in the Qur'an. The Qur'an says that a man may have up to four wives' (p. 49). He also discusses reasons why monogamy is common in the Muslim world rather than polygamy. He then asks 'Why doesn't the Qur'an simply forbid polygamy?' He responds to this question by saying:

> Perhaps the answer to that question is that although for Muslims the Qur'an is the Word of Allah and is true for all time, the book was nevertheless revealed in a particular age to a particular group of people.. (Hunt: 49).

He elaborates his argument on the basis of this conviction, suggesting that Islam made a limitation in the numbers of wives for polygamy and commanded men to behave to women fairly and justly in the early age of Islam. In short, the position of women generally and wives in particular was greatly improved through the guidance of the Qur'an. These explanations implicitly lead to a conclusion that today laying down standards for women by the Qur'an is not enough.

Keene states the following inaccurate information about polygamy in Islam, because polygamy was introduced by the Qur'an not Muhammad, and then asks a provocative question:

> Muhammad introduced a new law. A man could take up to four wives at a time, but only if they were all willing and if they were treated equally and fairly (p.16). The question is 'Do you think that the laws which Muhammad introduced in Madinah could be used successfully today?'

6.3.3. The Use of Force in Islam

Building up an explicit or implicit association between Islam and the use of force can be observed in some selected English textbooks. There is a tendency to explain complex political events in terms of religious rhetoric. No other world religions presented in English religious education textbooks can share this negative mass media image except Islam. It is obvious that this will not serve an accurate understanding of Islam and Muslims rather than confirming recent association between Islam and terrorism. At this point, I am not suggesting that the knowledge about this issue presented is totally fabricated or wrong, on the contrary this factual knowledge is generally to be considered as an expression of some reality. However, the existence of this knowledge and its interpretation and presentation in this context are rightly questionable in terms of the purpose of religious education, a genuine reflection of reality and a different standard for Islam in this matter from other religions. The following examples will illustrate this inadequate presentation:

Maqsood argues that;

> The assassins [of Uthman which was the third Caliphate in Islamic history] claimed that since Uthman had not ruled according to Qur'an and sunnah, he had ceased to be Islamic and should be removed. (Throughout later centuries, including our own, Islamic revolutionaries have acted according to the same principle - for example in the murder of President Sadat of Egypt - or the overthrow of the Shah of Iran) (p.145).

> Islam calls war which is fought for Allah jihad, or 'holy war'. The Qur'an teaches that it should only be fought by Muslims in self defense, or in defense of Islam...Islam teaches that those who die fighting in holy war will go straight to

> heaven... Jihad is so important that some Muslims regard it as the Sixth Pillar of Islam (Thompson: 31).

Hunt treats this issue under the title 'Muslims and the use of force', and his lengthy treatment requires a proper assessment. To begin with, it is necessary to note the space given for this topic in order to appreciate the author's emphasis on it. Hunt granted ten full pages (pp. 29-39) to this issue, and it receives the fullest treatment of any subject in his textbook. When we remember the total number of pages in the textbook is 78, we can rightly ask the following questions: is this lengthy presentation of this issue compatible with its place in Islam? Why give such importance to this topic in the coverage of a secondary school textbook? Secondly, after looking at the visual presentation, four pictures directly related to guns or machine guns can be seen in the textbook. It should not be difficult to guess what kind of impression about Islam will be created in the minds of pupils.

Thirdly, taking into account the content of the topic, examples from Islamic history and the present time concerning violence and forgiveness were demonstrated in an inadequate and sometimes inaccurate manner. After providing some quotations from the Qur'an and hadiths dealing with forgiveness in Islam, three violent events and subsequent forgiveness from the time of the Prophet Muhammad to our century in chronological order were given by Hunt. The first event is concerned with the story of Wahshi who killed the uncle of the Prophet Muhammad, Hamza, in the battle of Uhud in a cruel manner and then Muhammad forgave Wahshi. The second deals with the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, Muslim commander, from the Christian soldiers in the thirteenth century and the good treatment of the people of Jerusalem and their release without any harm. The third event was selected from Turkey. It narrates the attempted assassination of Dr. Ahmet Yalman who was the editor of a Turkish daily newspaper by an 18-year-old student, H. Uzmez, in 1952, and after surviving this assault with serious injury, Dr. Yalman strove to find means to educate and employ the man who tried to kill him. Finally, Hunt provides two pages for discussion among three students

concerning the topic of 'militant Islam'. The treatment of forgiveness is swamped by the treatment of violence.

6.4. Inaccurate Presentation

Accuracy can be described as occurring when incidents and events are presented without either deliberate or unintentional distortion and in a historical, geographical, phenomenological etc. perspective. If any presentation is not compatible with the features of this definition it can be considered as inaccurate. As a result of an overview of selected English textbooks for Islam we can observe that there is a notable decline in the existence of inaccurate knowledge about Islam, albeit some inaccuracies remain to be adjusted. Correcting inaccurate information is relatively easy in textbook preparation compared to inadequate presentation, because this mostly depends on lack of knowledge and transferring something from one religious tradition to another. In this section, some inaccurate points presented by selected English textbooks will be examined.

1. *Misinformation about the nature of Satan*: Every textbook which referred to the issue of Satan in the context of the creation of Adam argued that Allah ordered to the Angels to prostrate before Adam, and only *the angel Satan* refused to do so. The following examples show this point:

> The Devil was an angel in the Qur'an, he refused to bow down to Adam and so was thrown out of heaven (Watton: 18).
>
> ..We also read of Iblis, the fallen angel. This is Islam's name for the Devil or Satan (Thompson: 42).

According to Islam, Satan was a *jinn* (not a fallen angel). Jinns were made from fire, and, like human beings, they possess freedom of choice; some of them are good and others are evil. The subsequent Qur'anic verse makes clear this issue: "When We said to the angels: 'Prostrate yourselves before Adam,' all prostrated themselves except Satan, who was a jinnee disobedient to his Lord..." (18:50). Moreover, according to Islam, unlike human beings angels have no free will of their own and are therefore sinless. The transmission of Christian understanding on this issue to Islam is the most likely reason for this misinformation, because there is actually no recognition of the

existence of jinn in Christianity, and Satan is accepted as a fallen angel. In contrast to Islam angels also have the ability to commit a sin and do evil in Christianity.

2. *Ka'bah and Makkah*: With respect to the Ka'bah and Makkah some inaccurate knowledge can be observed. The first misunderstanding stems from a confusion about who first established the Ka'bah. Two textbooks claim that the Prophet Abraham established the Ka'bah. For instance, Brine states; "According to Muslim tradition, the Ka'bah was the first house of worship to Allah and was built by the Prophet Abraham" (p.53). This should be corrected to Adam. Actually, in later times the Ka'bah was re-built by Abraham with his son, Ismael. The second concerns the holiness of Makkah. Aylett says that, "Makkah is a most holy place, because it is where Muhammed lived and worked" (p.15). On the basis of Islamic sources, the holiness of Makkah does not stem from the fact that Muhammed lived and worked in Makkah.

3. *Taking off shoes*: Rudge expresses the following statement concerning taking off shoes at home:

> Taking off shoes helps to keep the floors clean. It is also believed to be a mark of respect to Allah. By thinking of their home in this way Muslims are reminded that they should live all of their life according to the will of Allah (p. 30).

It is not possible to find any religious evidence to support this claim; perhaps it mostly depends on the culture and tradition. Therefore, it would be wrong to reach such a conclusion and conviction.

4. *Definition of Shirk*: Brine defines Shirk as 'forgotten God'. Certainly, this is not accurate description of Shirk in Islam. According to Islam, Shirk is association, regarding anything as being equal or partner to Allah.

5. *The plural use of the word 'Scripture'*: This is perhaps one of the most common misunderstandings of textbooks' authors. The plural usage of Scripture may stem from the unconscious transmission of Christian understanding of Scriptures. It should be used in the singular, since there is only one holy book, the Qur'an, in Islam.

6. *Symbol of Islam*: Although the five pointed star and crescent is sometimes used as a symbol of Islam there is no religious ground for this understanding in Islam. Hence,

the following statements by Thompson should be revised: "Five - pointed star and crescent is symbol of Islam" (p.2), and "The five - pointed star symbolises the five pillars of Islam, i.e. the five basic duties of Muslim" (p.2).

7. *Wrong explanation of literal meaning of 'Alewi'*: Thompson claims that "The Alawi form another Shi'i sect. Their name means 'worshippers of Ali'.." (p.82). This is absolutely incorrect. It should be 'supporter of Ali'.

8. Watton tries to establish a contrast between the understanding of the Muslim family and the welfare state in remarking that,

> The family should be the basis of economic and social life which is why some Muslims object to a welfare State because they take away family duties (p.64).

The above idea appears to be unusual in Islam: indeed, a positive association between Islam and a welfare state is more likely to support the Muslim family. Perhaps the common absence of a welfare state in Muslim countries could be seen as a result of their weak economies rather than religiously based.

9. Penney says in regard to ablution; "The instruction of how it should be done is all in the Qur'an...Next, the mouth and throat, by gargling, so that the voice is clean to talk to Allah..." (p.16). It is obvious that the above explanation is simplistic and inaccurate, since in order to talk to God there is no need for a clear voice and gargling and there is no Islamic evidence to support such an explanation.

10. *Error in some dates of historical events*: Knight states that the Khalifate was ended in 1922 (p. 14). To be accurate, it was abolished in 1924. Similar mistakes can be seen in Penney's textbook. She states that; "It [the Ottoman empire] was most powerful between about 400 CE and 1600 CE" (p. 29). Instead of 400 CE, it must be 1400 CE.

11. Watton pays special attention to associating some Islamic concepts with Arabs and Arabia such as the religion of Arabia and prophet of Arabs throughout his textbook. This attitude implicitly tends to reduce Islam to a nationalistic religion rather than a universal world religion. It is true that the Prophet Muhammed and the majority of his early followers were Arabs and geographically Islam was born in Arabia. However,

these facts do not give any excuse for the attitude of Watton in this matter, because Islam is a universal world religion and its prophet Muhammed is not only for Arabs but for all Muslims world-wide. The following two quotations clearly illustrate this point:

> ...He [Prophet Muhammed] was faced by the following in his attempt to follow God's command and re-establish Islam as *the religion of Arabia* (my italic) (Watton: 86).
>
> So by 628 CE, Muhammad had established *a truly Arab religion* (my italic) in Medina, he had united the people in a theocracy and reduced the Jews to a subservient minority (Watton: 89).

12. The following simplistic and uncompleted definition of Muslim needs to be revised to provide a proper description of Muslim:

> One way of describing Muslims is to say that they are people who decide to follow the five pillars of Islam in their daily life (Brine: 5).

6.5. Summary and Conclusion

This chapter began with a brief review of extant literature which aims to examine distortion and misunderstanding in the portrayal of Islam or some selected concepts such as the Prophet Muhammad in terms of textbook treatment. Afterwards, some inadequate and inaccurate presentations of Islam in selected English textbooks have been investigated, and the findings of the examination have been shown.

It is observed that, compared to the relevant literature and previous textbooks, a considerable amount of positive developments in the presentation of every aspect of Islam have been noted in selected English textbooks. Therefore, mostly owing to a non-confessional presentation of Islam, traditional western prejudices and distortions generally have disappeared, especially those dealing with the doctrinal dimension of Islam, such as the authenticity of the Qur'an and the reliability of Islam. However, some inadequate presentation of the life of the Prophet Muhammad remain to be revised. In selected English textbooks an attempt has also been made to present Islam as far as possible in its own terms. Consequently, pupils obtained more opportunities to hear the authentic voice of Islam, and religious education in state schools was able to become a

more acceptable curriculum topic for the Muslim community in England. To be sure, this contributes to the promotion of a multi-faith approach in religious education. However, the emergence of new prejudices and distortions concerning the portrayal of Islam could not be prevented in selected English textbooks. In particular, issues such as the role of women in Islam and the use of force in Islam were presented in an inadequate manner by the textbooks in line with the mass media image of Islam. Probably these inadequate presentations of Islam stem from unnecessary emphasis on certain issues, casual generalisation without scrutiny and the following of a stereotyped media presentation of Islam. Less importantly, some inaccurate information on Islam has also been recognised in selected English textbooks. It was expected not to find such inadequate and inaccurate presentation of Islam in the textbooks of a country where religious education aims to promote religious understanding for every world religion and to implement a non-confessional approach in religious education in schools. This limited negative presentation of Islam in textbooks may stem from the ineffective implementation of the philosophy of a non-confessional approach in the preparation of textbooks for Islam. Certainly, the aforementioned points need to be taken into account in writing further textbooks.

CHAPTER 7

NATIONALISM IN TURKISH RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

7.1. Introduction

Nationalism is obviously a world-wide phenomenon, essentially one of the most powerful forces for both material and intellectual development in the modern world. As an ideology and movement, nationalism exerted a strong influence in the American and French Revolutions, subsequently extending its influence to other countries. However, there are significant differences in ways of defining and explaining the emergence of the concept of nationalism. Some accept it as a 'national sentiment', others define it as a nationalist ideology and language or nationalist movement, and there are many theories which explain the emergence of nationalism in the modern world.

Nationalist ideas have a varying degree of influence in different social spheres such as economy, culture and education in a given country which is a nation-state. Even within certain limits nationalism in education seems to be tolerated or approved by many people (Schleicher 1993: 330). Particularly in the early nation-building process education has increasingly been tied to national politics and traditions, and a strong national focus can be observed in education. The importance of nationalism may also be subject to time-specific-perceptions, and political demands of a given state or region. For example, while the horrific cruelties in two World Wars led to nationalism being heavily criticized in the West (Dogan 1998), many developing countries see nationalism as a liberating and modernizing force (Schleicher 1993: 16). So this point should be taken into consideration in discussions of nationalism in education in a particular country. However, it is not free from difficulties, because firstly nationalism might subjugate education to the rather limited self-perceptions of a single country, according to the demands of governments, and secondly it tends to stigmatise as heretical critical analysis and controversial debates on the merits and problems of different ways of life -including that of other nations (ibid.:330).

Nationalism somehow helps to form the national curriculum in education, because the nature of a curriculum is not neutral, value-free or technical, but contextually it responds to the social and ideological demands of the state and powerful groups. When a country aims to advocate nationalism in education, the following question can arise: which curriculum subject is more suited to fostering nationalistic consciousness? Generally speaking history is the most favoured curriculum lesson for this purpose (White 1996: 329). National and nationalistic tendencies also become especially obvious in subjects such as national literature and political education. However, whether religious education is a suitable curriculum subject to foster nationalism or not is an important and controversial issue.

