

INSTRUMENTALIZATION OF RELIGION: EDUCATING
THE CITIZEN VIA RELIGIOUS CULTURE AND
MORALITY TEXTBOOKS

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Instrumentalization of Religion: Educating the Citizen
Via Religious Culture and Morality
Textbooks

Dinin Araçsallaştırılması: Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi
Ders Kitaplarıyla Vatandaş
Eğitmek

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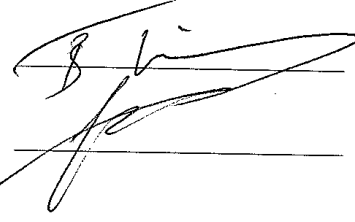
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ABSTRACT

This thesis focuses on the relationship between nationalism and education and tries to understand how Turkish citizen is represented in Religious Culture and Morality textbooks by conducting discourse analysis on forty two selected books since the course's being compulsory in 1982 until 2015. The study deals with the relationship between state and religion and how Islam is instrumentalized for the reproduction of the citizen. Education is considered as one of the crucial venues that this relationship can be noticed and Religious Culture and Morality has a further importance since it is the only subject which reflects the Islamic characteristic of the citizenship definition. Hence, the books are going to be examined due to the debates and struggles on citizenship and international developments about the issue. Also, the programme reforms and consequently published books during the Justice and Development Party government, which embraces conservative and religious values, is going to be scrutinized to understand a continuation or a rupture in the definition of the citizen.

ÖZET

Bu çalışma milliyetçilik ve eğitim ilişkisine odaklanarak Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi ders kitaplarında Türk vatandaşının nasıl temsil edildiğini anlamaya çalışır. Bunun için dersin zorunlu hale getirildiği 1982 yılından 2015'e kadar okutulan kırk iki kitabı söylem analizi yöntemiyle inceler. Çalışma, devlet ile din arasındaki ilişkiyi ve İslam'ın vatandaşın üretimi için nasıl araçsallaştırıldığını ele almaktadır. Eğitim bu ilişkinin gözlemlenebileceği en önemli alanlardan biri olarak ele alınmaktadır ve Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi dersine vatandaşlık tanımındaki İslami özellikleri yansıtması bakımından özel bir önem verilmiştir. Bu bakımdan ders kitapları vatandaşlık temelli tartışma ve mücadeleler ile uluslararası gelişmeler dolayısıyla incelenecektir. Öte yandan, muhafazakar ve dini değerleri benimseyen Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi döneminde yapılan program reformları ve sonucunda basılan kitaplardaki vatandaşlık tanımı devamlılık ya da kırılma ekseninde değerlendirilecektir.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Aim and Problematic of the Study

This thesis explores compulsory *Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi* (Religious Culture and Morality, from now on RCM- a course which have been thought since 1982) textbooks regarding the representation of themes on citizenship. The study finds a close correlation between nationalism and education and regards textbooks as an important tool for the transfer of the ‘official knowledge’¹ to the forthcoming generations. The state is considered as the main actor for the production of the ‘official knowledge’:

“The state does not only provide the necessary financial assistance to educational institutions but, to a large extent, decides what to be taught/ instructed in the schools and strives to protect its interest. The state argues that the transfer (teaching) of information and values through education (school, curriculum, textbooks, etc.) is carried out in an impartial manner not for its own sake but for the whole society.”²

The education is reinvented or reconfigured by the nation state in order to make people to imagine themselves as a nation. The national education was initiated by almost every nation state in Europe before World War I and it has been highly adopted by nation states onwards. This education is compulsory, universal, centralized, and considered as a duty rather than a right or privilege.

Benedict Anderson and Eric Hobsbawm underline the nation as an invented and thus imagined community. According to them, the nation state did not occur naturally but rather constructed by nationalism via institutions or re-invention of traditions. In this manner, education has the primary importance on the formation of social cohesion and national belonging. In this study education materials, namely textbooks, are approached as the tools which frame a national imagination for the citizen. Because:

“[t]extbooks do not just convey knowledge; they represent what generations of pupils will learn about their own pasts and futures as well as the histories of others. In

¹ Michael W. Apple. *Official Knowledge*. (London: Routledge, 1993)

² Kemal İnal. *Eğitim ve İktidar: Türkiye’de Ders Kitaplarında Demokratik ve Milliyetçi Değerler*. (Ankara: Ütopya Yayınevi, 2004) p. 45.

textbooks, we find what a society wishes to convey to the next generation. Thus a careful analysis of school textbooks, of school and university curricula, reveals the notions of time, space and agency that a society aims to instill its students.”³

That is, textbooks function as mediator between state and individual. Hence they reveal the relationship between state and citizen, how they are positioned to each other, the notions that next generation is desired to embrace and the characteristics that the citizens should bear. In order to understand the state-citizen relationship, the study will focus on the Turkish nationalism in the first place and how Turkish state elites frame the citizen is going to be scrutinized. Kemalism as the official ideology of the Turkish Republic will be the main axis of the study and its relation with Islam will be evaluated as a tension line. The role of Islam in the Republican understanding of citizen is going to be discussed. It is important to study RCM textbooks not only to see how the notions and concepts of the religion are instrumentalized in order to strengthen the ideal of the citizen, but also how a certain type of Muslim is considered as ‘accepted citizen.’⁴ In other words, while certain Islamic concepts are reinterpreted in a national concept in RCM textbooks, a frame is drawn for ‘being a good Muslim’ which is coherent with the ideal citizen.

In addition to these, the controversies over RCM course have been piling up for a very long period of time in Turkey. The citizens who feel discriminated against, or in other words, the people who cannot find a place for themselves within the definition of ‘accepted citizen’ in the RCM textbooks, as well as the other topics of the Turkish national education curriculum, express their inconvenience frequently and they sue the state time to time to overcome their problems. As the domestic remedies are exhausted, they attend to universal courts which Turkey is bounded. It is important to examine textbooks to see whether the content of the courses change due to the global and universal tendencies or preserve the

³ Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal and Hanna Schissler. “Introduction” in *The Nation, Europe, and the World : Textbooks and Curricula in Transition*. Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal and Hanna Schissler (eds.) (New York; Oxford : Berghahn Books, 2005.) p.7.

⁴ Füsün Üstel. *‘Makbul Vatandaş’ın Peşinde: II. Meşrutiyet’ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi*. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2014)

existing understanding of citizenship as it was defined and conceptualized in the foundational years of the republic.

1.2. Methodology and Questions

The textbooks are going to be examined through discourse analysis in this study. According to Teun van Dijk, discourse analysis is done by being aware of what ‘discourse’ is and how it operates within texts. Discourse, according to Michel Foucault, is the repressive presence of the not-said within all that is said and hence discourse analysis is the quest for and the repetition of an origin that eludes all historical determination; and to see it as the interpretation of 'hearing' of an 'already-said' that is at the same time a 'not-said'.⁵ In other words “ideological discourse analysis making explicit the meanings implied by a sentence or text fragment”⁶ Thus, the gist of the analysis is to ask proper questions to unravel the power relations within the society, and to reconstruct group identities, in other words “Us and Them”. The positive attributions of Us and negative attributions of Them reveals what the discourse is about. In this thesis the discourse analysis is going to be used in order to untangle the state’s approach to the citizens and how the religious education is instrumentalized for this purpose.

The thesis is expected to answer to the following questions: What is the relationship between Turkish Republic and religion and how does it evolve through time? What are the reasons behind introducing a compulsory religious education course in the constitution, what are the expected outcomes of it? What kind of interplay exists between Islam and nationalism in the RCM textbooks? How the ‘accepted citizen’ is depicted in the RCM textbooks and who are excluded from that depiction? How and in what ways RCM textbooks contribute to the development of accepted citizen? How religion is instrumentalized in a secular state and in

⁵ Michel Foucault. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. (London: Routledge, 2002) p. 29.