In England, Nicholas Tate argued recently that national consciousness and identity should be promoted through the school curriculum. From a RE point of view, this suggestion met with a negative response from Bolton (1997), and he advocates nurturing a global rather than national consciousness through religious education [1]. In the 1970s, Smart had suggested that, besides Christianity and world religions, religious education should include nationalism as a secular world view, because secular ideologies are part of the story of human thought. He also argued that nationalism had been a powerful force in human affairs and it had given shape decisively to the modern world (Smart 1989: 21-22), and today nationalism is like a religion (Smart 1989: 24). It should be noted that his accommodation of nationalism in religious education takes quite a different line, since he proposes teaching nationalism in a systematic manner rather than promoting nationalism from a religious point of view.

In Turkey, in line with the national school curriculum, the Turkish religious education curriculum (MEB 1992) promotes nationalist ideas to a certain extent, and is set within an explicitly and implicitly nationalist context. Naturally, the reflection of this tendency can be noted in religious education textbooks. However, no academic study has addressed the issue of nationalism in Turkish religious education. The purpose of this chapter is to explore this issue in terms of textbook presentations of nationalist dimensions. In order to provide the background to the evaluation, it begins with the

historical development of Turkish nationalism and its relevance to religious education in Turkey.

7.2. Emergence of Turkish Nationalism

Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, people had primarily identified themselves by their religious affiliation. This began to change with the advent of nationalism which developed in Europe and gave rise to the nationalist movement in the nineteenth century. In the emergence of nationalism and nation-state different variables played a role. In this context, importantly, Hastings (1997) in his recent work argued that there is a close relationship between the formation of European nationalism and religion. He also emphased the distinctive positive role of Christianity and the Bible in the creation of nationalism. Nationalism entered the multi-religious and multi-national Ottoman Empire and started the process of national awakening and revival among the different communities. This nationalist revival severely threatened the stability of the Empire. The Turks were the last people within the Empire to adopt nationalism because they had a vested interest in promoting a cosmopolitan system as the basis of their rule (Ahmad 1993: 77). However, early Turkish nationalism was largely cultural. There was no challenge to Ottomanism and Islamism, the official doctrines of the state (Kushner 1977: 98). After the Balkan crisis the Ottoman identity, including all religious and ethnic communities, failed. The First World War finally proved that even the idea of Ottoman-Muslim identity was nothing more than wishful thinking. Taking into account this reality, a distinct Turkish nationalism and identity was being formulated by Turkish nationalists in the last days of the Ottoman Empire. Consistent with the generally accepted tendency for nationalism (Arjomand 1984: 14, Hutchinson 1994: xii), they mainly aimed to replace religion (Islam) with Turkish nationalism as a successor ideology to provide the equivalent legitimating basis for society. According to Turkists, success in curing the ills of Turkey lay neither in stubborn resistance to change nor in automatic imitation of the West, but in the intelligent revival of Turkish culture. They complained that Islam submerged the Turkish national identity, and the term "Turk"

became synonymous with "Muslim". Turkish language and culture had suffered from the centuries old Arabic and Persian domination.

Even though all nationalists had a firm belief in Turkish nationalism, they were divided into two as to the role of religion in society and borrowing from the West. The first group, led by Ziya Gokalp, established their theory of Turkish nationalism on the basis of language and culture (Parla 1985: 34). They accepted religion as an important aspect of Turkish culture. Their secularism aimed at adjusting Islam to Turkish life. Like moderate Islamists, they were willing to borrow only western technology, but not European ways of thought. They also believed that the educational system should stress national culture and values, not Western ideals and beliefs as advocated by Westernizers.

The second group was represented by the rationalist, materialist and extreme secular wing of Turkish nationalism. They wished to eliminate the role of religion in the lives and institutions of the Turkish people. They declared that it would be absurd to try to separate thought from the material aspect of civilization and therefore the West should be accepted as the source of all material and cultural modernization. This would become known as Kemalism and be pronounced as the official ideology of the Turkish Republic (Eskicumali 1994).

7.2.1.Ziya Gokalp's Understanding of Nationalism

Ziya Gokalp, a leading Turkish nationalist, was the founder of Turkish nationalism and one of the great Turkish intellectuals of modern times. He was the first Turk who articulated a systematic theory of education. Gokalp was also the first professor of sociology at the University of Istanbul in 1915 (Heyd 1950: 36), and he was strongly influenced by the collectivist philosophy of the French sociologist Durkheim. However, his collectivism was not materialistic and deterministic but an idealistic one. For Gokalp, the supreme truth was the ideal and the supreme ideal was the 'nation', as opposed to Durkheim's concept of 'society'. The nation was the source of all ideals, the supreme moral authority, the highest ethical arbiter of conduct.

Gokalp makes a distinction between culture and civilization. Culture in his opinion includes value judgments, and these judgments such as moral obligations, legal rules, aesthetic views and ideals are subjective, relative, and peculiar to cultural groups. The latter includes reality judgments. The reality judgments such as scientific truths, medical knowledge, economics and engineering are objective, absolute, and belong to civilizational groups. Therefore, culture differs from civilization, which is international rather than national. This distinction provided Gokalp with a valuable rationale to judge what should be borrowed from the West, and what the curriculum of the modern Turkey should include. He believed that the idea of modernism required the pursuit of the scientific, technological, and industrial civilization of the West. He did not demand the adoption of the European 'way of life' and 'moral values'. Thus, according to Gokalp, what should be borrowed from the West is only the civilization of the West, that is science and technology as well as scientific methods and a scientific spirit. However, he felt that the spiritual and moral values of Turkey should be derived from the indigenous culture of the Turkish nation (Heyd 1950: 63-66).

Gokalp's educational philosophy followed similar lines. He made a distinction between education and training. For Gokalp, education is the process by which the individual learns to live in his cultural environment; training, on the other hand, is the process by which the individual obtains scientific tools. The aim of education, thus, is the adaptation of the individual to his social and natural environment. He argues that the individual becomes a member of society by learning the cultural values which are accepted by a particular nation. Every nation has its own distinctive culture and has to transmit it to younger generations in order to survive. The individual acquires this culture through a system of national education. Thus, the goal of education becomes the inculcating of the national culture in the young since education inculculates culture and, since culture is national, education must be national too.

Gokalp also states that the individual adjusts himself to his natural environment by learning reality judgments which are universal. Reality judgments are the products of the conscious mind and they are the basis of modern technology and civilization. They can

only be learned through a process of scientific training. The aim of training, therefore, is to instruct children in reality judgments and scientific knowledge, and the process of training is international.

He saw education as failing due to deep internal divisions:

> In this country there are three classes of people differing from each other by civilization and education: the common people, the men educated in medreses, the men educated in modern secular schools. The first still are not freed from the effects of Far Eastern civilization; the second are still living in the Eastern civilization; it is only the third group which has had some benefits from Western civilization. That means that one portion of our nation is living in an ancient, another in a medieval, and a third in a modern age. How can the life of a nation be normal with such a threefold life? How can we be a real nation without unifying this threefold education? (Berkes 1959: 278).

His solution was merely to combine Islamic, Turkish and modernist principles. The following famous slogan is the best explanation of this solution: "We belong to the Turkish nation, the Muslim religious community, and European civilization". In this imperative synthesis Gokalp provides the significant place for the issue of the ancient Turks. Very many of his essays deal with the history of the ancient Turks, their cultural development, their religion, their laws and their customs in a sympathetic manner to glorify the ancient Turks in the eyes of his contemporaries (Heyd 1950: 112). For him, the religion of Turks was free from fanaticism and asceticism. He also argues that feminism was born among the Turks, and women had a high respect in ancient Turkish society and they actively participated in social and political life (Berkes 1959: 254, Heyd 1950: 113). Moreover, in regard to the relationship between Islam and nationalism, Gokalp points out that Islam advocates modern nationalism which aims at establishing states composed of single, homogeneous nations (Heyd 1950: 98), and he even occasionally implies the necessity of giving Islam a national Turkish character (ibid.: 101) At the same time this synthesis is reflected in his theory of the curriculum. According to Gokalp, a compete Turkish education should be based on three principles: Turkism, Islamism, and modernism. It should include (a) Turkish language, literature and history, (b) Reading the Qur'an, catechism, the history of Islam and Islamic

languages (Arabic and Persian), (c) mathematics, natural sciences and European languages, as well as handicrafts and gymnastics (Berkes 1959: 233).

Although religion was an integral part of his educational orientation, he advocated secularism in education and a unified education system instead of the dual mektep-medrese. However, he recognised the significance of religion in the formation of national identity. He did not relegate Islam to the private sphere; rather he employed it within the national-social sphere, to provide a place for it within the larger social matrix of Turkish culture. To him, religion was not simply a private matter, it was necessarily a political affair, a primary part of Turkish national culture (Davison 1995). So, he suggested that religious studies be considered an essential part of the national curriculum. For him, those people who showed a high moral character in their lives were those people who had religious education in their childhood. People who had not had such education were destined to live without will power, and high moral character (Ergin 1977: 1142).

7.2.2.Kemalist Nationalism

Kemalist nationalism emerged out of the Turkish War of Independence and stressed the ethnicity and territoriality of the Turkish nation. Nationalism was the foundation of the new Republic, and it was firstly introduced as a Constitutional principle in 1937, remaining unchanged up to the present day (Feyzioglu 1987: 7). All profound changes introduced into the new Turkey were tied to the compelling force of nationalism. Nationalism in Turkey derived its inspiration from the West, but its development was also conditioned by the particular political and cultural environment of Turkey. It should be noted that Turkish nationalism has been free from racism, and racialism and pan-Turanism were rejected by Ataturk and his followers (Peretz 1988: 159). In the first place, nationalism asserted freedom from foreign domination and an unquestioned loyalty to a nation-state. In the second place, it demanded devotion to the republican form of government which was based on the legitimacy of popular sovereignty.

Although Ataturk praised Gokalp's view and hailed him as a father of his thought he differed from him to some extent in his view of nationalism because his understanding of nationalism was more secular and western. The Kemalist version of nationalism proposed a view of nationalism which was freed from Islamic influence, as an avenue leading to the creation of a national culture and a universal understanding (Karpat 1959: 251). The new nationalist ideology was substituted in the place of the Ottoman-Islamic religious one. The Turks were forced to abandon both their Islamic and Ottoman heritage in pursuit of a new Turkish identity that was an amalgamation of Western and pre-Islamic Turkish culture. In fact, implementation was not amalgamation, but European acculturation under the state direction, with a reformist elite proving how appropriate was the pre-Islamic culture to western civilization, in order to justify reforms in nationalist terms (Demirci 1997). As part of the invention of Turkish history thesis, it was even suggested that pre-Islamic Turkish culture was the source of major great world civilizations. The following quotation from Ergin about the creation of a new national identity for Turkish pupils in the formative period of the Republic briefly expresses the Turkish history thesis:

> Today every Turkish pupil will learn with scientific truths which cannot be refused and denied that he is the member of a great nation who established the world's first civilization and spread it all over the world, and his mother tongue which was rich and beautiful so that it became a source for all world language (Ergin 1977: 1639).

Although the given emphasis on the historical roots of Turkishness seems to be an ethnic-chauvinist nationalism it was not so much a return to ethnic origins as the creation of a novel past that transcended the diversity of populations out of which the Kemalists hoped to build a modern nation. This version of nationalism affected every aspect of the social, cultural and educational spheres.

Another important distinction between Gokalp's and Ataturk's views of nationalism was with regard to the question of religious education. While Gokalp and his followers, such as Riza Nur and Hamdullah Suphi, advocated Islamic education as a basic part of the national curriculum, Ataturk and his fellow revolutionaries accepted it as an integral part of the old order that must be removed (Eskicumali 1994: 128).

Until the emergence of a multi-party system in 1946, the intellectual elite's interpretation of the nationalist movement was in secularist terms (Peretz 1988: 159).

After the multi-party regime, a new interpretation of nationalism gradually developed. Hamdullah Suphi Tanriover, the proponent of a new interpretation, demanded that Turkish nationalism should be based on history and religion while he was supporting secularism, because the source of national strength lay in history and religion, particularly the history of the Ottoman Empire (Karpat 1959: 255-258). This new nationalism was widely supported by the Democratic Party which came into power in 1950. In line with this shift, religious courses and Ottoman history, which had been neglected or misrepresented in the one-party period, were included in the Turkish national curriculum in response to new demands.

The interpretation of Turkish nationalism partially in religious terms has continued up to the present. The 1980s, in particular, opened up a new chapter in Turkey's political dynamics. Both President and head of the 1980 Military Coup Kenan Evren and Prime Minister Turgut Ozal, after the election of the Motherland Party government in 1983, repeatedly stressed the importance of religious values in the fabric of Turkish nationalism (Salt 1995: 16). Various religious groups became influential in the military, the bureaucracy, education and government, and new discourse among the state elite began to emphasize the importance of the Islamic identity of Turks (Kadioglu 1996: 190). In this context, after the 1980 military intervention, a group of nationalist and conservative academics and some former right-wing politicians tried to formulate the relationship between Turkish nationalism and Islam. This new ideology was especially advocated by the Aydinlar Ocagi (the Intellectuals' Hearth) [2], and it is known as the Turkish-Islamic Synthesis (TIS), which aimed to bring supposedly traditional shared values to the surface, to peel away the false Western veneer, and to recognize (under the label of Turk and Islam) a national synthesis of fundamental value (Tapper 1991: 11). Islam, nationalism and capitalism made up this new ideology. According to the TIS, religion, the essence of Turkish culture and social control must be fostered in schools, but it must not be politicized. In other words, within this ideology, Islam was portrayed as a religion, an ethic and a culture. One of the main goals of Turkish-Islamic synthesis was to overcome the problem of Islamic fundamentalism, militant Marxism and Kurdish

separatism. As pointed out by Sardar (1995), fundamentalism is a direct result of the failure of secular nationalism in the Muslim world (p.106), and religious nationalism does not promote fundamentalism (Juergensmeyer 1993). It is believed that this argument might be valid for the Turkish case. It seems that this ideology (TIS) was not new, and it was mostly based on Gokalp`s formulation of Turkification, Islamization and Westernization. This also indicates a certain shift from the one-party version of nationalism to Gokalp`s version of nationalism which emphasises the importance of Islam and Turkish culture. In this period (1980s), nevertheless, the emphasis was also on Kemalist principles, and the state`s loyalty to them continued. The aim of the attitude was not to create a monolithic Turkish identity but rather to arrest the spread of Marxism, fascism and religious fundamentalism (Kadioglu 1996: 196). The new TIS discourse represented a contradiction when compared with the one-party nationalist and secularist implementation. However, this was reinterpreted in order to fit this synthesis. It is worth noting that the TIS was intellectually discredited in the late 1980s (Tapper 1991: 11).

Religious education became compulsory in schools at the beginning of the 1980s, and it is believed that the new interpretation of the relationship between Turkish nationalism and Islam (TIS) is one of the important factors in the introduction of compulsory religious education. In addition, the ideology of the Turkish Islamic Synthesis widely contributed to shaping the new Turkish Religious Education Curriculum. Although the TIS was mostly discredited at the end of the 1980s, the curriculum has not changed substantially. And school textbooks for religious education in Turkey have been used implicitly and explicitly as one of the vehicles of Turkish-orientated nationalism, since these textbooks like other curriculum subjects textbooks are either conceptualized or authorized by the Ministry of Education. In other words, it can be said that the ideology of TIS has had a crucial role in the existence of the nationalist content and approach in the religious education curriculum. In order to recognize the emphasis given to nationalism, and to demonstrate how a nationalist tendency is

presented, the following three aspects will be investigated in terms of religious education textbooks in Turkey.