⁶ Teun van Dijk. *Ideology and Discourse: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*, English version of an internet course for the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya (UOC), July 2000:
<http://www.discourses.org/OldBooks/Teun%20A%20van%20Dijk%20-%20Ideology%20and%20Discourse.pdf>

what ways it contributes to the citizenship education? And finally does the perception of citizen is altered through time especially during the government of Justice and Development Party (JDP) which asserts overtly religious policies?

In order to answer these questions 42 books are selected. The selection was made by taking programme changes into consideration. Although since 1982, five RCM programmes have accepted, the analysis reveals that there are three important ruptures for the RCM textbooks. These are, 2002 for primary education, 2006/2007 for secondary and primary education respectively and 2012 for both. Hence, the books are selected in order to represent its period. For instance, a 5th grade book from 1988 represents all of the the books from 1982 to 2002. After this data is crosschecked by comparing the books within these periods, 42 books are chosen for this study.

1.3. Literature Review

Textbooks are frequently made research subject for Social Sciences. *Human Rights in Textbooks* projects fulfill a major place in this manner. Three projects were conducted and the reports were published in 2004, 2009 and 2014 respectively. Within the project the textbooks of the obligatory courses were examined with human rights perspectives and the outcomes were shared both with public and Ministry of National Education (MoNE). If the projects are read as a whole, the continuities can be seen in terms of citizenship. There are researches which exclusively involves with citizenship within textbooks. Especially the civics course, which can be seen under different names through the republic history, draws attention. Füsün Üstel's *Makbul Vatandaş'ın Peşinde* is the most prominent and extensive work in terms of civics course books. Üstel, in her book, states that the primary aim of civics education is to bring up modern and civil generations in line with Europe but especially after the declaration of Republic militarism became dominant rather than civility and the notion of citizen who is indebted with duties, obedient and non-participant was settled and remain untouched up to

now. Fatma Gürses has also written her dissertation over civics textbooks and later published her work as *Kul Tebaa Yurttaş: Cumhuriyetin Kuruluşundan Günümüze Ders Kitaplarında Yurttaşlık*. She examines the changes in the understanding of citizen of the Republic by examining the civics textbooks. Esin Ertürk, in her master's thesis, *Ders Kitaplarında Toplum, Yurttaşlık, Vatanseverlik ve Ekonomi Anlayışının Dönüşümü*, which was submitted to Mimar Sinan University Sociology Department made a content analysis to the Social Sciences textbooks of 1997-2004. Ali Babahan's doctoral thesis, *Nationalism and Religion in the Textbooks of the Early Republican Period in Turkey*, which was submitted to Middle East Technical University Sociology Department, examines the History, Civics, Religious Education and Sociology textbooks of 1924-1950. Tuba Kancı's doctoral thesis, *Imagining the Turkish Men and Women: Nationalism, Modernism and Militarism in Primary School Textbooks, 1928-2000*, for Sabancı University Political Sciences Department focus on *Hayat Bilgisi* (Life Sciences), Social Studies, Turkish, History, Family Matters and Reading. Tuba Kancı's common article with Fuat Keyman, "A Tale of Ambiguity" can also be counted here. A collection of textbooks from primary level of Turkish, History and Social Studies are studied in the article and the reflection of political change to the textbooks was examined in the article. "Reconfigurations in the Discourse of Nationalism and National Identity" is also an article by Tuba Kancı investigates the impact of Europeanization and globalization to the nationalism through Social Studies textbooks.

Religious Education has also drawn attention of researchers from various levels. The courses become a center of attention since the existence of the course raises controversies from the very beginning. These controversies are going to be mentioned thoroughly later on. Religious Education textbooks are central mostly for Faculty of Education and the researches are mostly directed to evaluate the acquisitions of textbook contents. Besides these there are the ones which are given to Institutes of Social Sciences. These studies give place to current

debates: the changes from 1980s till now, changes in the laws and programs, the views of students and teachers, different approaches of teachers, different approaches to different religions and impact of RCM to critical thinking are some of these. There are some researches which links RCM to citizenship education. Bayramali Nazırođu, in his published doctoral thesis, *Din Kùltürü Ve Ahlak Bilgisi Dersi Öğretim Programlarında Vatandaşlık Eğitimi*, which was submitted to Ondokuz Mayıs University; mentions to the introduction and development of citizenship education in the world and in Turkey and concluded that the citizenship education can be combined with religious education due to the importance of faith for the common sense. Buket Türkmen's article, "A Transformed Kemalist Islam or a New Islamic Civic Morality?" compares the RCM textbooks from 1995 and 2007-8 and underlines with JDP the Islam is reinterpreted in the textbooks as it was interpreted by Kemalist secularists, yet this new reinterpretation makes more Sunnite centered and does not contribute to the unity of the society. Sam Kaplan, in "Din-u Devlet All Over Again" mentions about political developments in Turkey which resulted in army officials' installation of Turkish-Islamic Synthesis. Kaplan, in "'Religious Nationalism': A Textbook Case from Turkey" discusses about how policy makers built a religious nationalism under the name of Turkish-Islamic Synthesis. Kaplan also dedicated a chapter of his book, *The Pedagogical State*, for making sense of state-religion relationship. He examines a seventh grade RCM textbook of 1987 and intends to reveal the ideology of Turk-Islam Synthesis. He states that Islam is presented in the textbooks as the moral codes of Turkish society. Through the equation of Islam and Turk, the required moral codes are provided for the society. Ergün Yıldırım's article named "Devletin Resmi Din İdeolojisi" in *Türkiye'de Sivil Toplum ve Milliyetçilik* investigates religious education textbooks of 1923-1950 and mentions how religious notions are turned into national concepts.

An overall examination of the dissertations conducted over RCM textbooks, it can be noticed that most of these works, if the ones which conducted analysis on textbooks are put aside, take the laws and programs of MoNE as given. That is to say, the researches are confined to the content of the official statements and they accept these statements as realized in the textbooks. The articles, on the other hand, are very limited due to their extent, so they can focus on only a limited number of examples. The content of this study differs from the previous works with the number and scope of the analyzed books. Additionally, RCM courses are not considered solely as religious education course, hence the focus is not the religiosity aspect of the content. Yet, it will be always carried in mind that, the reason of course's being introduced and being preserved was not about religiosity but religious nationalism. The major problem in here is who finds a place for him/herself within the course and who cannot, who is represented or not. That is to say, to observe how the construction of 'us' within the textbooks will be fundamental for my research.

After this brief introduction, the study proceeds with the second chapter which explores the general concepts such as nationalism, nation state, education and RE briefly in order to grasp the Turkish experience. Third chapter discusses the building of Turkish nation and Turkish citizen. In this chapter while nation building process is approached via religion, the nature of the newborn state-citizenship is going to be understood. In the fourth chapter the education of the citizen is going to be discussed and the development of the RE in Turkey and the debates around the subject is going to be reflected. Finally in the fifth chapter, the analysis of the textbooks is going to be presented and the issues that have been discussed until then will be found the opportunity to be exemplified.

2. CONCEPTUAL BACKGROUND

In this section I will briefly discuss the concepts, nationalism and nation state, citizenship and education of the citizen and religious education. The aim here is not to present the historical development of these terms or to present a comprehensive analysis of the related theories but rather to offer an understanding for the Turkish case.

2.1. Nationalism and Nation State

There are three major categories of nationalism: primordialist, modernist and ethnosymbolist. While primordialists “regards nations as natural or structures which exist since ancient times”⁷, according to modernists, “nations and nationalisms emerged with and as a result of processes such as capitalism, industrialism and the formation of the central states, urbanization and secularism.”⁸ However, the modernists are criticized, mostly by ethnosymbolists, since they are underestimating the importance of symbolic and social elements of nation. In this chapter, I will try to present nationalism as a modern phenomenon, without underestimating the ethnic and symbolic essence in it.

The Reformation movement indicates a significant change in the conceptualization of the world. The monopoly of the church over knowledge was diminished and people have started to seek for different explanations about the world that they are living in. The more they encounter with other people the more they become curious about different cultures. Also, the increased literacy enabled people to reach multiple opinions and contacts with different cultures throughout the world expanded their horizon. Benedict Anderson accentuates the importance of local languages and the advancement of printing press within this liberation process:

“The revolutionary vernacularizing thrust of capitalism was given further impetus by three extraneous factors, two of which contributed directly to the rise of national consciousness. The first [./.] was a change in the character of Latin itself. The Latin

⁷ Umut Özkırımlı. *Milliyetçilik Kuramları Eleştirel Bir Bakış*. (İstanbul: Sarmal Yayınevi, 1999) p. 77

⁸ Ibid. p.98.

they now aspired to write [...] increasingly removed from ecclesiastical and everyday life. [...] Second was the impact of Reformation, which, at the same time, owed much of its success to print-capitalism. Before the age of print, Rome easily won every war against heresy, in Western Europe because it had better internal lines of communication than its challengers. [...] Third was the slow, geographically uneven, spread of vernaculars as instruments of administrative centralization.”⁹

For him, the increased communication which capitalist printing made possible reduced the impact of religion over people, caused the appearance of central states through vernaculars and improved the people’s access to the information and hence creates an irreversible impact. Within this period; testable, scientific knowledge gained importance and empirical knowledge was believed as the only way of reaching truth about the universe. The increased literacy and inquiry about the world led European thinkers to the Enlightenment. “Enlightenment thinkers believed in the power of human reason and the perfectibility of humankind; they rejected the medieval belief in man’s sinful nature and helplessness in the face of earthly evils.”¹⁰ People was started to believe that human with his sole reason, can understand, explain and handle the worldly matters. Hence the individual gained importance at the expense of institutions such as church and monarchy; secularism was appreciated and popular sovereignty has started to be uttered.

American and French Revolutions in 1776 and 1789 respectively, were the two major events which were influenced by the notions of the Enlightenment and the modern era. They were stemmed from the people’s demand of being represented in the parliament equally as being taxpayers, as the real owners of the state. Their demand was not only to be considered as equals with privileged classes but also they think that they are also entitled to have say in the government. Elie Kedourie explains the situation of the state and individual by referring to the Enlightenment philosophers, especially Kant. According to him, man “is free when he

⁹ Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities*. (London, New York: Verso, 1991) pp. 39-41.

¹⁰ Robert Tignor, et al. *Worlds Together Worlds Apart*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 2011) pp.545-546.

obeys the laws of morality which he finds within himself, and not in the external world. Only when the will of man is moved by such an inward law can it really be free, and only then can there be talk of good and evil, of morality and justice.”¹¹ That is, people are internally moral and only if they can find the chance to act according to those laws they can be considered as free. Since no external law could be imposed upon the free man, he rules himself: “A good man is an autonomous man, and for him to realize his autonomy, he must be free. Self-determination thus becomes the supreme political good.”¹² Although the man is autonomous and capable of self regulation; his relation with the state is individualistic but holistic. Especially the post-Kantian philosophers developed a state theory and claimed that the “state is not a collection of individuals who came together in order to protect their own particular interests; the state is higher than the individual and comes before him.”¹³ However this state is not one big entity which governs the entire world but it is rather a nation-state.

Then, what constitutes a nation and why is it a modern phenomenon? As it was stated above modernist nationalism theoreticians regard forming a nation is not natural for societies, but rather it is an intended process. According to Eric Hobsbawm, nationalism is a process social engineering. A new society called nation has been created by inventing traditions which resembles like the old ones but facilitate the new symbols and devices, such as flag or anthem. The difference between the old and the new traditions is while the “former were specific and strongly binding social practices, the latter tended to be quite unspecific and vague as to the nature of the values, rights and obligations of the group membership they inculcate: ‘patriotism’, ‘loyalty’, ‘duty’, ‘playing the game’, ‘the school spirit’ and the like.”¹⁴ These invented traditions transform already existing societies into nations, enable social cohesion, establish or legitimize the institutions or authority and inculcate beliefs, values and

¹¹ Elie Kedourie. *Nationalism*. (London: Hutchinson & CO., 1966) p. 23.

¹² Ibid. p. 29.

¹³ Ibid. p. 38.

¹⁴ Eric Hobsbawm. “Introduction: Inventing Traditions” in *The Invention of Tradition*. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) p.10.

conventions of behavior.¹⁵ According to Hobsbawm in the modern period, the state's interests are tied to the citizen's participation more than ever; by voting, conscription, etc. Hence the loyalty of the citizen is required. The states ensure this loyalty and tie people to the state or the flag by inventing traditions or even nation itself. This is important not only to sustain people's commitment to the state in a positive sense but also to make them know that there are other nations which have conflicting interests. Especially in the aftermath of the world war the unrest caused by the constantly growing rivalry between nations and the deepening of the difference between 'us' and 'them' bond individuals together. "Naturally states would use the increasingly powerful machinery for communicating with their inhabitants, above all the primary schools, to spread the image and the heritage of the 'nation' and to inculcate attachment to it and to attach all to country and flag, often 'inventing traditions' or even nations for this purpose."¹⁶

Hobsbawm is not the only one who mentions about the invention of the nation. Benedict Anderson's main argument is based upon the fact that nation is an imagined community. According to him, nationalism invents the nation where it does not exist; and it imagines the nation as sovereign in a limited territory as a community. Imagining a society as a nation coincides with the decline of religious community and monarchy due to a major shift in the perception of the world: simultaneity. With the help of novel and newspaper, people are enabled to get the sense of living together with their fellow citizens. The characters living separate lives without any touch was analogous with the people living in a territory without knowing each other. On the other hand, the newspaper is the evidence that they have something in common. The date on the front page and the belief that they have bought the same newspaper constitutes an imagined tie between the citizens. Anderson claims that the dominant group which was faced with marginalization of exclusion from a nationally-

¹⁵ Ibid. p.9.

¹⁶ Eric Hobsbawm. *Nations and Nationalisms since 1780*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000) pp.91-92.

imagined community responded with official nationalism. Official nationalism is impossible before the emergence of popular nationalism; they have to keep pace in order not to be altered. Once the “reading public thus shared a narrative cosmos and soon imagined itself as a national community of common origin and future political destiny,”¹⁷ they become ready for official nationalism. The characteristics of the official nationalism are “compulsory state-controlled primary education, state organized propaganda, official rewriting of history, militarism [../.] and endless affirmations of the identity of dynasty and nation.”¹⁸

Paul R. Brass mentions about the role of the elites within the process of nation building. According to him ethnicities do not inevitably turn into nations, but rather cultural identities provide a basis for political differences under certain circumstances. In order nations to occur, the rivalry between the elites in a certain economic and political atmosphere is important, not the cultural differences. This rivalry between elites determines how the nation defines itself. Culture and values provide political source for these elites. Ethnic difference is accentuated just because the elites wanted so. In a different economic and political atmosphere elites can promote cooperation and mutual benefits. So the nation is not only arbitrary but also retrievable. Yet, once the ethnic transformation occurs, the borders between groups crystallizes, new meanings attributed to the old symbols, certain symbols are used in order to differentiate one group from another. However not the objective differences between societies, and the rivalry between elites are enough for the process of ethnic transformation. The symbols should be transformed to the different social groups within the society. Brass put emphasis on education for this purpose.¹⁹

Anthony Smith states two types of nation building process: “two basic kinds of ethnic core, the lateral and the vertical, also furnish the two main routes by which nations have been

¹⁷ Andreas Wimmer and Yuval Feinstein. *The Rise of the Nation-State across the World, 1816 to 2001. American Sociological Review.* Vol. 75. No. 5. (2010) p. 768.