1. Pre-Islamic Turkish beliefs and the Turkish contribution to Islamic civilization
2. The place and importance of Ataturk
3. Respect for nationalist symbols

7.3.Nationalist Presentation in Selected Religious Education Textbooks

7.3.1. Pre-Islamic Turkish Beliefs and the Turkish Contribution to Islamic Civilization

As noted earlier in this chapter, pre-Islamic Turkish culture was demonstrated to be part of Turkish nationalism by both Kemalist and Gokalp versions of Turkish nationalism. Especially in the early formative period of the Republic, particular attention was paid to the historical and cultural roots of Turkishness in order to build a modern nationalistic identity. To this end, a Turkish history and language theory with a chauvinist tendency was invented, and some efforts were made to show the glorious pre-Islamic Turkish past. But the aim of these attempts was not to return to ethnic origins or to form an ethnic-chauvinist nationalism. The intention was the creation of a novel past to provide a basis for Turkish nationalism, and to escape the undesirable recent Islamic past. Similarly, pre-Islamic Turkish culture was utilised to promote modern nationalism. This inclusion of pre-Islamic Turkish beliefs, and the interpretation of Islamic history from a Turkish perspective in the selected textbooks, are indications of the existence of nationalist trends in religious education. Before examining ways of presenting pre-Islamic Turkish beliefs in these textbooks, one point should be noted; the use of pre-Islamic culture in establishing a nationalist ideology is not only a peculiarity of Turkish nationalism. Other Middle Eastern Muslim countries such as Iran and Egypt have used their pre-Islamic cultures to create a national identity in our age. In Iran, Reza Shah Pahlavi (r.1925-41) attempted to invent a national sentiment by emphasizing Iran's pre-Islamic glories. In order to achieve this, the symbols of the Achaemenid and

Sassanid empires, the lion and the sun, began to be used, and, to decrease the influence of Muslim clerics, Zoroastrianism (which was the pre-Islamic Iranian faith with a few followers in modern times) was established as a state religion. Streets and public places were renamed, honoring pre-Islamic folk heroes, and Reza Shah often reminded the Iranians of their glorious past [3] (Peretz 1988: 505, Kia 1988). In the case of Egypt, a similar tendency with regard to nationalism may be observed. In Egypt, although Islam had an important role in the process of the formation of Arab nationalism, pre-Islamic Pharaonic culture as a source of nationalism was advocated by some politicians and scholars such as Haykal in his early thought. A prominent Arab nationalist, 'Abd al-Latif Sharara, also claimed that Akkadians and Phoenicians were Arabs' (Al-Azmeh 1993: 67). In the 1930s as a part of distinctive Egyptian culture and history pre-Islamic Pharaonic culture was recognized as one of three aspects of Arab nationalism by some West-aware and secular educated Muslim and Coptic Egyptian intellectuals (Walker 1996: 68-69). As Hourani (1962) perceptively stresses, the reason for associating one's identity with an ancient past was a way of escaping from a more recent past, since the more recent past, in most of the religions, had been one of absorption into large supranational units (p.342).

In this section the presentation of two issues, pre-Islamic Turkish beliefs and the place of Turks in Islamic History, will be elucidated from the point of view of Turkish textbooks.

7.3.1.1. Pre-Islamic Turkish Beliefs

In the textbook written by Ayas & Tumer for the first grade of upper secondary, seven pages (pp. 50-57) are devoted to pre-Islamic Turkish beliefs, and in the other units, such as the conversion of Turks to Islam, some reference is made to these beliefs. In the Ayas & Tumer textbook, under the title 'Religions and Their Features' some knowledge about Islam, pre-Islamic Turkish beliefs and other religions is presented. In this unit, the order in which religions are presented is quite interesting, because pre-Islamic Turkish beliefs are explained after Christianity and before Islam. Actually this

order is not consistent with Turkish textbooks' understanding of the classification of religions. As has been explained in the previous chapter, religions were divided into two main categories in terms of being divine and non-divine. According to this classification, Judaism, Christianity and Islam are the only divine religions, and others automatically have been seen as non-divine religions. After explaining non-divine religions, such as Hinduism and Chinese religions, Ayas & Tumer proceed to discuss Judaism, Christianity, pre-Islamic Turkish beliefs and Islam. Although pre-Islamic Turkish religion was not considered among the divine religions or even as a proper religious faith, it was accommodated among the divine religions. In other words, pre-Islamic Turkish beliefs were made an exception in the Turkish classification of religions. It seems to me that this exception is one indication of a nationalist attitude in RE textbooks. Furthermore, the existence of pre-Islamic Turkish beliefs in the unit 'Religions and Their Features' exhibits another contradiction with chosen criteria about which religion should be represented, since other religions which were given a place, apart from pre-Islamic Turkish beliefs, are contemporary world religions or beliefs. In this respect, the justification for giving a place to these beliefs is difficult, because these beliefs are not living beliefs in the modern world. The only possible justification for the privileged position of pre-Islamic beliefs seems to be glorification of the Turkish past in order to develop the spirit of nationalism.

Having noted this anomaly, I will look in more detail at the pre-Islamic Turkish beliefs reviewed in the textbooks. Firstly, I will examine what the textbooks mean by pre-Islamic Turkish beliefs. They do not give any comprehensive definition of them, but limit themselves to a discussion of some of their features. Pre-Islamic Turkish beliefs are not presented as a proper religion followed by the Turks in history. As is pointed out by Ayas & Tumer, Turks throughout history were influenced by or even converted to different religions. However, they preserved their special beliefs and religious traditions on every occasion (p.50). He also explains pre-Islamic Turkish beliefs under four sub-topics which are:

1. The history of pre-Islamic Turkish beliefs

2. Old Turkish religious faith

3. Religious ceremonies

4. Kam

During the narration of pre-Islamic Turkish beliefs the main purpose is to show that these beliefs exhibited similarities with Islamic beliefs, and for this reason Turks easily converted to Islam. Special emphasis has also been given to the fact that Turks did not accept Islam by force, but converted to Islam of their own free will. To support these ideas, some explanations were provided which appear inconsistent with other parts of the text. To put it more simply, a closer analysis reveals that, in the interests of finding similarities between pre-Islamic Turkish beliefs and Islam, much inconsistent knowledge and interpretation was inserted.

Ayas & Tumer state that Turks who lived in the pre-Islamic period believed in one God, life after death, hell and heaven, angel and Satan, and immortality of souls (p.50). According to Chinese sources, the Huns believed in a religion which consisted of faith in one God, who was a sky god, with cults of the sun, moon and respect for forefathers. The emperor of the Huns was a priest who, on going out from his place, paid his respect to the sun in the morning and the moon in the evening. He and his ministers sacrificed animals in the name of God and their fathers in the fifth month of every year (Ayas & Tumer: 50-51). In pre-Islamic Turkish history, faith in one sky god was generally shared by various Turkish groups. The concept of 'Tengri' was used by Turks to describe God and, after their conversion to Islam, this word was used to describe Allah. For Turks, the sky god was accepted as a national god who possessed the supreme power over creatures, and this god gave all victories to the Turks and protected them from all disasters. Therefore, they paid special attention to him. Besides the sky god, the Turks believed in other gods and evil and good spirits, and mountain, tree and forest that were accepted as sacred by them (Ayas & Tumer: 52-53). A religious priest was called a 'Kam' in pre-Islamic Turkish beliefs. It was believed that a 'kam' could only be appointed by Tengri, and this post was inherited from one generation to another. It was

never achieved by human effort. The mission of a Kam was to mediate between Tengri and human beings and govern religious ceremonies (Ayas & Tumer: 56).

Ayas & Tumer (p. 50) and Figlali (p. 122) in their textbooks argue that the similarity of pre-Islamic Turkish beliefs and Islam made it easy for Turks to convert to Islam. They gave particular emphasis to the similarity of pre-Islamic Turkish understanding of 'One Sky God' and Islamic understanding of 'Oneness of God'. It seems to me that, when we take into consideration the above explanation with regard to the pre-Islamic concept of 'God', it is almost impossible to find a genuine and scholarly positive relationship with the Islamic concept of God, since the concept of God in Islam accepts absolutely no god or gods apart from Allah. Acceptance of more than one God in any form, national god, and the recognition of sun, moon, or trees as sacred are certainly not acceptable and these kind of beliefs are heresy in terms of Islamic discourse. By the same token, there is no scholarly basis for the comparison of Islamic tradition with pre-Islamic Turkish beliefs although there may be some similarities between any two religions. Possibly, some other non-Islamic religious traditions are more suitable for the purpose of comparison. For example, Judaism may provide something closer to an understanding of a 'national god' in comparison with pre-Islamic Turkish beliefs. Moreover, there is an inconsistent expression about the same issue in Ayas & Tumer' textbook, because, although they tell us that Turks believed in one God at the beginning of the topic, they mention more than one god in other parts of the text. Contrary to this argument, Figlali suggests that the absence of the concept of prophet in the pre-Islamic Turkish beliefs made it easy for Turks to embrace Islam. This indicates another internal contradiction about the same issue in textbooks, since on the one hand, the presence of a concept in the pre-Islamic beliefs has a positive influence on the acceptance of Islam by the Turks, and on the other, the absence of a concept in these beliefs has the same effect.

With regard to the issue of women, Figlali in his textbook devoted a topic to "The Place of Women in Turkish Society". Under this title he explains the importance given to women in pre-Islamic Turkish history in the following terms: "The position of women

was extremely important in pre-Islamic Turkish society. As a mother she held a sacred position. Woman was the pillar of her house" (p.80). So, Turks have recognized the place granted to women in Islam without any difficulty (Figlali: 80). At that point, it is worth saying that there is no topic devoted to the 'place of women in Islam' except the aforementioned title that gives emphasis to 'Turkishness' rather than to Islam in **all** the secondary religious education textbooks.

No criticism is made of pre-Islamic Turkish beliefs in their presentation, and the narration of these beliefs is in quite sympathetic language. Turkish textbooks are implicitly and to some extent also explicitly critical in their presentation of Judaism as a 'national religion', and the existence of a religious class in Christianity. However, in spite of the presence of similar concepts and even extreme forms of them in pre-Islamic Turkish beliefs, no criticism has been made of them.

7.3.1.2. The Turks in Islamic History

According to Turkish textbooks, Turks established their first contact with Muslims in the period of the Umayyad Dynasty. However, due to the unfriendly attitude of the Umayyads towards non-Arabs, Turks had not embraced the religion of Islam at that time. After the Umayyad state the Abbasid state came to power. This Islamic state changed its attitude towards non-Arabs, and it adopted a more friendly policy towards them, because this state was founded with the assistance of non-Arabs, including the Turkish commander Ebu Muslim. In addition, in the Talas War that occurred between the Abbasid state and China in 751 Turks supported the Muslim army against China. After this war more Turks were accommodated in state and army administration in the Abbasid state. But, for Kennedy (1984) the battle at Talas beyond the Jaxartes (Sry Derya) has symbolic importance, marking the end of Arab-Muslim expansion in the north-east of the Iranian world (p.122). At the same time the war of Talas was assumed as a watershed in Turkish history, because huge numbers of Turks began to convert to Islam after this war. The first Turkish state which accepted Islam was the Karahanli state in the tenth century. According to Turkish textbooks, Turks did not convert to Islam

under the force of any state or empire. On the contrary, they embraced Islam of their own free will, since they found the Islamic religion and civilization very attractive and Islam had similar beliefs and ethics to pre-Islamic Turkish beliefs. The most important era of Turkish history began after conversion to Islam, and non-Muslim Turks mostly lost their ethnic Turkish identity.

Textbooks argue that Turks became the pioneers of Islam in the eleventh century, and they contributed to Islamic civilization in different ways. These can generally be divided into three main groups: the Turkish contribution to the expansion of Islam, the Turkish protection of Islam against non-Muslims and Turkish contributions to science and knowledge.

Under the first category, the conquest of Anatolia and Istanbul were explained, and in the second category the Crusades and the Turkish War of Independence were mentioned. The last category is devoted to great Turkish-Muslim scholars and their contribution to religious and secular knowledge. Throughout the treatment of these issues almost no mention was made of other Muslim nations' contribution and place in Islamic civilization and history. Illustrations were given from the early formative period of Islam and Muslim-Turkish history. For instance, while explaining the place of medreses in Islamic history, all knowledge and examples were gathered from the time of Prophet Muhammed and Turkish history, ignoring famous Islamic medreses such as El-Ezhar (Aydin: 58-59). As far as possible famous Muslim scholars such as Bukhari, Ebu Hanife, whose ethnic origins are controversial, were included in the list of Muslim-Turkish scholars, with the explanation that, due to their upbringing in a non-Turkish culture and Arabic and Persian being more common languages they did not write in the Turkish language (Aydin and Tunc). The outlook of the two textbooks' authors on this issue exactly matches with Gokalp's discourse (Heyd 1950: 113). Particular attention was also paid to the fact that Turks have not only helped the emergence of Islamic civilization in its military and administrative aspects, but they have also contributed to Islamic civilization from the point of view of religious and secular knowledge/science. With regard to this conviction, Aydin argues that "According to the Bursali scholar

Mehmet Tahir it was proved that at least one-third of famous Muslim scholars who contributed to the development of Islamic civilization were Turks" (Aydin: 55).

7.3.2. The Place and Importance of Ataturk in Textbooks

Ataturk, Mustafa Kemal, is the founder of modern Turkey, and his thoughts are called 'Kemalism' which is an official and powerful uniting state ideology in Turkey. Although he was a great soldier and statesman, he was not a philosopher or founder of social and educational theory (Tezcan 1992:26). He is also a nationalist hero and a statesman who brought nationalism as a uniting force to the newly established Turkish Republic instead of the old Islamic 'umma' structure. The influence of Ataturk on every aspect of social and political life can be observed throughout the republican history. Of course, religious education in schools does not indicate any exceptional position on this issue. Within other school curriculum topics such as maths, science, and history, one of the significant goals of religious education is to promote Kemalist ideology in accordance with the present National Curriculum[4]. To realize this target, some place has been granted for Ataturk in religious education textbooks. Ataturk and his ideas are mainly presented in two ways in the textbooks. The first is to make reference to Ataturk's thoughts on a variety of issues, and the second is to provide an independent topic about him. Before examining the presentation of Ataturk in textbooks, it may be helpful to look at the opening pages of textbooks to understand the impact of Ataturk on religious education in Turkey.