¹⁸ Benedict Anderson. (1991) p.101.

¹⁹ Umut Özkırımlı. (1999) pp. 130.

created.”²⁰ Lateral ones, like England, France and Spain, the creation of the nation was “a result of the early development of a particular kind of ‘rational’ bureaucratic administration, aided by the development of merchant capital, wealthy urban centres and professional military forces and technology.”²¹ These societies were already relatively homogeneous in the sense of ancestry and identity but the state was the main actor who actually created the nation as a compact, unified, standardized and culturally homogenized unit. On the other hand, for the vertical ones, sacred texts, liturgy, rites, clergy were the main actor of the creation of the nation instead of the state. These types of societies assume that “theirs was already, and indeed always had been, a nation. [../] They possessed in full measure, after all, the purely ethnic components of the nation[:] [../] common names, myths of descent, hand and a persisting, if not sub-divided, sense of ethnic solidarity.”²² However due to the lack of required elements of being a nation, these elements were remain insufficient. Thus, secular intellectuals transformed these types of societies into a nation. Although Smith seems to differentiate these two, they are not as strictly different paths as it may seen.

“Common 'ethnic' cultures do matter in giving modern nations their identities and emotional attachments, but the creation of modern states - and the wars and other struggles between them - both transforms the way ethnicity figures in people's lives and helps determine which preexisting cultures or ethnic groups will flourish as nations and which will fail to define politically significant identities.”²³

In other words, although the different paths that have taken nation states preserve the ethnic core to enable people to imagine that they are a community with shared notions and values, and also legitimizes the state as the protector of those values. The symbols, myths, traditions, memories and values as well as memories of golden ages, myths of origin and ethnic election,

²⁰ Anthony D. Smith. “The Origins of Nations” in *Nationalism*. John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (eds.) (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994) p. 147.

²¹ Ibid. p.150.

²² Ibid. p.152.

²³ Craig Calhoun. *Nationalism*. (Great Britain: Open University Press, 1997) p.66.

cults of heroes and ancestors, attachment to a homeland²⁴ are some of the symbolic and social elements that constitute national identity.

2.2. Citizenship and Education of the Citizen

The people of the nation state are no more the subjects but citizens. As Michael Walzer argues there are “two different understandings of what it means to be a citizen. The first describes citizenship as an office, a responsibility, a burden proudly assumed; the second describes citizenship as a status, an entitlement, a right or set of rights passively enjoyed.”²⁵ That is to say, citizen is not the one who belongs to the sovereign by all means but rather s/he is tied to a state with duties and responsibilities as well as rights.

“[T]o assert principle of citizenship is not enough to constitute the community of citizens. Sovereignty and citizenship are fiction. In concrete terms, people cannot be mobilized for such abstract thoughts (French Revolution is an exception of this). Humans can only be integrated by the continuous activity of the social and historical communal institutions which carries the decisive qualities of a social and historical special assembly and transfers the types of existence and co-existence of generations to each other.”²⁶

In other words, citizens should imagine themselves as an integral part of a whole which is important than the individuals one by one. Thus, they perform their duties in order to preserve the existence and continuity of the community. This is not a mere obligation, but rather a voluntary performance of loyalty to the ancestors. The individual knows that s/he is a mediator between past and future, who convey the history, myths, symbols, traditions of the given nation. Hence, in order to perform this duty the individual should have been already internalized these. School has the primary place for educating the citizens. It is the place where these myths, symbols and traditions are transferred to the next generations; and where the pupils learn and internalize the essentials of being a part of a greater whole.

²⁴ Umut Özkırımlı. (1999) p. 143.

²⁵ Michael Walzer. “Citizenship” in *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change*. Terence Ball, James Farr and Russell L. Hanson (eds.) (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995) p. 211.

²⁶ Dominique Schnapper. “Yurттаşlar Cemaati” in *Dersimiz Yurттаşlık* (İstanbul: Kesit Yayıncılık, 1998) p.149.

Michel Foucault defines modern form of power with the concept of governmentality which is “reciprocal constitution of power techniques and forms of knowledge” and “close link between power relations and the process of subjectification.”²⁷ These two aspects of governmentality imply that the new form of power not only imposes over subjects and subjugate them but also enables them to become subjects. In this new form of power, the subjects are surrounded with the discourse of truth which they can experience in every aspect of their daily lives. The truth is disseminated via several institutions which help to correct deviant behavior and reintroduce the individual to the society. Since this discourse is comprehensive and regulative, government does not feel the necessity of oppression. Educational institutions are the places to develop “correct” behavior. They are not places where only knowledge is produced but also ‘docile bodies’ are created. This term is used by Foucault in *Discipline and Punish* in order to explain the body’s also being in line with the expectations of power: “The body, required to be docile in its minutest operations, opposes and shows the conditions of functioning proper to an organism.”²⁸ Again, the subjects become docile not via oppression but they are willingly take the necessary actions. The actions are taken not because of obligation but rather because they are the right thing to do.

Educational institutions are the most convenient places of subjectification as it is stated above. First of all being in the school requires a bodily activity. Wearing regular clothes, if it is not a uniform, attending to class in time, sitting in a regular manner, keeping eye on school material, doing homework and having examinations; even these are the examples for the observing, record keeping, regulating, and disciplinarian feature of power. Also, education has another feature; curriculum. The school curriculum offers the ‘true’ knowledge about subjects. It reveals the truths about history, health, politics and any other relevant issue much the same way the mathematical equations are correct. Discourse

²⁷ Thomas Lemke. “The Birth of Bio-politics: Michel Foucault’s Lecture at the College de France on Neo-Liberal Governmentality” in *Economy and Society*. (2001) Vol: 30, No: 2. p. 191.

²⁸ Michel Foucault. *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1995) p. 156.

determines the things which are proper and improper to be said; and he states that schools are the places where the “modern validations of, and exclusions from the ‘right to speak’ are generated.”²⁹ That is to say, the students internalize the dominant discourse, they learn it in the school and internalize for their daily lives.

Foucault discusses three steps which make discipline possible. As it was mentioned above, the first step is active surveillance. For him, the surveillance ensures effective realization of duties. One can never be reluctant about performing the duties if s/he knows that s/he is being observed in every minute. The individuals are being surveilled through various institutions, like schools, hospitals, state agencies, and records are kept and stored for further use. This is why Foucault mentions about examination as another disciplining factor. According to him, examination reduces individuals into documents and considers each of them as cases. Being a case means that every single detail of one’s life becomes another sheet in the file and altogether that file represents that particular individual and how s/he fits into the norms of the society. Examination is also a part of the regime of truth since it expects ‘right’ answer to be given and if not, the student is led to other disciplining mechanisms. The last feature of discipline is the normalizing judgement. The judgement includes not penalty but training and correction. The important thing is not to punish that individual but make him/her to understand why the action considered as crime, worth rehabilitation and decarceration. This is important because, this process also reveals the concepts of normal and deviant and encourages people to stay in the norm. Since this definition of ‘normal’ is shared by every institution, it is very comprehensive.

Louis Althusser regards education in a similar manner. According to him, there are two types of state apparatuses, oppressive (government, administration, police, army, court and prison) and ideological (religion, instruction, family, legal, political, union,

²⁹ Stephen Ball. “Introducing Monsieur Foucault” in *Foucault and Education*. ed. Stephen Ball. (London: Routledge, 1990) pg: 5.

communication and cultural)³⁰ and these support state from public and private sphere respectively. Since the ruling elite holds the state power and oppressive apparatuses, the ideological apparatuses of the state are the ideology of the ruling elite as well. The ideological apparatuses of the state serve to the dissemination of the official ideology to the masses. While the oppressive apparatuses of the state remain mostly the same through time, the ideological apparatuses have changed or one has altered the other in time. For instance, the school-family pair has altered the church-family pair after French Revolution. From then the school has been playing an important role in the concert of the ideological apparatuses.³¹

School

“takes children from every class at infant-school age, and then for years, the years in which the child is most ‘vulnerable’, squeezed between the Family State Apparatus and the Educational State Apparatus, it drums into them, whether it uses new or old methods, a certain amount of ‘know-how’ wrapped in the ruling ideology (French, arithmetic, natural history, the sciences, literature) or simply the ruling ideology in its pure state (ethics, civic instruction, philosophy).”³²

The analysis of Althusser is more rigid than Foucault. While for Althusser the infrastructure directly affects the superstructure and the ruling class which holds the means of production also leads the dominant ideology which is conveyed smoothly in the schools and other ideological apparatuses. Although his analysis is important to present the education of the citizen as a constant process which more than one actor is contributed; it regards people, in this case students, as the passive receivers of what they are told. In this sense Foucauldian explanation is more dynamic. Although he seems to refer an omnipresent and intangible power, it is not as stable as it sounds. According to Chia-Ling Wang, “Foucault does not survey the discursive field within a totalizing horizon of repression. Instead, the discursive field becomes a space for opening, a space of dispersal and of transformation.” In order to

³⁰ Louis Althusser. *Devletin İdeolojik Aygıtları*. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000) pp. 33-34.

³¹ Ibid. pp. 36-43.

³² Ibid. p. 44.

support this idea Wang quotes from Foucault: “each discourse undergoes constant change as new utterances are added to it.”³³ In other words, there is no predetermined and established discourse but rather discourse is a field of constant change and interchange. The correct behavior is thought in the schools but there is space for the individual to contravene. In these cases, the reaction of the modern form of power is not to punish severely but to correct the ‘deviant’ behavior in the most convenient institution.

As it is mentioned above, French Revolution was the milestone for the nationalization of the education. “With Revolution, after the dissemination of patriotism among people, school was thought as an institution which provides the requirement of national unity.”³⁴ Schools are no longer places where certain skills and knowledge are thought but rather places where the social norms and values are conveyed. Paul Brass regards education as a tool which transfers the chosen symbols to the different social classes within the ethnic group. According to him, the ethnic movement occurs when

“(1) the local elites have the control of temples/churches, soils and adjacent foundations, religious schools and (2) the state accepts the local language as a legitimate education and administration language and hence provides the opportunity to the elites to satisfy new social groups who desires to reach education and occupation sources, materially and culturally.”³⁵

That is, the elites are the active players in the national awakening of the society and institutions of education are used to transfer the symbols of the nation to the social groups by those elites. Hence the process of creation of the citizen is not neutral but rather it is full of the ideals of those elites about how the nation should be: “School textbooks [../.] convey a knowledge that has been subordinated to particular control mechanisms by the state and/or dominant elites in the process of nation building and the creation of loyal citizens.”³⁶ Ernest

³³ Chia-Ling Wang. “Power/Knowledge for Educational Theory” in *Journal of Philosophy of Education*. Vol.45 No.1, (2001) p: 148.

³⁴ Kemal İnal. *Eğitim ve İktidar*. (Ankara:Ütopya, 2004) p.45.

³⁵ Ibid. p.132.

³⁶ Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal and Hanna Schissler. (2005.) p. 1.

Gellner also claims that, nationalism is in fact nothing more than imposition of the high culture on society although it is derived from the culture of the society. Education in the industrial society, which is prerequisite of the nation state for Gellner, is universal, standardized and generic which provides cultural homogeneity in the society. In the industrial society, education is no longer given by the local communities but exo-education becomes the obligatory norm: “The monopoly of legitimate education is now more important, more central than is the monopoly of legitimate violence.”³⁷ Because, violence is destructive but via education people can be healthy members of the society and join to the societal activities.

Before the beginning of World War I, almost all nation states of the West have completed to initiate compulsory education by enacting required laws and expansion of the enrollments. Mass compulsory education was regarded as the medium of national progress and creation of an ideal individual, citizen.

“Education's individual-oriented ideology and organization help to construct citizenship as the primary political status across the lines of class, regional, ethnic, and gender differences. Its mass character brings the entire population under the aegis of the state as members of the national polity and prepares them to undertake the roles necessary to enhance the external power of the state. In this context, education becomes a duty as much as a right.”³⁸

Thus, schools became the mediator between individuals and the states. Via school education, the social cohesion and the notion of belonging to a state is sustained, so the states take it very seriously to prepare textbooks and the messages conveyed via those books.

2.3. Religious Education

In this section I will first present the general definitions which are used to classify religious education (from now on, RE) models and try to give a historical development of European RE. I will confine to Europe because in Turkey the issue is evaluated around

³⁷ Ernest Gellner. *Nations and Nationalisms*. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001) p. 34.

³⁸ Yasemin Nuhoglu Soysal and David Strang. “Construction of the First Mass Education Systems in Nineteenth Century Europe” in *Sociology of Education*. Vol. 62, No. 4 (Oct., 1989), p. 279.

European Union (EU) criteria and also European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) verdicts. Fatih Genç and others, classify RE as ‘confessional’, ‘non-confessional’ and ‘no religious instruction’ at school.

“The first model is characterized by confessional religious instruction aiming at the continuation of the religious socialization at home (*teaching in religion*). Religious instruction is organised and controlled by (local or national) religious communities that are responsible for the training and selection of teachers for RE, the quality of curricula and the approval of materials. [../] In the second model, there is no religious instruction in schools. France is the unique example of this model. [../] Recently, in subjects like history, geography and social sciences, religious facts are taught (*teaching about religion*), since it is assumed that all students have to know the facts of the diverse (religious and secular) worldview(s) they are confronted with in daily life. [../] The third model [../] non-confessional approach might result in a particular emphasis on Christianity [../], or end up in a pluralistic approach emphasising the role of religion(s) in the exploration of existential questions and individual identity development of the student (*teaching from the religion*). In this approach citizenship is rooted in personal religious and moral identity development.”³⁹

Second categorization in terms of RE refers to the interreligious relations:

“In the first case, children with different religious and non - religious backgrounds are integrated in one classroom and learn together about different religions (*integrative RE*). In the second case, they are separated according to the religious tradition they belong to and learn about ‘their own’ and often also about ‘other’ religions in separate groups, usually from a teacher who is authorised by the religious community which is, often in cooperation with state institutions, responsible for this particular version of RE (*separative RE*).”⁴⁰

The global tendency of RE is headed from confessional to non-confessional, and separative to integrative. In the following paragraphs, the idea is going to be discussed via examples from Europe.

England and Sweden are two societies where there is a strong relation between state and church and therefore until 20th century a compulsory confessional religious instruction

³⁹ Fatih Genç et al. “A Conversational Analysis of Developments in Religious Education in Europe and in Turkey” in *British Journal of Religious Education*. Vol. 34, No.3, September 2012. pp. 284-285.