The religious education textbooks used since 1982 carry a picture of Ataturk on the front cover and the opening pages show quotations from Ataturk and the words of the Republic's Independence March on the Turkish flag. It should be noted that this is not peculiar to religious education textbooks, but it is common to all other curriculum subjects' textbooks. Moreover, it is a fact that, as a sign of the depth and strength of Ataturk's commitment, every school building in Turkey has a little shrine built around a figure of him. The walls of classrooms and assembly halls are all decorated with Ataturk's picture and selected sayings.

The first way of presenting Ataturk in textbooks concerns making reference to his thoughts and quotations with regard to different topics which mostly consist of ethical dimensions of Islam, some nationalist subjects, and secularism etc. We can also argue that he is one of the main important sources for Turkish religious education textbooks in terms of proportion of quotations. Anyone who takes a casual look at the Turkish textbooks can observe this fact in all textbooks from the first year of lower secondary to the last year of upper secondary.

In this category, the most common method of presenting Ataturk's ideas is to refer to him on various issues. Illustrations from different textbooks about this type of presentation of Ataturk will help to understand his authority and place in Turkish religious education.

Sener & Karmis's textbook under the title 'Love of Family', after making some references to the Qur'an and sayings of Mohammed about this issue, notes Ataturk`s ideas: "The right of the mother has been accepted as significant by Turks. I appreciate this understanding being shown towards the mother. Children should embrace their mother with respect and love". (p.75). The same author on another topic is concerned with "Love of Trees and Forest". Firstly he explores the importance of the environment and forest and their protection by people in Islam, then he extends his narration by giving examples from Ataturk. He points out that Ataturk established the Ataturk` Forest Farm in Ankara in the early years of the Republic, and he emphasized the significance of forest and trees in the following terms: "the soil without forest is not motherland" (Sener & Karmis: 81).

As far as this method of presentation is concerned, Aydin under the title 'Islam is to Protect Freedom of Thought and Conscience' referred to Ataturk, and he includes two quotations from him about freedom of thought and conscience and the tolerance of the Turkish nation. Ataturk says:

> Every individual has a right and freedom to think, to believe whatever he or she wants, and to hold political ideas. Individuals may or may not also perform the requirements of a religion. Nobody can control a human being's thought and

conscience. Freedom of conscience is absolute and any interference with it cannot be acceptable (p.34).

With regard to the tolerance of the Turkish nation, Ataturk expresses his concern: "No nation can respect other nations` beliefs and traditions like our nation. In other words, we can say that our nation is the only nation to respect other nations' religion and ethnic identity" (Aydin: 36).

According to a textbook written by Figlali, in the unit on 'National Education' it is mostly Ataturk`s understanding of the importance of national education that has been offered with some examples. The author points out that the aim and meaning of the present Turkish national education depends on Ataturk`s thoughts and understanding (p.109). The same author under the topic "National History" explores Turkish history in line with Kemalist understanding and he praises the efforts of Ataturk to establish and develop the national Turkish history (p.137). For Figlali, to do so Ataturk set up the 'Institute of Turkish History' and he put forward the thesis of Turkish history, and the main points of this thesis can be explained as follows:

1. The centre and birth place of human civilization is central Asia.

2. The first civilization was founded by Turks, and therefore Turkish history is the richest history in the world. Our history has a long past (p.137).

A similar approach can easily be observed in different parts of textbooks, and it is possible to extend the number of examples concerning this approach. However, it is thought that the above illustrations are enough to clarify the picture.

The second way that has been adopted to portray the impact of Ataturk in religious education textbooks is to provide a topic which mentions his name. The total number of such topics in the selected textbooks is 23, and the volume of topics assigned to Ataturk demonstrate the importance accorded to his opinion as a national leader. It should be noted that the total number of topics on him includes some repetitions, since some units have been repeated in different textbooks written for various grades. It is worth mentioning some such topics to clarify the picture given of Ataturk in textbooks. The selected topics concerning him can be illustrated as follows:

'Ataturk and the religion of Islam', 'The concept of national character and Ataturk', 'Ataturk's thoughts about ethics', 'Secularism in the understanding of Ataturk', 'Honesty of Ataturk and his purity', 'Ataturk's ideas about spiritual values', 'The honour given to Mustafa Kemal Ataturk by the title of ghazi (Muslim veteran of war)' and so forth.

Moreover, two randomly chosen topics concerning Ataturk in textbooks will be summarized to make the presentation of Ataturk more comprehensive. The first selected title is "Different Aspects of Ataturk" from a lower secondary third year textbook. This topic mainly concerns Ataturk's personal features, humanity and ability as a statesman. He is presented as a role model to be emulated in a variety of ways. The following quotations are characteristic of the general approach:

> Ataturk is a symbol of virtue and representative of a distinguished human being. In his contribution to humanity he became a personal example in our age (Figlali: 100).
>
> To be successful is an extremely important target for Ataturk whose whole life was one of struggle (Figlali: 100).
>
> Ataturk is also a symbol of intellectual mentality and contemporary thought (Figlali: 101).
>
> Ataturk gave to us a love of philosophy that could not be realized by any leader because he established a balance and harmony between nationalist and internationalist ideals (Figlali: 101).

The second chosen topic is the "Love of Humanity and Nation According to Ataturk" and it is inserted as a sub-title which covers about three pages under the unit 'The Importance of Solidarity in Islam'. This topic with its many references to Ataturk predominantly deals with love of nation, and the importance and necessity of service to the nation. It then addresses issues about 'What Turkish youth should be like and which philosophy should be used to educate Turkish youth', making reference to Ataturk (Tunc: 79-81). A couple of quotations serve to illustrate this topic:

Ataturk addressed teachers; "Self-sacrificing teachers of the Republic! You will bring up a new generation, and this generation will be a product of yours" (Tunc: 80).

Advice about the importance of working was delivered by Ataturk; "Working develops the human body and helps to buy necessary things. Without working/studying intellectual development and moral maturity is not possible. Laziness is the mother of all wickedness" (Tunc: 81).

Considering that Ataturk is not a famous religious scholar or leader, the extreme importance and place given to him in religious education textbooks might seem unusual to a western religious education point of view. Perhaps, in terms of Islamic education and western religious education, it may be quite difficult to justify this approach when we take into account the sphere of religious education. However, when we take into consideration the understanding of Turkish nationalism and the place of Ataturk in this nationalism, the attitude presented about him can be understood more accurately.

Today, Ataturkism is a dominant political force, and Ataturk is viewed in Turkey as the source of values which should guide Turkey through all time because he is the eternal national leader (Tapper 1991: 77). Kemalism has played a more important role since 1980, because the 1980 military administration clearly stressed the importance of Ataturk for Turkey, and it advocated an extremely Kemalist policy in every aspect of political and social life, including education. Ataturkism was recognized by the military government as a powerful unifying force against pre-1980 disorder, conflicts, extreme ideologies and so forth. To prevent a return to the undesirable pre-1980 conditions, the main priority was to bring up a new generation in line with Ataturk`s policies, and necessary measures were implemented. In this context, in order to realize this target education was seen as a significant vehicle by those in power. Every school curriculum changed in accordance with the new policy. As a part of this policy, some topics about Ataturk were included in the national religious education curriculum in Turkey. According to the new national religious education curriculum, which was prepared in the time of the military government and has not changed substantially up to the present day, one of the goals of RE is to promote Ataturkism. Furthermore, the same curriculum requires that the principles of Ataturk be taken into consideration in the study of every curriculum subject. As can be understood from the previous debate with regard to

compulsory religious education [5] in schools, one of the important functions of religious education is also to support Kemalism from a religious point of view, and to help the creation of the image of a religious Ataturk, because it was supposed that a religious-Kemalist generation can protect the principles of Ataturk (Bolay & Turkone 1995: 109). For instance, the president of Turkey at that time, General Kenan Evren, emphasized the importance of not introducing Ataturk as anti-religious, when he addressed a speech to students of the Faculty of Theology in Konya in 1981:

> Someone can introduce Ataturk to you wrongly. You need to investigate him very carefully. Ataturk was not an enemy of religion. He was characterized by respect for religion. However, he was presented as being to be against religion. Ataturk undertook his revolutions to rescue religion from the hand of bigoted people. He did not object to intellectual religious clergy. You should properly understand and teach Ataturk. Do not deliver anti-Ataturk propaganda to people (Gurtas 1981: 23).

From some religious groups' point of view, it was intended to prevent the claim that 'Ataturk was against religion' and to justify the place given to compulsory religious education in the secular state schools' curriculum with the image of a religious Ataturk. One of the best illustrations of this understanding can be observed in a book entitled 'Ataturk and Religious Education' written by Gurtas who was the former vice president of the Presidency of Religious Affairs. Gurtas (1981) mainly argues that Ataturk did not oppose religion and religious education, and to use Ataturk to promote anti-religious propaganda is not being entirely true to the facts. In other words, both the secular state and various religious circles have been expected to obtain mutual benefits from this type of presentation of Ataturk in religious education.

7.3.3. Respect for Nationalist Symbols

The Turkish Flag, Independence March, Military and Military Flag were mainly assessed by Turkish religious education textbooks as nationally important symbols to be respected. Under the title 'Respect for Values in Whose Name We Struggle', Figlali examines 'Respect for the Flag and Independence March' and 'The Military and

Military Flag'. He firstly seeks to define the flag and emphasises its representative function for Turkey. For him, the flag is a symbol of the existence and independence of a nation. The Turkish flag with its crescent and star takes its colour (red) from the blood of our martyrs and it indicates the memories of our forefathers and national struggle against foreign invaders. Therefore, our nation loves and protects the Turkish flag like the motherland (Figlali: 101). In addition, Sener & Karmis include in their textbook a reminder from Ataturk about the significance of the flag (p. 76). Figlali also explains the place of the Turkish national anthem which is called 'Independence March'. The Independence March is not an ordinary poem and it symbolizes the existence and independence of our nation. It expresses the concerns of faith of the great Turkish nation, its legendary bravery and glorious history of Turkish national independence. Therefore, to respect our Independence March and understand its meaning are our sacred duty. The Turkish Flag and Independence March are very important uniting national symbols (p.102).

Secondly, the issue of respect for the military and military flag (sancak) have been discussed by Figlali's textbook, according to which, the Turkish Army consists of individuals of the Turkish nation and embraces nation and state. Therefore, the military is the greatest national power. The textbook implicitly criticizes a military that is made up of paid soldiers and praises the Turkish Army in the following words; "The Turkish Military consists of boys of our nation, not paid soldiers. It is the only guarantor against every type of danger" (p.102). Due to its representing the dignity of the Turkish Military, the military flag is an extremely important symbol like the Turkish flag, and its protection is one of the significant duties for our military. Figlali concludes this issue:

> Without any doubt to show necessary respect to the military flag and its holder, the Turkish Military, is an extremely important duty. At the same time, to do so is a criteria for love of nation and motherland (p. 102).

In the context of the topic devoted to its being a sacred duty to join the army, illustrations are provided by three textbooks with supportive references from Islamic sources. For the textbooks, being a soldier is a sacred duty which should be performed

in time of peace and war from an Islamic point of view. To undertake military service as a soldier is also a sacred duty for every Turkish youth, and the Turkish nation is described as a 'soldier nation'. To support being a soldier from a religious angle, some quotations from sayings of Prophet Muhammad have been included. A few traditions of Prophet Muhammad supportive of being a soldier are mentioned in the textbooks:

> The reward for one hour of duty as a soldier is greater than that of keeping fast in the day time and performing worship at night (Figlali: 104).

> Military marches carried out in the morning and evening are good deeds from a religious aspect (Ayas & Tumer: 125).

> Two kinds of eyes will not be affected by the fire of hell. The first is an eye which cries for the sake of God and the second is an eye that waits a turn (as a soldier) in the way of God (Bolay: 60).

Figlali in his textbook provides a topic about martyrs and veterans to encourage fighting in the name of the nation. A martyr (Sehid) is described as a person who dies during fighting for the sake of a sacred ideal, the nation and in the way of God. If a person returns alive from war, he is called a veteran (ghazi). As far as the textbook is concerned, the concepts of martyr and veteran are two sublime values in terms of the noble Turkish nation. Two references from the Qur'an have been included to support the concept of martyrdom from a religious angle. One Qur'anic verse is:

> Do not say that those slain in the cause of God are dead. They are alive, but you are not aware of them (2:154).

Moreover, in textbooks some civic duties such as giving tax, and obeying the law of the secular national-state have generally been advocated by religious (Islamic) sources. For example, obeying the law and government of the country is portrayed as a religious responsibility, and the following Qur'anic verse was quoted by different textbooks: "Believers, obey God and obey the Apostle and those in authority among you..." (4:59). And Ayas & Tumer illustrate this by reference to paying tax as a sacred duty and explain its importance in the religious context: "Paying tax is a significant issue

in Islam. In terms of our religion obeying the state and making the state economically rich is necessary. Thus, paying tax is a sacred duty of citizenship" (p.123).

The illustration of the flag and national anthem as national symbols is understandable in terms of nationalism, because they are common nationalist symbols in the world. However, the usage of religion to promote national civic duties may be a naive and questionable approach in terms of the theoretical Turkish understanding of secular principles. The promotion of nationalism and inclusion of nationalist subjects in religious education have also been criticized by some German educationalists. According to the Turkish-German cultural agreement, as a part of the "Turkish Language Course' Islamic religious education for Turkish pupils at primary school level was accepted by the German government in 1982. In response to the demand of the German government, a religious education curriculum with similar features to the present RE curriculum was prepared by the Turkish government for Turkish pupils to follow this newly accepted course in Germany. But some German provinces excluded nationalist topics such as 'Turkishness', 'Our Motherland' (*Watan*) from the proposed Turkish government curriculum for religious education due to inconsistency with the content of religious education (Asikoglu 1993: 54). A German educationalist, Dr. Kappert, suggests that nationalist topics inserted by the Turkish government should not be included in the religious education curriculum, and these issues may be assessed by the other lessons (ibid.: 73).

7.4. Summary and Conclusion

The emergence of Turkish nationalism and its development in the Republican Era have been outlined in order to provide a background for the chapter. Particular attention has been given to the Turkish-Islamic Synthesis (TIS) which was the new fashion for the interpretation of Turkish nationalism in the 1980s. The TIS has been examined in the context of its relation to the introduction of compulsory religious education and its impact on the religious education curriculum. Three aspects of nationalist tendencies

demonstrated by selected Turkish religious education textbooks have then been investigated in terms of the Turkish understanding of nationalism.