⁴⁰ Wanda Alberts. “The Academic Study of Religions and Integrative Religious Education in Europe” in *British Journal of Religious Education*. Vol. 32. No.3 (2010) p. 276.

course was taught in public schools. The course was reshaped due to several curriculum reforms in Sweden and due to several, bottom to top demands in England. In 1988 religious instruction has been transformed into religious education and the course has been evolved to teaching about religions while preserving its compulsory situation in England. Today, the curriculum is still prepared with the contribution of religious authorities as well as educators. In Sweden the Religion course has lost its confessional structure in the very beginning of the 20th century and started to include other denominations. In the second half of the century, the name of the course which was once Christianity was changed to Knowledge of Christianity as a result of the criticisms coming from every political and ideological opinion and become suitable for the plural structure of the society.⁴¹ Today, the RE in Sweden is “compulsory, integrative, with no opt-out possibility, and includes teaching about different religions and ‘non-religious worldviews’, is non-denominational, and described as objective.”⁴²

The states in the Netherlands and Belgium have preserved their Christian characteristics until the beginning of 20th century. However the change occurs not as a result of the changing living conditions but as a result of the demands and struggles from the below. Both have experienced school reform and the groups other than dominant religion have started to regulate their own social and cultural services.⁴³ In the Netherlands, during 1970s the offspring of the guestworkers, who came to the country during 1960s, were sent to schools and teachers have had to develop models for a multicultural classroom. “As a result, [../.] from 1985 onwards, all schools are obliged to teach about different world religions (including Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism) in the subject ‘Religious and Secular Philosophies of Life’.”⁴⁴ Lieven Boeve discusses about the 1999 primary and secondary school curriculum

⁴¹ Katrien Desimpelaere. “Batı Avrupa Bağlamında Dini Eğitim” in *Türkiye’de Zorunlu Din Dersleri: Yurttaşla Devletin Karşılaştığı Yer*. (İstanbul: Helsinki Yurttaşlar Derneği, 2015) pp. 48-50.

⁴² Jenny Berglund. “Swedish Religious Education: Objective but Marinated in Lutheran Protestantism?” in *The Finnish Society for the Study of Religion*. Vol. 49. No.2. (2003) p. 165.

⁴³ Katrien Desimpelaere. (2015) pp. 50-52.

⁴⁴ Fatih Genç et al. (2012) p. 286.

reform in Flanders. He underlines that the curriculum reform occurred in a post-Christian and post-secular society which means while the decisiveness of Christianity in the society diminishes, religion did not disappear as it was expected but rather pluralized. Therefore, being in line with these social developments, the new course focuses on “raising pupils’ reflexive and communicative competencies by immersing them in the challenging reality of interreligious communication. By stimulating the conversation between Christian faith and other religions and convictions, RE hoped to let pupils reflect on their own religious identity.” And as a result the students are expected to gain “the competency to live in a multi-religious society [../.] [being] conscious of the specificity of their own religious identity [and] being respectful of religious others.”⁴⁵

Unlike other European countries, religion and the religious education in public schools was shaped according to the perspective of the each province’s dominant denomination in Germany until mid 20th century. The efforts of the opponents of confessional education have transformed the content of the course. In the recent decades the number of the elective courses has been increased and an alternative course named ethics or philosophy is offered for who wants to be exempt. These courses are in the characteristics of teaching about religion.⁴⁶

In Denmark, the RE course (named Knowledge of Christianity) is timetabled one lesson per week during the 9 years compulsory education. In 6th or 7th grade most of the pupils attend a Lutheran minister instead of taking the course at school. According to the current legislation the main field of knowledge in the course is the Evangelical-Lutheran Christianity of Danish people. However, exemption is a possibility according to the same legislation. Like other European countries, the public education has been transforming since mid 20th century. In 1975 the course named as Christian Knowledge and has no longer confessional. Also in the same year ‘Foreign Religions and Other Worldviews’ entered to the

⁴⁵ Lieven Boeve. “Religious Education in a post-secular and post-Christian Context” in *Journal of Beliefs and Values*. Vol.33, No.2, August 2012. pp.143-144.

⁴⁶ Katrien Desimpelaere. (2015) pp. 52-53.

curriculum of 6, 9 and 10th grade as a compulsory topic within several different courses. The Education Act of 1993 anticipates familiarizing pupils to Danish culture and contributes understanding other cultures but also Christianity was underlined as a constitutive aspect of Danish culture and it was mentioned as a distinction from non-European cultures and cultures that have influenced immigrants.⁴⁷

France presents a unique example among other European countries. The distinct laic characteristic of the country accepts religion as a personal matter and excludes it from public sphere. The public education which is claimed to be explicitly objective and supra-religious until now but in recent years there is an evolving trend from passive neutrality to plural secularism. Not the religion but the religious phenomena are needed to be taught in accordance with changing world situations. As a result in the French public schools religious concepts are started to be taught within other courses such as history, geography, literature and citizenship. According to the new legislation dated 2005, students are expected to be knowledgeable about different religions and worldviews.

Greece is maybe the most conservative country among these. As Greek constitution puts it, “the prevailing religion in Greece is the religion of Eastern Orthodox Church of the Christ” and “Education is a basic mission of the state aiming... the development of the national and religious consciousness...”⁴⁸ As is seen, the course is not only denominational but also catechist which aims to upbringing students as faithful citizens. Accordingly “[p]roposals for the reorganization and modernization of the religious curriculum continue to meet strong resistance on the part of Greek Orthodox Church. [../] [So much so that] in September 1999 the Greek Archbishop [../] declared that the religious curriculum is in

⁴⁷ Tim Jensen and Karna Kjeldsen. “RE in Denmark- Political and Professional Discourses and Debates, Past and Present” in *Nordic Journal of Comparative Religion*. Vol. 49, No. 2, 2013. pp.190-198.

⁴⁸ Evie Zambeta. “Religion and National Identity in Greek Education” in *Intercultural Education*. Vol.11, No. 2, 2000. p.149.

danger.”⁴⁹ One last remark from Greece is, although exemption is a possibility, no alternative RE course is provided for other religious groups, except from Thracian Muslims. The system does not even recognize non believers and accepts denominational instruction as a part of citizenship education.⁵⁰

It can be seen that European countries are trying to find a balance between the major denomination or faith which has been an integral part of the society’s identity and a newly emerging social structure which is more pluralistic, multicultural and polyphonic. Hence the content of the courses evolve to teaching about religion through time. It is remarkable to see that they, even if sometimes reluctantly, are trying to find a way to live together with differences. As it was mentioned above EU does not directly intervenes the educational policies, however, the predetermined contracts are instructive for the member states. Also, universal conventions and declarations as well as projects which are conducted with the participation of several countries, a better RE is tried to be developed.

European Union, through several agencies, tries to protect basic human rights and therefore religious freedoms. These are binding for all member states and also a guideline for applicants. According to the 18th article of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) dated 1976, everyone has right of thought, conscience and religion and no one shall be subject to coercion which would impair his freedom to have or to adopt a religion or belief of his choice. Also the state parties have to respect the liberty of parents or legal guardians to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions.⁵¹ In the 22nd General Comment of United Nations the Human Rights Committee, it is stated that: “The Committee is of the view that article 18.4 permits public school instruction in subjects such as the general history of religions and ethics if it is given in

⁴⁹ Ibid. p.149.

⁵⁰ Ibid. pp.149-150.