This examination indicates that pre-Islamic Turkish beliefs are treated uncritically and these beliefs are even presented in sympathetic language. Islamic history and civilization are generally examined in accordance with Turkish nationalism. No attempt has been made to exhibit other Muslim nations' contribution to Islamic history and civilization. Ataturk, founder of modern Turkey and nationalist leader, has been recognized as an authority in religious education. His ideas have been given extreme importance in various religious education topics and his personality portrayed as an example to follow. The image of a religious Ataturk has also been presented as much as possible. The importance of paying attention to some nationalist symbols such as the flag and national anthem was emphasized, and religious sentiments such as that of the martyr have been used to promote nationalist sentiments in religious education textbooks. In the light of these results, it can be argued that Turkish nationalism was advocated in such a way that religion (Islam) and nationalism were merged in religious education. However, at the same time, Islam was generally treated as a part of Turkish culture and nationalism rather than a universal religion. In other words, the first priority was given to Turkish nationalism, and Islam was accorded a secondary place. Actually, this kind of tendency is generally consistent with the goal of Turkish education and particularly the religious education curriculum, as the first aim of Turkish education is to bring up citizens in a spirit true to Turkish nationalism and Ataturk's reforms and principles according to the updated 1986 Basic Law of National Education as well as to the religious education curriculum that expresses the same aims in different terms. Moreover, it is suggested that the Turkish nationalism presented by religious education textbooks indicates a similar tendency to that of the ideology of Turkish-Islamic synthesis advocated by the 1980 Military Administration, and aiming at merging Turkish nationalism with Islam. It should be noted that the nationalist dimension of the synthesis is secular nationalism which only allows a relaxed attitude to religion rather than Islamic or any other type of nationalism. It seems that religious education textbooks have attempted to create a

Turkish nationalism versus a Muslim identity, because it is thought that this approach may help to prevent religious fundamentalism. These results are also important evidence that Turkish Islam is tied to Turkish nationalism in a unique fashion, the product of Turkish history and identity. It also shows that Turkish religious education textbooks are not only adopting a confessional approach to teaching of Islam but are also confessional in their promotion of Turkish nationalism.

CONCLUSION

This final chapter begins with a presentation of the findings and contributions of this research, then turns to the limitations of the research. The chapter concludes with a suggestion for future study.

Conclusion

The following key findings emerge from this exploratory comparative religious education study concerning the teaching of Islam in Turkey and England in terms of selected textbooks' presentation.

One of the important arguments of comparative education is that the historical development of education has a great influence on the present education system, so the contemporary education system in a given country should be evaluated and understood in the context of its historical development and cultural climate. This argument seems to be accurate for comparative religious education studies, and the findings of this research support this conviction, because, in the shaping of the present teaching of religion in schools and preparation of textbooks for Islam, the agenda of the past has played a considerable role in Turkey and England. However, this comparative study reveals that substantial differences in the direction of the impact of historical developments on the present agenda of religious education have been noted.

When we look at Turkey, consistent with controversy about the public role of religion in Turkish society, the place of religious education in the school curriculum is frequently questioned, and this led to a debate among different groups in society, lasting some decades in the history of the Republic. Therefore, the agenda of religious education discussions generally centred on whether it should be taught in schools or not, and whether it should be optional or compulsory. Arguments against and in favour of the introduction of religious education for state schools focused on certain issues such as Turkish understanding of secularism, Kemalism and the importance of Islam for national integrity, and, as was clearly demostrated by the subsequent analysis, these points were

taken into consideration by selected Turkish textbooks. As a result positive improvements occured during the multi-party period in terms of the provision of religious education, and religious education became compulsory at all levels in primary and secondary schools in the early 1980s. By contrast, little attempt to improve the content and quality of religious education in schools has been made, and this has created an opportunity to maintain the implementation of an ineffective traditional method of teaching Islam with little change in Turkey. In addition, religious education has mostly failed to consider the requirements of Turkish pupils in terms of their age and personal needs. To be sure, these features of religious education were reflected by the textbooks examined.

Turning to England, the historical experience of religious education also made a great impact on the contemporary agenda of religious education, but its direction is quite different from the Turkish experience. In spite of a growing number of agnostics and atheists and continuing influence of secularization in society, the existence of religious education in state school was not questioned, and nor was it harshly criticised. At this point, it is believed that the absence of a confrontational relationship between the Church and the State in England has played a crucial role. The compromise between these two institutions appeared to be an essential feature of English policy. Much attention had been given to improvements in the quality of religious education and to complying with the changing circumstances of society from this subject's point of view. First of all, the adequacy of religious education in schools was criticised on the basis of the changing religious climate of England and new developments in education in the 1960s. In response to these challenges, some research was undertaken to make religious education an acceptable subject in terms of the pupil's age and psychological developments. Consistent with the emergence of a multi-faith society, scholarly studies were made to change the content and method of teaching religion in schools. In this context, Schools Working Paper: 36 marks a watershed. Its main suggestions were that religious education should include major world religions in their contemporary forms, with a non-confessional approach for the teaching of religions, and this approach was

known as the phenomenological method. In the following years, a large number of Agreed Syllabuses were prepared, which followed the recommendations of this paper. Analysis of selected English textbooks for Islam also revealed the dominant influence of the phenomenological approach in the textbooks. Taking into account criticism of this approach and continuing shifts in society, the process of inventing new approaches in religious education such as experiential and interpretive has been maintained in England. In short, we can observe the impact of the empirical English philosophical tradition even on religious education, which is controversial, and appeared to be a curriculum subject more resistant to change, since religious education in England paid more attention to complying with the changing experience of society rather than developing an ideological orientation.

On the basis of Turkish and English examples, teaching of religion has been examined in terms of confessional and non-confessional paradigms. It is evident from the analysis of selected textbooks that a confessional or non-confessional approach in religious education made different impacts on the teaching of Islam. The main results of this can be explored as follows:

Firstly, mostly owing to a non-confessional presentation of Islam, historical Western prejudices and distortions, particularly with regard to the doctrinal dimension of Islam, largely disappeared. An attempt was made to present Islam as far as possible in its own terms in selected English textbooks. Consequently, pupils had more opportunities to hear the original voice of Islam, and religious education in state schools was able to become a more acceptable curriculum topic for the Muslim community in England. Certainly, this contributes to the promotion of a multi-faith approach in religious education. However, as explained by Chapter 6, the creation of new prejudices and distortions about the portrayal of Islam could not be precluded in selected English textbooks. Particularly some issues such as the place of women in Islam and use of force in Islam were presented in an inadequate and inaccurate manner by the textbooks in line with the media image of Islam. Perhaps these inadequate presentations of Islam stem from unnecessary emphasis on certain issues, casual generalisation without scrutiny, and

following negative media presentation of Islam. Less significantly, some inaccurate information on Islam has also been noted in selected English textbooks. Undoubtedly, it is not right to argue that this limited negative presentation of Islam in textbooks is a consequence of a non-confessional approach. Rather, it may stem from the inadequate implementation of the philosophy of a non-confessional approach in the preparation of textbooks for Islam. To be sure, the aforementioned points need to be taken into consideration in writing further textbooks.

Secondly, as a result of the adaptation of a confessional approach in religious education Islam is presented as a possible and desirable way of life in Turkey. A certain degree of indoctrination and promotion of Islam, and more sympathetic method of expression with reference to Islam were observed. Non-Islamic religions are generally externalised as a religion. A certain amount of knowledge about other religions is given, but very little understanding. With respect to this, the investigation of the presentation of Christianity in terms of selected Turkish textbooks (Chapter 5) indicated that Christianity was presented according to the Islamic understanding of religion, and its key concepts such as prophethood and scripture, rather than treating Christianity on its own terms. In this context, the dominant influence of the Qur'an and the traditional Islamic viewpoint about ahl al-kitab (possessor of the holy texts) is obvious. There are also important distortions and abbreviations in relation to key aspects and content matter of Christianity. Moreover, no attention has been paid to presenting the contemporary form of Christianity. Such questions as to what it means to be a Christian in our time, how Christians' faith influences their family, social life and so on as well as the relevance of Christianity to pupils, were almost entirely neglected. Instead of doing that, almost all endeavours were devoted to explaining the medieval period of Roman Catholic Christianity.

An attempt was made to show sources that have been influential on Turkish religious education. The traditional ilmihal approach and the ideology of the Turkish-Islamic Synthesis (TIS) have been found to be main factors in terms of selected Turkish textbooks' presentation (Chapters 3 and 7). We suggested that due to lack of

educational ground and limited adaptability to complying with the changing conditions of Turkish society from a religious education point of view, there was the necessity of a new shift. With respect to England, in a sense, the degree of realisation of some theoretical arguments in religious education has been tested in the portrayal of Islam in textbooks.

As far as secularization trends in religious education are concerned, this study indicated clearly that there was some impact of secularization on a limited context (teaching of Islam) in selected textbooks in Turkey and England (Chapter 4). However, secularization operated in different ways in the two countries. According to the first domain which deals with the content of Islam, the influence of secularism has been strongly noted in Turkish textbooks, and this attitude has played a considerable role in the shaping of Islam in religious education. As far as possible writers of textbooks tried to present Islam as an individualistic religion devoid of a social dimension, since it is supposed that teaching of social aspects of Islam exhibits a contradiction with the secular understanding of the Turkish state. At this point, in order to understand this selective attitude it is necessary to comprehend the religio-cultural setting of Turkey. It is supposed that providing a space for social aspects of Islam in textbooks may stimulate remembrance of discarded religiously-dominated memories such as those of the Shari'ah and the Caliphate of the Turkish past. In English textbooks, the reflection of a secular tendency has been observed in terms of the second domain which concerns the method of presentation of Islam. Beside other world religions efforts were made to treat Islam impartially as far as possible.

An attempt has been made to articulate a model which aims to define and explain the present teaching of Islam in Turkish schools, and it was named 'the ilmihal-centred approach'. The main features of the ilmihal-centred approach have been elaborated in terms of their relevance to present Turkish religious education in schools with a brief comparison between this approach and extant English religious education approaches. This can be considered as a major contribution of this research to studies of curriculum development in Turkish religious education in two ways. First of all, an indigenous

concept is employed to describe Turkish religious education, and secondly some historical roots of teaching of Islam in contemporary religious education have been displayed. It is believed that further research needs to develop the concept of the ilmihal-centred approach, and the inadequacy of this approach in religious education should be investigated in an academic manner. In order to make the subject more effective and educationally acceptable, new alternative suggestions should be produced, applicable to the Turkish context.

In contrast to the English and Western European religious education examples Turkish religious education included a national context in its curriculum and textbooks. Chapter 7 examined three aspects of nationalist tendencies demonstrated by selected Turkish religious education textbooks in the context of Turkish nationalism. This examination provides twofold contributions. Firstly, within the Turkish experience the implementation of explicit nationalist content in the sphere of religious education, which is not common in western religious education, has been exhibited. Secondly, it helps to understand properly the picture of Turkish religious education, since nationalist content is an important part of Turkish religious education. The results of investigation of nationalist tendencies in religious education can be explained as follows:

Pre-Islamic Turkish beliefs are treated uncritically and these beliefs are even presented in sympathetic language in contrast to the method of presentation of other non-Islamic religions. Islamic history and civilization are generally examined in accordance with Turkish nationalism. No attempt has been made to include other Muslim nations' contribution to Islamic history and civilization. Ataturk, founder of modern Turkey and nationalistic leader, has been recognised as an authority in religious education. His ideas received huge importance in various religious education topics, and the image of a religious Ataturk has been presented as much as possible. The importance of paying attention to some nationalist symbols such as the flag and national anthem was emphasized, and religious sentiments such as that of the martyr have been used to promote nationalist sentiments in religious education textbooks. It seems that religious education textbooks have attempted to create a Turkish nationalism versus a Muslim

identity, and Islam was generally treated as a part of Turkish culture and nationalism rather than a universal religion. It should be noted that this kind of attitude is generally compatible with the goal of Turkish education, as the first aim of Turkish education is to bring up citizens in a true spirit of Turkish nationalism and Ataturk's reforms and principles. Moreover, Turkish religious education textbooks are not only adopting a confessional approach to teaching Islam but are also confessional in their promotion of Turkish nationalism.

The method of recent content analysis for textbooks exhibits a tendency which mainly aims to analyse the accuracy or importance of a certain category such as events, themes, distortions in terms of textbooks' presentation. In spite of taking into consideration the above aspect, this method has been implemented to a certain extent in a different manner. Major stress has been placed on textbooks as a tool to understand current educational, cultural and religious values in a given country. Moreover, in order to make textbook analysis more meaningful, a quasi-theoretical base for every chapter has been given. Therefore, from a methodological perspective, these implementations may be considered as a modest contribution generally for the studies of textbooks' content analysis and particularly for religious education textbooks' content analysis.

Limitation of the Study

This research provides results whose accuracy is limited to the particular context in which they are set, therefore, the following limitations should be taken into account while evaluating the findings of this study. Firstly, this thesis sought to use relevant extant Turkish and English literature and selected textbooks from both Turkey and England. Although textbooks are an important component of education, educational enterprise is not limited to them. A plethora of other powerful factors exists, such as the teacher, educational environment, and child perception. Secondly, in this study only the understanding of religious education in state schools was taken into consideration in England, and the church schools and religious worship were excluded. Thirdly, textbook selection for this study was limited to the secondary school only, in the two countries.

Suggestions for Future Study

In this research, textbooks have been examined mainly to understand the teaching of Islam and the philosophy behind them in Turkey and England. But this does not provide the whole picture concerning the teaching of Islam in the two countries. An empirical investigation is necessary to comprehend fully what is going on in religious education in schools. Moreover, the topic of this study is a relatively unexplored area of research in comparative religious education. Therefore, in a global world in which education is an element in the process of globalization, teaching of Islam or other world religions in schools may be compared among other countries. For instance, to recognise teaching of Islam in a different context a comparison can be made between England and Germany which are both developed countries where Islam is a minority religion. In recent years, growing efforts to establish a dialogue among world religions have been observed in the world. In order to achieve more success in interreligious dialogue, at least as a variable, teaching of religions (particularly minority religions) should be considered in the studies of dialogue, because particularly in the emergence of positive and negative images for minority religions religious education plays an important role. Vice versa, research on religious education should also consider the purpose of interreligious dialogue.

NOTES

1.THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN TURKEY

1 See for further information about the impact of the French secularist model on the Turkish experience of secularism, Kadioglu, A. (1998) 'Republican Epistemology and Islamic Discourse in Turkey in the 1990s' in *Muslim World*, vol. LXXXVIII, no.1, p. 8-9.