⁵¹ <http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/ccpr.aspx> (Last Access: 24.01.17)

a neutral and objective way.”⁵² Similarly according to the second article of the first protocol of European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) states are obliged to respect and provide an education according to the religious and philosophical convictions of the parents.⁵³ While accepting the parental rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), states that these rights of the parents should be used “in a manner consistent with the evolving capacities of the child”⁵⁴ The children’s ‘best interest’ comes before the expectations of their parents or guardians. In sum, the international conventions are supportive of the unbiased religious instruction which is compatible with human dignity. “When the course cannot provide these conditions, the instruction of the course would be suitable for the human rights norms only in the cases that the school provides alternatives for the requests of the parents or guardians, and non-discriminatory exemption mechanisms.”⁵⁵

However new developments require new precautions. The increased confrontations in European cities which accelerate tensions around the religion, especially after September 11, led several international institutions and NGOs to evaluate the issue. All these efforts are directed to establish RE as a way of dialogue in a multicultural society. One of the most prominent examples of these is the *Toledo Guiding Principles on Teaching about Religions and Beliefs in Public Schools* conducted with the efforts of Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and by the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) Advisory Council of Freedom on Religion or Belief in March 2007. Toledo Guiding Principles concludes that the education of religions and beliefs enhances the respect for everyone’s right of freedom of religion and belief, foster democratic citizenship, promote understanding of social diversity and enhance social cohesion. It has the potential to reduce

⁵² <https://www1.umn.edu/humanrts/gencomm/hrcom22.htm> (Last Access: 24.01.17)

⁵³ http://www.echr.coe.int/Documents/Convention_ENG.pdf (Last Access: 24.01.17)

⁵⁴ <http://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx> (Last Access: 24.01.17)

⁵⁵ Aytuğ Şaşmaz, et al. *Türkiye’de Din ve Eğitim: Son Dönemdeki Gelişmeler ve Değişim Süreci*. (İstanbul: ERG, 2011) p.12.

conflicts based on lack of understanding.”⁵⁶ The meeting determined 10 Guiding Principles for the use of OSCE countries for the education of religions and beliefs: The education of religions and beliefs should be done in a respectful environment to the human rights, fundamental freedoms and civic values, and the teachers should have a commitment to religious freedom and they should be adequately educated to do so. Any basic teacher preparation should be framed and developed according to democratic and human rights principles and include insight into cultural and religious diversity in society. Teaching about religions and beliefs is a major responsibility of schools, but different stakeholders should be included into the process. Preparation of curricula, should take into account religious and non-religious views in a way that is inclusive, fair, and respectful. Curricula should be developed in accordance with recognized professional standards in order to ensure a balanced approach to study about religions and beliefs. It should be sensitive to different local manifestations of religious and secular plurality found in schools and the communities they serve. Where a compulsory programme involving teaching about religions and beliefs is not sufficiently objective, efforts should be made to revise it to make it more balanced and impartial, but where this is not possible, or cannot be accomplished immediately, recognizing opt-out rights may be a satisfactory solution for parents and pupils, provided that the opt-out arrangements are structured in a sensitive and non-discriminatory way.⁵⁷

⁵⁶*Toledo Guiding Principles on Teaching about Religions and Beliefs in Public Schools.* (Warsaw: OSCE/ODIHR, 2007) pp.11-12.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 16-17.

3. NATION BUILDING PROCESS OF TURKEY

The formation of the nation state was a combination of political and military developments in Ottoman Empire and modernization process rather than being a result of abovementioned processes; capitalism, industrialism and the formation of the central states, urbanization and secularism. Modernization, interchangeably with Europeanization and Westernization, is used in the last two centuries of Ottoman Empire and in the foundational years of Turkish Republic and means “‘general images which summarizes various changes in social life’ that accompanies market society and the rise of nation-state.”⁵⁸

As Şerif Mardin points out, there were three faces of Ottoman Empire: being patrimonial, lacking of urban movements and religion.⁵⁹ As a patrimonial state, Ottoman sultan has the absolute sovereignty that no group can flourish to share or control the power of him: “Official Islam went no further than being a central bureaucratic institution, *the ayans* could resist only short periods of time to the center and their power was not accepted as legitimate by the center.”⁶⁰ Likewise, the society was not stratified according to capitalist references, thus a bourgeois class did not occur to revolt and demand self government. And finally the religion was the cement of the society, not only as an institution but also in non-institutionalized ways it tied society to the state. The republican elites wanted to alter all of these three aspects during modernization processes and transform the empire to nation state, subject to citizen.

3.1. The Need for Modernization

Ottoman Empire have started to feel Western superiority in all fields and seek ways

⁵⁸ Reşat Kasaba. “Eski ile Yeni Arasında Kemalizm ve Modernizm” in *Türkiye’de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998) p.15.

⁵⁹ Şerif Mardin. “Modern Türk Sosyal Bilimleri Üzerine Bazı Düşünceler” in *Türkiye’de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998) pp. 60-63.

⁶⁰ Metin Heper. “Türkiye’de Unutulan Birey ve Tebaa” in *75. Yılda Tebaa’dan Yurttaş’a Doğru*. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998) p. 43.

and means to restore the balance⁶¹ The unequal military power between West and Ottoman Empire had resulted in loss off war and hence decline of the war booty, yet the rise in the number of Janissaries against the corrupted *timar* system (manorial system) were the most crucial part of the problem. Therefore the reformations were begun from the field of military. However in a very short while military reforms were proven as inadequate if not useless; since the social texture was also deteriorating. Ambassadors and voyagers who were sent to discover European lifestyle, especially during the reigns of Selim III and Mahmut II, frequently mentioned about rail and highways, urbanization, order, law, knowledge and science in their logbooks. These were seen as the signs of modernity and since these features were not regarded as essentially Western in those days; it was widely believed that by adopting these, Islamic societies could be modern easily. However, the suggestions for preventing the collapse could not be realized most of the time and could not be cure for regression whenever they were realized.

In 19th century the requirement for new institutions were proven obvious. The main agenda of Young Ottomans which was founded in 1865 was the declaration of the constitution and therefore sultan's becoming accountable through not violating the principles of Islam. The precautions of the period were regarded as a prevention of Islam as well as the state by the intellectuals of the period. Likewise, the reciprocities of Western and Islamic concepts were used in order to underline both are not conflicting with each other. Later on Young Turks in 1877 were established in order to force Abdulhamid to reinforce constitution. The organization changed its name as *Osmanlı İttihad ve Terakki Cemiyeti* (Ottoman Union and Progress Association) after the split in the Paris Convention of Young Turks in 1902 and gained strength in politics after they merged with a group of army officers and government

⁶¹ Kemal H. Karpat. *Turkey's Politics: The Transition to a Multi-Party System*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959) p. 6.

officials of “Ottoman Freedom Association” in Salonica in 1906.⁶² Eventually these would be the group which seized the governmental power, and became the impetus for the creation of the modern Turkish nation state.

3.2. The West as a Horizon: Modernization

The name “Union and Progress” was not given by coincidence to this association. The cadres of Young Turks were no longer traveling to Europe not only to observe lifestyle but for education and hence being familiar to the Western ideologies. According to the modernizing elite, who were working at the bureaucracy levels and aimed to turn back for saving the state, European thought was not speculative knowledge for contemplation but rather a tool set for pragmatic use. Thus, they were trying to adopt most effective thoughts for saving the empire and to disseminate these thoughts via newspapers or novels. Of course in the Europe’s fruitful philosophical and ideological environment, different voices, opinions were heard and internalized by some Turkish intellectuals but they were eliminated through time.

“The rise of the ‘renovation’ and ‘reform’ movements and thoughts are completely simultaneous with the transfer of the Auguste Comte’s ideas and recommendations to the Ottoman thought.”⁶³ Especially the ideas of ‘positive society’ and ‘positive politics’ had an impact on the elites who desire to emancipate the state from collapse and give an order to society. According to positivism which was systematized by Auguste Comte, the knowledge can be derived only by observation of the phenomenon and experimentation. The knowledge which derived by this process should be unified together and explained in accordance with the law. Only then, science enables us not only to control the nature but also to predict what future will bring. For Auguste Comte, these rules were also applicable to society. “Because, according to the universalistic political utopia of positivism, no matter how they are different from each other in terms of belief, traditions, political order; they are similar in terms of being

⁶² Ibid. pp. 12-14.