2. A large group of schools in the Ottoman Empire were supported and operated by Westerners. Although some foreign Catholic Schools, in particular French, had existed for many years in the empire, the rapid growth of mission schools came in the nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries. These were the years of the great flowering of Protestant overseas missions, of Catholic reaction in kind, and of the new imperialism which led governments and peoples of several European powers to support in the Near East schools purveying their own brand of culture. By the eve of the First World War an unofficial count put French Catholic schools in the Ottoman Empire (in all the Ottoman territories, not only in the Turkish populated area such as Anatolia) at 500, British at 178, American 675. The French schools enrolled 59,414 students, the British 12,800, and the American schools 34,317 (Davidson 1961). Some of the above figures are very similar to Polat's figures that depend on archive sources. There were also Italian, German, Austrio-Hungarian and Russian schools in lesser numbers. The majority of these schools were elementary, but there were among them some excellent secondary schools and a few at collegiate level, such as Robert College which was the outstanding American institution in Turkey. It was founded in Istanbul in 1893 by Cyrus Hamlin, a former American Board missionary, through the generosity of a wealthy New York merchant, Christopher R. Robert. Most schools were in fact run by native Christians, with foreign support and supervision. Moreover, many of the foreign schools (particularly the British schools) were located in the Arab portions of the Empire, where few Turks lived. Very limited numbers of Turkish pupils attended the foreign schools, and the major student source of these schools was the non-Turk. For detailed

knowledge about foreign schools in the Ottoman Empire see the following significant study, Polat, I (1990) Osmanli Imparatorlugunda Yabanci Okullar (Foreign Schools in the Ottoman Empire), published Ph.D. thesis, Ankara. This study depended on Turkish, British and American archives On American schools in Anatolia see Stone, F.A. (1984) Academies For Anatolia, A Study of Rationale, Program and Impact of the Educational Institutions Sponsored by the American Board in Turkey: 1830-1980, New York & London.

3. For further information see, Ocal, M. (1994) Imam-Hatip Liseleri ve Ilkogretim Okullari, Istanbul: Ensar Nesriyat, and Tarhan, M. (1996) Religious Education in Turkey: A Socio-Historical Study of the Imam-Hatip Schools, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Temple University.

4. Compared with England, the meaning of compulsory religious education in Turkey is somewhat different. In the Turkish case, compulsory religious education makes it obligatory for all pupils to attend religious education courses without any right of exemption on the basis of pupils' family request. It is only possible to be withdrawn from religious education, if a student is a follower of a non-Islamic religion.

5. For detailed information about the Turkish-Islamic Synthesis and its influence on the content of religious education, see the chapter on 'Nationalism in Turkish Religious Education'

2.THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

1. Until the Commonwealth Immigrants Act 1962 entry into Britain by citizens of British colonies and members of the Commonwealth, including Pakistan, was unrestricted. But the threat of immigration controls just before the 1962 Immigrants Act was passed brought a sharp increase in the rate of immigration. For instance, 50.000 Pakistani people entered Britain in the 18 months before the introduction of controls on 1 July 1962. Compared with the previous immigration number of 17000 who entered Britain between 1955 and 1960, this figure indicated the huge demand for immigration.

Until 1962 the main feature of immigration was the 'chain immigration' that can be briefly described as follows:

> Relatives contribute cash for the migration of one man, who finds work in Britain; from his savings he 'sponsors' the migration of another kinsman. Subsequent savings on the part of these two enable further kinsmen to migrate, and thus the 'chain' develops (Shaw 1988: 22).

With the introduction of the 1962 Immigrants Act slightly different kinds of migrant were included in the migration such as those in white-collar occupations and some college students. Meanwhile, the former type of migration from particular areas did not fundamentally change.

After 1962, three categories of voucher system for work in Britain were implemented. The government issued a limited number of vouchers per year. The first two groups of voucher were available for professional people. The third category voucher was for people with no particular qualification. Among the last group, priority was given to men who had served in the armed forces during the Second World War. The immigration from particular areas also continued (Shaw 1988: 25-26, Neilsen 1992: 40).

2. The settlement of immigrants has been geographically very irregular. The population of immigrants had been mainly accommodated in the large cities and towns. Nearly half of Muslims in Britain live in and around London. The West Midlands, Yorkshire, and the region around Manchester are areas heavily populated by Muslims where two-thirds of the rest live. In the West Midlands, three quarters of the Pakistani and Bangladeshi community live in Birmingham, comprising 8 percent of the city's total population. In Yorkshire almost half of the Pakistani and Bangladeshi community live in the city of Bradford. In addition, the ethnic distribution of Muslims in Britain is also uneven. Turkish Cypriots are accommodated almost exclusively in the inner city areas of east London, where more than half of the Bangladeshis are also concentrated. The majority of the Arabs and Iranians, with the exception of Yemenis, live in London as well (Nielsen 1992: 42-43).

3. Smart has been responsible before anyone else for the transformation of the study of religion in English universities and schools which has taken place since the late 1960s. He was born in 1927 and he went to school in Glasgow. During his service in the Intelligence Corps (1945-1948) he studied Chinese and was posted to Sri Lanka where he gained first hand experience of Buddhism. After graduating from Oxford in 1951, he took a BPhil in philosophy. His career took him to academic posts in philosophy in the University of Wales and the history and philosophy of religions at King's College, London but he also taught at Yale and in India. Then he was appointed to the newly founded H G Wood Chair of Theology in the University of Birmingham (1961-66) and some of his early writings clearly showed his interest in extending philosophy of religion to include the major world religions. Some of his early works are: *Reasons and Faiths* (1958), *A Dialogue of Religions* (1961), *Soundings* (1962), The *Teacher and Christian Belief* (1966). In 1967 he established the new Department of Religious Studies at the University of Lancaster (Bates 1996: 12, Clarke 1989: 195-196).

4. In England, recent developments and endeavours in religious education which aimed to make the subject more acceptable for faith communities have not been sufficient for some Muslims. Rather, they have focused on establishing mainly state-funded voluntary aided schools, and this issue has frequently put forward the agenda of Muslim community and scholarly writings. The Muslims' objection is not directly to religious education, but to a perceived bias towards secularism in state schools (Jackson 1990: 105, Halstead & Khan-Cheema 1987: 26). In response to the Swann report, Muslim theoretical reactions on religious education again expressed the same line (Nielsen 1992: 56). Apart from that, there is Muslim disquiet about religious education which mostly stems from its implementation. The recent Kirklees case may serve to illustrate some of these points. Muslim parents of over 1500 pupils in Kirklee Education Authority area demanded that their children be withdrawn from religious education lessons in early 1996 (The Times: 22.1.1996). In terms of newspaper presentation the main reasons for this act can be summarized as follows: a) The lack of time provided in the curriculum for Islam, b) Non-availability of Muslim teachers to teach Islam, c) For

many parents, religious education is not very important, d) Learning about other religions may cause the corruption of Muslim pupils' belief, e) Inadequacy of the teaching of Islam (The Times: 22.1.1996, British Muslims Monthly Survey 1996: January, February and May).

5. CHRISTIANITY IN TURKISH RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

1.In the context of re-evaluation of Muslim attitudes towards Christianity in Turkey, S. Ates's recent controversial study about religious salvation may be mentioned. He argues mainly that salvation outside Islam is possible in terms of the Qur'anic understanding. For him, a human being who believes in one God and the prophecy of Muhammed, and at the same time continues to do good deeds and worship according to Christianity and Judaism can achieve salvation. Ates's argument about religious salvation received some sharp criticism from the majority of Turkish religious scholars. It should be noted that Ates is professor of Qur'anic exegesis, and a well-known religious scholar and former director of the Presidency of Religious Affairs. He is also author of a ten volume study the Exegesis of the Qur'an. For further information see, Ates, S. (1990) *Kur'an- Kerim'in Evrensel Mesajina Cagri*, Istanbul, Yeni Ufuk Nesriyat.

2. In regard to the Turkish perceptions of Christianity the following research paper, which was translated from French should be noted. Jacob, X. (1984) *Christianity as Seen by the Turks*, RPIC-MR, Birmingham, pp.28. Jacob's paper aims to illustrate how Christianity was treated in recent Turkish religious writings. According to this study, the Turkish perception of Christianity is quite negative, and somewhat polemical. However, it appears to us that close analysis of the use of selected sources in Jacob's paper can raise the question of the unfair usage of the selected Turkish sources for Christianity, since he made 94 references (total reference number is 240) to a single book among 49 sources included in the bibliography, Kazici, Z. (1971) *Kur'an-i Kerim ve Garp Kaynaklarina Gore Hiristiyanlik*, Istanbul. When we take into consideration that this work is described as very polemical by Jacob, and the majority of extremely

negative illustrations about Christianity come from Kazici's work, we might understand the unfair use of the Turkish materials in this research paper. For instance, under the topic of 'the role of women in Christianity' the only source is Kazici's work and this presentation exhibits an extremely negative attitude about women in Christianity..

3. A similar approach towards other religions in English RE may be observed in the Durham Report on Religious Education (1970). "...the kind of understanding which is involved in religious education can be achieved only if pupils study the religious tradition or traditions of their own particular culture. For the great majority of pupils in England this is the Christian faith" (p.102).

4. For the further detailed knowledge from Muslim and non-Muslim points of view about the different meaning of two crucial words of this verse, *tawaffa* and *shubbiha la-hum* see N. Robinson's (1991) seminal work, *Christ in Islam and Christianity*, Albany, State Un. Of New York Press, pp. 106-141. One interesting translation of the verse is : "Yet they slew him not, and they crucified him - but it (his crucifixion) was made a misunderstanding to them". (Parrinder, G. (1965) *Jesus in the Qur'an*, London, Sheldon Press, p.120. It should be also noted that Turkish textbooks follow the generally accepted meaning of this Qur'anic verse by Muslim scholars

5. All textbook writers are intentionally using the words 'after Jesus' to describe the events which occurred after his earthly ministry. Because of the generally accepted understanding of crucifixion of Jesus they are particularly avoiding the use of 'after Jesus' death'.

6. In the context of this quotation the meaning of the 'prophet to come' should be understood as foretelling the prophecy of Muhammed. The root of this idea can depend on the Qur'anic verse that " And of Jesus the son of Mary, who said to the Israelites: 'I am sent forth to you from god to confirm the torah already revealed, and to give news of an apostle that will come after me whose name is Ahmad' (61:6).

7. A similar argument, claiming that Paul is the creator of Christian doctrine, with Muslim perception of Paul can be found particularly in the Tubingen School. "This

school created a lively interest in Paul, the effects of which are still felt. Paul came to be widely regarded as the creator of the whole doctrinal and ecclesiastical system presupposed in his Epistles" (The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, 1974: 1030-1031). It should also be noted that there is not generally particular emphasis on the role of Paul among English textbooks for Christianity. The main reason for this may stem from the method of presenting religion. Generally, English textbooks aim to present Christianity or any other world religions in terms of its contemporary forms rather than historical forms. For further negative and surprisingly positive Muslim opinion about Paul see, P.S. van Koningsveld (1996) 'The Islamic Image of Paul and the Origin of the Gospel of Barnabas', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, vol. 20, pp. 200-228.

8. The acceptance of the sequence of the four Gospels as a chronological order causes some problems for modern Christian scholars, since according to recent research the evidence suggests that the Gospel of Mark comes chronologically first, and Matthew follows it. In this issue, it seems that Turkish textbooks follow the traditional chronological order, because Matthew was traditionally accepted as the oldest of the four Gospels (The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church 1974: 891).

9. In the case of the date of the acceptance of four Gospels, Turkish textbooks are not consistent with the Christian sources. In terms of Christian sources, the four Gospels had become generally accepted around the middle of the second century (The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church 1974: 129).

7. NATIONALISM IN TURKISH RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

1. Bolton's (1997) two most important objections to fostering nationalism in RE are: a) There is a contradiction between study of world religions and promoting national consciousness, because world religions by definition are greater than a national world view. b) In recent years, religious education has experienced a shift from a confessional approach to a liberal one which aims to help children to think for themselves and

explore beliefs and values, beginning with their own but in a pluralistic context. For RE teachers to be possibly pressured into a 'national consciousness' is to return to confessional RE, although the 'faith' is now the cult of nationalism and civil religion. He holds that RE should nurture a global consciousness, spirituality and ethic. See for detailed information Bolton's article which is the only recent scholarly writing on this issue, A. Bolton (1997) "Should Religious Education Foster National Consciousness?" in *BJRE*, 19:3.

2. Aydinlar Ocagi (The Intellectuals' Hearth) was founded in the late 1960s in Turkey as a club or discussion group for the elaborating of a right-wing ideology. University professors became prominent among the founders. This club advocated the 'Turkish-Islamic Synthesis'. Its members has become increasingly influential in government circles since the 1980s, and they have gained senior position in the state (Contemporary Religions, A World Guide 1992: 93). See for further information A. Lapidot (1995) Islam and Nationalism: A study of Contemporary Islamic Political Thought in Turkey, 1980-1990, Ph.D, University of Durham, pp.199-221.

3. For the reflection of this understanding on education in the period of the Pahlavi Shahs, see A. Vakily (1997) "An Overview of the Education System in the Republic of Iran" in *Muslim Education Quarterly*, vol.14, no.2.

4. For example, for new detailed information dealing with which aspects of Ataturkism must be taught in primary school curriculum and textbooks for various subjects, see the Ministry of National Education's Official Guidance, Ilkogretim Kurumlarinin Birinci Kademesindeki Ogretim Programlari ile Ders Kitaplarinda Yer Almasi Gereken Ataturkculukle Ilgili Konular, Ankara, Milli Egitim Basimevi, 1995.

5. See further information Chapter 1.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Mabud (1992) 'A Muslim Response to the Education Reform Act 1988' in *British Journal of Religious Education*, vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 88-97.

Ahmad, F. (1993) *The Making of Modern Turkey*, London: Routledge.

Akbal, O. (1982) 'Bu Gidis Nereye' *Cumhuriyet*, 8 August.

Akyüz, Y. (1989) *Türk Egitim Tarihi*, Ankara.

Al-Azmeh, A. (1993) *Islams and Modernities*, London: Verso.

Alexander, W. (1965) *Education in England*, London: Newnes.

Alkan, T. (1982) "Ders Kitaplari ve Din Dersleri" *Cumhuriyet*, 31 July.

Altbach, P.G. (1991) 'Trends in Comparative Education' in *Comparative Education Review*, vol. 35, no. 3, pp. 491-507.

Arjomand, S.A. (1984) 'Introduction: Social Movements in the Contemporary Near and Middle East' *From Nationalism to Revolutionary Islam*, (ed.) S. A. Arjomand, London: Macmillan, pp. 1-27.

Arkoun, M. (1988 a) 'The Concept of Authority in Islamic Thought' in *Islam; State and Society*, K. Ferdinand & M. Mozaffer (Eds.), Northants: Curzon Press, pp. 53-73.

Arkoun, M. (1988 b) 'The Notion of Revelation', in *Die Welt des Islams*, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 63-89.

Arkoun, M. (1994) *Rethinking Islam: Common Questions, Uncommon Answers*, Oxford: Westview Press.

Asikoglu, N. (1993) *Almanya'da Temel Egitimdeki Turk Cocuklarinin Din Egitimi*, Ankara: Diyanet Vakfi Yayinlari.

Asikoglu, N. (1994) 'Din Egitimi Bilimi'nin Turkiye'de Bagimsiz Bir Bilimsel Disiplin Olarak Dogusu ve Gelisimi' in *Diyanet Ilmi Dergi*, vol. 30, no. 3, pp.85-92.

Atay, H (1981) *M.G.K. Genel Secreterligi Din Egitimi Komisyon Baskanligina Rapor*, Ankara, unpublished special report.

Atay. H. (1981) *Din Egitimi ve Ögretiminin Bir Bütünlük Içinde Ele Alinmasiyla Ile Ilgili Rapor*, Ankara, unpublished special report

Atay, H.(1983) *Osmanlilarda Yüksek Din Egitimi*, Istanbul: Dergah Yayinlari.

Atay, H. (1995) Kur'ana Gore Arastirmalar, vol. 5, Ankara.

Ates, S. (1990) *Kur'an- Kerim'in Evrensel Mesajina Cagri*, Istanbul: Yeni Ufuk Nesriyat.

Aydin, M. (1989) 'The place of Islam in Turkish Society and Education' *Education in the Netherland and Turkey*, Proceeding of the Dutch-Turkish Education Conference Leiden-Utrecht March 1989, Leiden, pp. 72-74.

Aydin, M. (1991) 'Dinler Tarihi Dersleri' in *Din Ogretimi ve Din Hizmetleri Semineri (8-10 Nisan 1988)*, Ankara: Diyanet Isleri Baskanligi Yayinlari, pp.271-274.

Barnard, H.C. (1947) *A Short History of English Education; from 1760 to 1944*, London: University of London Press.

Barnard, H.C. (1961) *A History of English Education*, London:University of London Press.

Basgöz, I & Wilson, H. (1968) *Educational Problems in Turkey 1920-1940*, Bloomington: Indiana University Publication.

Bastide, D. (1992) 'Religious Education and the Education Reform Act', in *Good Practice in Primary Religious Education 4-11*, (ed.) D. Bastide, London: The Falmer Press, pp. 11-23.

Bates, D. (1996) 'Christianity, Culture and Other Religions (part: 2): F.H. Hilliard, Ninian Smart and the 1988 Education Reform Act', in *British Journal of Religious Education*, vol. 18, no. 2, pp. 85-102.

Bayram, M. (1981) 'Anadolu Selcuklularindan Gunumuze Din Egitimi' in *Turkiye 1. Din Egitim Semineri*, Ankara: Ilahiyat Vakfi Yayinlari, pp. 49-53.

Beattie, N. (1981) 'Sacred Monster: Textbooks in the Italian Education System' in *British Journal of Educational Studies*, vol.XXIX, no.3, pp.218-235.

Beattie, N. (1992) 'The Religious Education and Collective Worship Clauses of the 1988 Education Reform Act: past, present and future', in *Cambridge Journal of Education*, vol.22, no 1, pp. 5-15.

Bellah, R. (1957) *Tokuwage Religion: The Values of Pre-Industrial Japan*, London: Macmillan.

Bendix, R. (1964) *Nation Building and Citizenship*, London: John Wiley and Son.

Berger, P.(1969) *The Social Reality of Religion*, Norwich: Penguin Un. Books.

Berkes, N. (1959) *Turkish Nationalism and Western Civilization, Selected Essays of Ziya Gokalp*, London: George Allen and Unwin.

Berkes, N. (1964) *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, Montreal: McGill University Press.

Bilgin, B. (1980) *Turkiye'de Din Egitimi ve Liselerde Din Dersleri*, Ankara: Emel Matbaacilik.

Bilgin, B. (1990) *Egitim Bilimi ve Din Egitimi*, Ankara: A.U. Ilahiyat Fakultesi Yayinlari.

Bilgin, B. (1993a) 'The Understanding of Religious Education in a Country Where There is Seperation of Religion and State: the Example of Turkey' in *British Journal of Religious Education* vol.15, no. 2, pp. 36-43.

Bilgin, B. (1993b) 'Tarihi Tecrubemizden Yeni Dunya Duzenine Nasil Katki Saglariz' in *Din Ogretimi Dergisi*, vol. 39, no.2, pp.20-24.

Bilmen, O. N. (1996) *Buyuk Islam Ilmihali*, Ankara: Kilic Kitabevi.

Birdal, O. (1990) *Turkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasalarinda Din Dersleri*, unpublished MA thesis, University of Marmara.

Bolay, S. & Turkone, M. (1995) *Din Egitimi Raporu*, Ankara: Diyanet Vakfi Yayinlari.

Bolton, A. (1997) 'Should Religious Education Foster National Consciousnes?' in *British Journal of Religious Education*, vol. 19, no.3, pp. 134-142.

Bowker, J. (1995) *Voices of Islam*, Oxford: Oneworld Publication.

British Muslims Monthly Survey (1996) January, Feb. May.

Bruce, S. (1995) 'The Truth About Religion in Britain' in *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, vol.34, no.4, pp.417-430.

Burke, D.M. (1986) 'Analysis of School Textbooks on Islam' in *Muslim Education Quarterly*, vol 3, no. 4, pp. 75-100.

CHP Yedinci Kurultay Tutanagi (1948) Ankara.

Clarke, T. (1989) *Curriculum Development in Religious Education*, unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Queen's University.

Clayton, A.S. (1969) *Religion and Schooling: A comparative Study*, Waltham.

Contemporary Religions (1992) 'Turkey' in *Contemporary Religions, A World Guide*, eds. I. Harris, S. Mews, P. Morris, & J. Shepherd, London: Longman.

Copley, T. (1997) *Teaching Religion*, Exeter: University of Exeter Press.

Cox, E & Cairns, J.M. (1989) *Reforming Religious Education*, London: Kogan Page.

Cox, H. (1965) *The Secular City: Secularisation and Urbanization in Theological Perspective*, London: SCM Press.

Cumhuriyet (1981) 'Okullar Açilarken' *Cumhuriyet*, 13 September.

Daver, B. (1955) *Türkiye Cumhuriyetinde Laiklik*, Ankara: A.U. Siyasal Bilgiler Fakultesi Yayinlari.

Davison, A. (1995) 'Secularization and Modernization in Turkey: the ideas of Ziya Gokalp' in *Economy and Society*, vol. 24, no.2, pp. 189-224.

Davison, R.H (1961) 'Westernized Education in Ottoman Turkey', in *The Middle East Journal*, vol. 15, pp. 289-301.

Demirci, E.Y. (1997) *Modernisation, Religion and Politics: The Case of the Iskenderpasa Community*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Manchester.

Dent, H.C. (1968) *The Education Act 1944*, London.

Department of Education and Science (DES) (1989) *Circular 3/89*, London: HMSO.

Department of Education and Science (1988) *The Education Reform Act 1988*, London: HMSO.

Din Ögretimi Genel Müdürlügü (1994) *Türkiye 'de Din Egitimi, Ankara*, official report.

Dogan, M. (1998) 'The Decline of Traditional Values in Western Europe' in *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, vol. 39, no. 1, pp. 77-90.

Durham Report (1970) *The Fourth R: the report of the commission on religious education in schools,* London: S.P.C.K.

Eliade, M. (Ed.) (1987) *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, London: Macmillan.

Ergin, O. (1977) *Turkiye Maarif Tarihi*, 5 volumes, 1939-1942 (reprinted 1977), Istanbul: Osmanbey Matbaasi.

Esenkaya, A. (1994) *Inonu Donemi Laiklik Politikasi*, M.A. thesis, University of Hacettepe.

Eskicumali, A. (1994) *Ideology and Education: Reconstructing the Turkish Curriculum for Social and Cultural Change, 1923-1949,* Ph.D, University of Wiscon-Madison.

Falaturi, A. (1990) *Islam in Religious Education Textbooks in Europe*, Koln: The Islamic Scientific Academy.

Fellman, N. (1992) 'Islam in Finnish Textbooks on Religious Education' in *The Islamic Quarterly*, vol. XXXVI, no. 1, pp.244-253.

Feyzioglu, T. (1987) *Ataturk ve Milliyetcilik*, Ankara: Turk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi.

Francis, L.J. (1987) *Religion in the Primary School: A partnership between church and state*, London: Collins.

Gellner, E. (1981) *Muslim Society*, London: Cambridge University Press.

Goddard, H. (1994) 'Modern Pakistani and Indian Muslim Perceptions of Christianity' in *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, vol. 5, No., 2, pp. 165-188.

Goddard, H. (1996) *Muslim Perceptions of Christianity*, London:Grey Seal Books.

Goldman, R. (1964) *Religious Thinking From Childhood to Adolescent*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Goldman, R. (1965) *Readiness For Religion: A Basis For Developmental Religious Education*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Greely, A. M. (1982) *Religion: A Secular Theory,* New York: Free Press.

Grimmet, M. (1987) *Religious Education and Human Development*, Essex: McCrimmon Publishing Co Ltd.

Gungor, E. (1981) *Islamin Bugunku Meseleleri*, Istanbul: Otuken Yayinlari.

Gürtas, A. (1982) *Atatürk ve Din Egitimi*, Ankara: Diyanet Isleri Baskanligi Yayinlari.

Halstead & Khan-Cheema (1987) 'Muslims and Worship in the Maintained School' *Westminister Studies in Education*, vol. 10, pp.21-36.

Hamilton, M.B. (1995) *The Sociology of Religion*, London: Routledge.

Hammond, J. et al. (1990) *New Methods in RE Teaching: An Experiential Approach*, Harlow Essex: Oliver and Boyd.

Hastings, A. (1997) *The Construction of Nationhood, Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hayward, M. (1986) 'Books for Pupils' Use' in *Muslim Education Quarterly*, vol. 3, no. 4, pp.52-74.

Heyd, U. (1950) *Foundation of Turkish Nationalism, The Life and Teaching of Ziya Gokalp*, London: Luzac & Company Ltd.

Hill, M. (1973) *A Sociology of Religion*, London: Heineman Ed. Books.

Hillard, F.H. (1963) *The Teacher and Religion*, London: James Cook & Co. Ltd.

Hock, K. (1993) 'School Textbook Projects in Interreligious and International Co-operation' in *Britsih Journal of Religious Education*, vol. 18, no. 3, pp. 39-47.

Hourani, A. (1962) *Arabic Thought in the Libaral Age 1798-1939*, London: Oxford University Press.

Huchinson, J. (1994) *Modern Nationalism*, London: Fontana Press.

Hull, J. (1975) *School, Worship: An Obituary*, Norwich: SCM Press.

Hull, J. (1989) *The Unpacked Act*, Middlesex: CEM.

Hull, J. (1994) Editorial in *British Journal of Religious Education*, vol. 17, no. 1, p.3.

Hull, J. (1996) 'A Gift to the Child: A New Pedagogy for Teaching Religion to Young Children' in *Religious Education*, vol. 91, no. 2, pp. 172-188.

Hürriyet 16 August 1994

Hyde, K. E. (1990) *Religion in Childhood and Adolescence*, Birmingham, Alabama: Religious Education Press.

Islam Türk Ansiklopedisi Mecmuasi, c.2 sayi 87.

Jackson, R. (1990) 'Religious Studies and Developments in Religious Education in England and Wales' in *Turning Points in Religious Studies*, U. King (ed.), Edinburgh: Harper Collin Publishers, pp.102-116.

Jackson, R. (1994) 'Ethnography and Religious Education, A Research report' in *PANORAMA*, vol.6, no. 1, pp. 115-130.

Jackson, R. (1997) *Religious Education: An Interpretive Approach*, London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Jacob, X (1984) *Christianity as Seen by the Turks*, RPIC-MR, Birmingham, pp.28.

Jasche, G. (1972) *Yeni Türkiye'de Islamlik*, translation H. Ors, Ankara: Bilgi Yayinevi.

Juergenmeyer (1993) 'Why Religious Nationalists are not Fundamentalists' in *Religion*, vol. 23 no.1, pp.85-92.

Kadioglu, A. (1996) 'The Paradox of Turkish Nationalism and the Construction of Official Identity' in *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 32 no.2, pp.176-192.

Kadioglu, A. (1998) 'Republican Epistemology and Islamic Discourse in Turkey in the 1990s' in *Muslim World*, vol. LXXXVIII, no.1, pp. 1-21.

Kahveci, A. (1990) *TBMM Tutanaklarina Gore Türkiye'de Din Egitimi (1958 den 1990'a kadar)* unpublished MA thesis, University of Uludag.

Karpat, K. (1959) *Turkey's Politics: The Translation to a Multi-Party Regime*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Kay, W.K. (1981) 'Factors Bearing on Changes in Religious Education in Britain since 1944', *Journal of Christian Education*, 72, Oct. 1981, pp 20-30.

Kaymakcan, R. (1996a) 'Religious Education in the Multi-Party Period in Turkey' in *East/West Education*, vol. 17, no. 1&2, pp.91-107.

Kaymakcan, R. (1996b) 'Ikinci Dunya Savasi Sonrasinda Ingiltere Okullarinda Din Egitimi' in *Din Egitimi Arastirmalari Dergisi*, vo. 3, pp. 225-240.

Kaymakcan, R. (1997) '"Learning Our Religion is Our Duty": The Debate about Compulsory Religious Education in Turkey' in *Muslim Education Quarterly*, vol. 15, no. 1, pp.60-70.

Kazamias, A. (1966) *Education and The Quest For Modernity in Turkey*, London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.

Kennedy, H. (1984) *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphate*, London & New York: Longman.

Kia, M. (1998) 'Persian Nationalism and the Campaign for Language Purification' in *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 34, no. 2, pp. 9-36.

Kodamanoglu, M. (1963) *Education in Turkey (1923-1960)*, Istanbul.

Koningsveld, P.S. van (1996) 'The Islamic Image of Paul and the Origin of the Gospel of Barnabas' in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, vol. 20, pp.200-228.

Kucuk, A. (1991) 'Dinler Tarihi Dersinin Okutulmasinda Karsilasilan Zorluklar ve Bunlarin Giderilmesinde Takip Edilecek Esaslar' in *Din Ogretimi ve Din Hizmetleri Semineri (8-10 Nisan 1988)*, Ankara: Diyanet Isleri Baskanligi Yayinlari, pp. 275-282.

Kushner, D. (1977) *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism*, London: Frank Cass and Company.

Kushner, D. (1986) 'Turkish Secularists and Islam' in Jerusalem Quarterly, vol. 38, pp.89-106.

Lapidot, A.(1995) *Islam and Nationalism: A study of Contemporary Islamic Political Thought in Turkey, 1980-1990*, Ph.D, University of Durham.

Lapidus, I.M. (1992) 'The Golden Age: The Political Concepts of Islam", in *The Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol.524.

Larkin, S. & Simen, H.A. (1987) 'Why a diagram is (sometimes) worth ten thousand words' in *Cognitive Science*, vol. 19, pp. 65-100.

Lewis, B. (1961) *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, London: Oxford University Press.

Lewis, B. (1993) *Islam and the West*, New York.

Loukes, H. (1961) *Teenage Religion*, London: SCM Press.

Loukes, H. (1965) *New Ground in Christian Education*, London:SCM Press.

Maarif Vekilligi (1938) *Koy Ilk Mektepleri Müfredat Programi* , Ankara.

Mardin, S. (1981) '*Religion and Secularism in Turkey*' Ataturk Founder of A Modern State. (eds.) A. Kazancigil & E. Ozbudun, London: Hurst, pp.191-219.

Martin, D. (1978) *A General Theory of Secularization*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Martin, D. (1982) *The Religious and the Secular*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Mathews, H.F. (1966) *Revolution in Religious Education*, London: Cox and Wyman Ltd.

McDade, D. (1982) 'The Things That Interest Mankind: A Commentary On Thirty Years of Comparative Education' in *British Journal of Educational Studies*, vol. XXX, no. 1, pp. 72-84.

MEB (1992) 'Din Kulturu Ahlak Bilgisi Mufredat Programi', *Tebligler Dergisi*, Ankara.

Milli Güvenlik Konseyi Genel Sekreterligi (1981) *12 Eylul Öncesi ve Sonrasi*, Ankara.

National Curriculum Council (NCC) (1992) *Analysis of SACRE Reports*, York: National Curriculum Council.

Niebuhr, H.R. (1959) *The Social Origins of Denominationalism*, New York: Meridien Books.

Nielsen, J.S. (1992) *Muslims in Western Europe*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Nielsen, J. S. (1995a) 'State, Religion and Laicite`: The Western European Experience' in *Religion, Law and Society*, (ed.) T. Mitri, Geneva: WCC Publications, pp. 100-110.

Nielsen, J.S. (1995b) 'Shari`ah, Change and Plural Societies' in *Religion, Law and Society*, (ed.) T. Mitri, Geneva: WCC Publications, pp.27-32.

O'Dea, T.F. & O'Dea, J. (1983) *The Sociology of Religion*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Ocal, M. (1994) *Imam-Hatip Liseleri ve Ilkogretim Okullari*, Istanbul: Ensar Nesriyat.

Oktem, N. (1994) 'Dinler ve Laiklik' in *Cogito*, vol.1, no.1, pp. 31-48.

Okutan, O. (1983) 'Din Egitimi' in *Cumhuriyet Donemi Din Egitimi*, M.E.B. Yayinlari, pp. 409-425.

Pamak, M. (1982) 'Laiklik ve Din Egitimi' *Tercuman*, 24 August.

Parla, T. (1985) *The Social and Political Thought of Ziya Gokalp 1876-1924*, Leiden: E.J. Brill.

Parrinder, G. (1965) *Jesus in the Qur'an*, London: Sheldon Press.

Peretz, D. (1988) *The Middle East Today*, London: Praeger.

Polat, I. (1990) *Osmanli Imparatorlugunda Yabanci Okullar*, Ankara.

Pulley, C. (1989) *A study of Secularization in Selected British Secondary County Schools Religious Education Curricula, 1944-1985*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Boston Univesity.

Pulur, H. (1982) 'OkullaraDin Dersi Konmalidir' *Hurriyet* 23 August.

Rahman, F. (1979) *Islam*, London: University of Chicago Press.

Rahman, F. (1982) *Islam and Modernity*, Chicago: the University of Chicago Press.

Reed, H.A. (1955) 'Turkey's New Imam-Hatip Schools' in *Die Welt Des Islams* vol.4, no. 2-3, pp. 150-163.

Reed, H.A. (1956) 'The Faculty of Divinity at Ankara' in *Muslim World* vol.46, pp. 295-312.

Resmi Gazete (Official Newspaper) different issues.

Robinson, N. (1991) *Christ in Islam and Christianity*, Albany: State University of New York Press.

Rogan, .E.L. (1996) 'Asiret Mektebleri: Abdulhamid II's School For Tribe (1892-1907)' in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 24, pp. 83-107.

Rosette, B. (1985) 'The Sacred and Third World Societies' in *The Sacred in a Secular Age*, (ed.) P.E. Hammond London: University of California Press.

Roy, O. (1994) *The Failure of Political Islam*, London: I.B. Tauris.

Salt, J. (1995) 'Nationalism and the Rise of Muslim Sentiment in Turkey' in *Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 31, no.1, pp. 13-27.

Sardar, Z. (1995) 'Islam and Nationalism' in *Concilium*, 1995/6, pp.103-110.

Sassani, A.(1952) *Education in Turkey*, Bulleten; no,10, Washington.

SCAA (1994a) *Model Syllabuses for Religious Education: Model 1: Living Faiths Today*, London: School Curriculum and Assessment Authority.

SCAA (1994b) *Model Syllabuses for Religious Education: Model: 2: Questions and Teaching*, London: School Curriculum and Assessment Authority.

Schleicher, K (1993) *Nationalism in Education*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang.

School Council Working Paper; 36 (1971) *Religious Education in Secondary Schools*, London: Evens/Methuen Educational.

Selamet Mecmuasi (1947) c.2 sayi 31.

Sharifi, H. (1986) 'An Assessment of Textbooks on the Life of Prophet Muhammad Used in British Schools' in *Muslim Education Quarterly*, vol.3, no. 4, pp.10-28.

Shaw, A. (1988) *A Pakistani Community in Britain*, Oxford: Basil Blacwell

Shepherd, J. (1991) 'Islam and Religious Education: A Non-Confessional Approach' in *Din Ogretimi ve Din Hizmetleri Semineri*, Ankara: Diyanet Isleri Baskanligi, pp. 377-388.

Slater, J. (1992) 'Report' in *History and Social Studies Methodologies of Textbook Analysis*, H. Bourdillon (ed), Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger, pp.11-20.

Smart, N. (1968) *Secular Education and the Logic of Religion*, London: Faber and Faber.

Smart, N. (1989) *The World's Religions*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Smart, N.& Donald, H. (1975) *New Movements in Religious Education*, London: SCM Press Ltd.

Smith, D. (1974) 'Religion and Political Modernization: Comparative Perspectives' in *Religion and Political Modernization*, D.E. Smith (Ed.), London: Yale Un. Press, pp. 3-28.

Smith, J.V.D. (1969) *Religious Education in a Secular Setting*, London: SCM Press.

Stark & Iannocone (1994) 'A Supply-side Reinterpretation of the "Secularization" of Europe' in *Journal for Scientific Study of Religion*, vol. 33, no. 3, pp. 230-252.

Stone, F.A. (1984) *Academies For Anatolia, A Study of Rationale, Program and Impact of the Educational Institutions Sponsored by the American Board in Turkey: 1830-1980*, New York & London.

Szyliowicz, J. (1973) *Education and Modernization in The Middle East*, London: Cornell Un Press.

Tanriogen, G. (1993) *Effects of Curriculum Reform in California on the Treatment of Islam in World History Textbooks*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of California.

Tapper, R. (1991) 'Introduction' in *Islam in Modern Turkey*, R. Tapper, (Ed.) London: I.B. Tauris, pp. 1-27.

Tarhan, M. (1996) *Religious Education in Turkey: A Socio-Historical Study of the Imam-Hatip Schools*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Temple University.

Tarhanli, I. (1993) *Musluman Toplum, 'Laik' Devlet, Turkiye'de Diyanet Isleri Baskanligi*, Istanbul: Afa Yayinlari.

TBMM Tutanak Dergisi, different issues.

TDK (Turk Dil Kurumu) (1988) *Turkce Sozluk*, Ankara: Turk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi.

Tebligler Dergisi (1992) *Ilkogretim ve Ortaogretim Din Kulturu ve Ahlak Bilgisi Dersi Programi*, 13 April, M.E.B.

Tebligler Dergisi, different issues.

Tezcan, M. (1992) *Ataturk ve Egitim*, Ankara: Gundogon Yayinlari.

The Ministry of Education, Din Egitimi Çalisma Grubu Raporu, Ankara, 6 February.

The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (1974) (ed.) F.L. Cross (Second Edition), London: Oxford University Press.

The Times (Daily Newspaper), 22.1. 1996.

Thomas, L.V. (1952) 'Recent Developments in Turkish Islam' in *Middle East Journal*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp.22-40.

Tibawi, A.L. (1956) 'Islam and Secularism in Turkey Today' in *Quarterly Review*, no. 609.

Toprak, B. (1993) 'The Religious Right' *The Modern Middle East: A Reader* (eds.) A. Hourani & P. Khoury, London: I.B. Tauris.

Trask, R. (1965) 'Unnamed Christianity in Turkey During the Ataturk Era' in *Muslim World* vol.55, pp. 66-76.

Tug, S. (1985) 'Muslim Education in the Past and Its Present Heritage in Turkey, in *Muslims, Turkey*, The Islamic Academy Publication.

Tulasiewicz, W. (1993) 'Teaching Religion' in W. Tulasiewicz & C. To (eds) *World Religions and Educational Practice*, London: Cassell, pp.12-32.

Tumer, G. & Kucuk, A. (1988) *Dinler Tarihi*, Ankara: Ocak Yayinlari.

Tumer, G. (1991) 'Orta Ogretimde Din Kulturu ve Ahlak Bilgisi Dersinde Islam ve Diger Dinlerin Ogretimi' in *Din Ogretimi ve Din Hizmetleri Semineri (8-10 Nisan 1988)*, Ankara: Diyanet Isleri Baskanligi Yayinlari, pp. 353-355.

Turkish Review (1989) 'The Educational Tradition of the Ottoman Empire and the Development of the Turkish Educational System of Republic Era' in *Turkish Review* vol.3 no.16, pp. 13-84.

Ücyigit, E. (1981) 'Din Egitimi Üzerine' in *1. Türkiye Din Egitimi Semineri*, Ankara, Ilahiyat Vakfi Yayinlari, pp. 358-362.

Vakily, A. (1997) 'An Overview of the Education System in the Islamic Republic of Iran' in *Muslim Education Quarterly*, vol. 14, no. 2, pp. 37-56.

Venezky, R.L. (1992) 'Textbooks in School and Society' in *Handbook of Research on Curriculum*, P.W. Jackson (ed), New York: Macmillan, pp. 436-461.

Wain, K. (1992) 'Different Perspectives on Evaluating Textbooks' in *History and Social Studies Methodologies of Textbook Analysis*, H. Bourdillon (ed), Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger, pp. 35-41.

Walker, D. (1996) 'The Rise of Pan- Arab Nationalism in Egypt (1930-1940)' in *Hamdard Islamicus*, vol. 29, no. 4, pp.67-93.

Watson, B. (1993) *The Effective Teaching of Religious Education*, London: Longman.

Weinbrenner, P. (1992) 'Methodologies of Textbook Analysis Used to Date' in *History and Social Studies Methodologies of Textbook Analysis*, H. Bourdillon (ed), Amsterdam: Swets & Zeitlinger, pp.21-34.

Westerlund, D. & Hallencreutz, C.F. (1996) 'Anti-Secular Policies of Religion' in *Questioning the Secular State*, D. Westerlund (ed), London: Hurst & Company.

White, J. (1996) 'Education and Nationality' in *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, vol.30, no.3, pp. 327-343.

Wielandt, R. (1993) 'Islamic Religious Education in a Pluralistic Society' in *British Journal of Religious Education*, vol.15, no. 2, pp.50-57.

Wilson, B. (1982) *Religion in a Sociological Perspective*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wilson, B. (1985) 'Secularization: The Inherited Model' in *The Sacred in a Secular Age*, P.E. Hammond (ed), London: University od California Press, pp. 9-21.

Woodward, A. (1987) 'Textbooks: Less than meets the eye' in *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, vol.19, no. 6, pp.511-526.

Yavuz, H. (1993) 'Erzurumlu Omer Nasuhi Bilmen'in Ilim ve Kultur Tarihimizdeki Yeri ve Te'siri' in *Osmanli Devleti ve Islamiyet*, (ed.) H. Yavuz, Istanbul: Iz Yayincilik, pp.207-218.

Zaim, S. (1987) 'Evaluation and Implementation of Islamic Education in the Context of Modern System in Turkey' *Muslim Education Quarterly* vol.4, pp. 16-28.

Zebiri, K. (1998) 'Muslim Anti-Secularist Discourse in the Context of Muslim-Christian Relations' in *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations*, vol. 9, no.1, pp.47-64.

SELECTED TEXTBOOKS

Turkey

Ayas, R. & Tumer, G. (1991) *Liseler Icin Din Kulturu ve Ahlak Bilgisi*, 1, Ankara: M.E.B. Yayinlari.

Aydin, M. (1991) *Liseler Icin Din Kulturu ve Ahlak Bilgisi*, 3, Ankara: M.E.B. Yayinlari.

Bolay, S. (1991) *Liseler Icin Din Kulturu ve Ahlak Bilgisi*, 2, Ankara: M.E.B. Yayinlari.

Figlali, E.R. (1991) *Ortaokullar Icin Din Kulturu ve Ahlak Bilgisi*, 3, Ankara: M.E.B. Yayinlari.

Sener, A. & Karmis, O. (1991) *Ortaokullar Icin Din Kulturu ve Ahlak Bilgisi*, 1, Ankara: M.E.B. Yayinlari.

Tunc, C. (1991) *Ortaokullar Icin Din Kulturu ve Ahlak Bilgisi*, 2, Ankara: M.E.B. Yayinlari.

Textbooks Used Only in Chapter 5

Celebi, I., Bebek, A., Bozkurt, N. (1994) *Din Kulturu ve Ahlak Bilgisi, Liseler Icin Ders Kitabi*, 1, Istanbul: Salan Yayinlari..

Gundesli, A., Sirin, H., Dilaver, H. (1994) *Ilkogretim Din Kulturu ve Ahlak Bilgisi*, 6, Ankara: Gun Yayincilik.

Gunduz, I., Abdullahoglu, S., Turker, A. (1994) *Din Kulturu ve Ahlak Bilgisi, Ilkogretim* 6, Istanbul: Erdem Yayinlari.

Pakdil, N., Kaya, G., Muftuoglu, S. (1995) *Lise ve Dengi Okullar Icin Din Kulturu ve Ahlak Bilgisi*, 1, Istanbul: Gendas Yayinlari.

England

Ardavan, A. (1990) *Growing up in Islam*, Essex: Longman.

Ashraf, S.A. (1991) *Islam* (World Religions), Cheltenham: Stanley Thornes.

Aylett, J.F. (1991) *The Muslim Experience* (Seeking Religion), London: Hodder & Stoughton.

Brine, A. (1991) *Islam for GCSE* (Themes in Religion), Essex: Longman.

Hunt, D. (1989) *Muslims* (The Westhill Project R.E. 5-16), Cheltenham: Stanley Thornes.

Keene, M. (1996) *This is Islam*, Cheltenham: Stanley Thornes.

Knight, K. (1995) *Islam* (World Religions), East Sussex: Wayland.

Maqsood, R.W.(1995) *Examining Religions, Islam*, Oxford: Heinemann.

Penney, S. (1995) *Islam* (Discovering Religions), Oxford: Heinemann.

Rudge, J & Read, R. (1988) *Muslims* (The Westhill Project R.E. 5-16), Mary London: Mary Glasgow Publications.

Thompson, J. (1990) *Islam An Approach for GCSE*, London: Hodder & Sthoughton.

Watton, V.W. (1993) *Islam* (A Students Approach to World Religions), London: Hodder & Stoughton.