⁶³ Hasan Bülent Kahraman. “Bir Zihniyet, Kurum ve Kimlik Kurucusu Olarak Batılılaşma” in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce*. Vol.3. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002) p. 127.

a society and having a ‘common/universal social nature’. Within this common/universal social nature same conditions led to similar results.”⁶⁴ Hence the path of every society will end up in positivistic stage passing through theological stage and metaphysical stage. People will abandon their faith in gods, supernatural beings or philosophical concepts respectively in the first two stages and start to explain things with science. The last state is the maturity of humanity and just as human beings the societies will inevitably pass through infancy and adolescence to reach maturity.⁶⁵ The possibility of becoming like West after fulfilling certain social, political, economical requirements was tempting for Ottoman/Turkish modernizing elites. Although Auguste Comte assumes that science prevail faith, he values religion as a binding institution in the society. Hence he eventually names positivism as the true religion and tries to promulgate the true religion. He even writes a letter to invite the then retired grand vizier of Ottoman Empire Mustafa Reşit Paşa to the universal religion. According to him despite the social reform could only be realized in West but Easterners are more capable of adapting the notions of these reforms than Westerners. Islam prepared people to embrace positivism easily and hence with the quick replacement of people instead of God the ultimate goal would be achieved. Although there is no sign that universal religion has found support among Ottoman and later Turkish elites, the idea that the society will eventually catch modern civilizations by scientific improvement and rational government has a tremendous impact. Also, reducing the impact of religion, which was seen as the reason of backwardness, by instrumentalizing the notions and conceptualizations of it, is the other contribution of positivism to the Turkish intellectuals.

Nevertheless, it is insufficient to correlate Europe’s being regarded as a horizon to the urgent need to improve in certain areas. The reason is more complicated than being

⁶⁴ Doğan Özlem. “Türkiye’de Pozitivizm ve Siyaset” in *Modern Türkiye’de Siyasi Düşünce Vol. 3*. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002) p.458.

⁶⁵ George Ritzer and Douglas J. Goodman. “Auguste Comte” in *Classical Sociological Theory*. (New York: Mcgrawhill. Fourth Edition, 2004) pp. 83-84

technically progressed, but rather it is also related with how Europe represents itself to the rest of the world. In 18th and 19th centuries European states did not only exploit but also establish capitalist social system by educating the society within their colonies. In the meantime, Orient and Occident were depicted as irreconcilable and essentially different, but it was told that after internalization of the Western lifestyles and way of thinking the difference may narrow down if not closed entirely. Ayşe Kadioğlu mentions two levels of Orientalism by quoting from Partha Chatterjee: thematic and problematic. According to this,

“Orientalism at the level of the thematic is a style of thought based on an ontological and epistemological distinction between the Orient and Occident, the East and the West. Orientalism at the level of problematic, on the other hand, involves a separation of the Orient as an object of study stamped with an otherness that is passive and non-participant.”⁶⁶

This separation does not position East and West as two different but equal entities; rather it positions one of the two irreconcilable organisms above the other and provides it the authority of observation, examination, explanation and making decisions on behalf of the other. The binary opposition among Orient and Occident spreads to other aspects of thinking. Accordingly, concepts like mind-sense, science-belief, and knowledge-speculation are evaluated in a relation of opposition and the former ones preferred over the latter.

“It is important to note that these dualisms are maintained not only from the hegemonic position, through sheer coercion or ideological manipulation: the subjected position also upholds them. It may be said [...] that the subaltern positions in all these dualisms submit more or less willingly to this axiomatic presupposition, with the expectancy or false promise that one day the tables will (or at least may) be turned, that they will occupy (or conquer) the hegemonic position.”⁶⁷

So, the intellectual profile who once believed that the civilization is one and whole, and being civilized depends on adopting certain technical improvements; substituted with the ones who regarded the West as a horizon. If one state moves fast enough and develop fast decision

⁶⁶ Ayşe Kadioğlu. “The Paradox of Nationalism and the Construction of Official Identity” in *Turkey, Identity Democracy, Politics*. Sylvia Kedourie (ed.) (London: Frank Cass, 1998) p. 184.

⁶⁷ Bülent Somay. *The Psychopolitics of Oriental Father: between omnipotence and emasculation*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014) p. 46.

making and practice mechanisms it can reach to the point where Europe has reached after 500 years of movements and revolutions and after that it would be possible to posit in the right side of these binary oppositions.: “The concept of civilization means something constantly moving, goes forward and progress. In this respect, it does not only show a given development status but also bears an ideal that one must reach.”⁶⁸ It is understandable why this definition is valid for the colonies. However there is an analogy between these levels of Orientalism and the nation building processes of non-colonized societies which have seen the required progress in Westernization. But, according to Kadioğlu, although Eastern nationalisms preserve the thematic level as they are, they reverse the relationship in the problematic level. While they admit that the East and the West are essentially different, they do not underestimate their own subjectivity and they do not position themselves in a submissive position. The conflicting mood of Turkish intellectual can be explained as such. On the one hand they were hostile towards West but on the other they were trying to imitate them.⁶⁹ In this respect the Turkish intellectual works hard for the implementation of these notions, which they have internalized immediately, to the whole nation. Nilüfer Göle claims that the aim of sustaining order and progress continues in the following years of the Republic:

“The ultimate goal is to provide unity and solidarity thanks to the Western style progress. In this manner, throughout Republican history every differentiation due to ethnic, ideological, religious or economic was regarded not as neutral components of pluralistic democracy but as threatening elements which leads to instability.”⁷⁰

Hence the execution of the modernization by Turkish intellectual had been a top to down process. Only then, the necessary steps would be put forward rapidly and reach to the expected level. Being modern is “the stylistic variance factors like the outfits of people, cleanliness of the streets, the types and quality of the institutions in the minds of Ottoman

⁶⁸ Nilüfer Göle. “Modernleşme Bağlamında İslami Kimlik Arayışı” in *Türkiye’de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998) p. 74.

⁶⁹ Ayşe Kadioğlu (1998) p. 185.

⁷⁰ Nilüfer Göle (1998) p.73.

Young Turk and Kemalist leaders’.”⁷¹ They were thinking being modern and also being regarded as modern can be reached by possessing certain images: “it was not sufficient for the intellectuals to merely *mimic* the European imago: self-conviction was also a precondition; they had to see themselves as Europeans (through their reflection in ‘European eyes’), or else they would not ‘pass’.”⁷² In this manner the revolutions of dressing, alphabet, measurements etc. were realized rapidly in order to rip off the Arabic effect on the society and involve in the Western civilization. And these revolutions were important and meaningful not only for being modern but also being accepted as modern after their realization. Therefore, it was extremely important that the whole society gives the same look. That’s why especially the women were given extreme importance. They were regarded as the most important aspect of the modern look, modern lifestyle. Turkish women’s new modern look who were used to wear chador and veil, was given enormous importance. Even it can be claimed that the coexistence of culture and civilization was concentrated on the women’s body. Turkish woman is “‘an educated-professional woman’ at work; ‘a socially active organizing woman’ as a member of social clubs, associations, etcetera; ‘a biologically functioning woman’ in the family fulfilling reproductive responsibilities as a mother and wife; ‘a feminine woman’ entertaining men at the balls and parties.”⁷³ Women both fulfills the requirements of being modern by dressing and behaving like her Western fellows; and stick to her culture and protect her chastity by perfectly doing her duties as a mother and wife. Another reason for women’s being so important for Republican elites was the women’s positions in the society break the connection between Turk and Islam and ties Turks to their pre-Islamic periods. Women’ involving to the

⁷¹ Reşat Kasaba. (1998) p. 21.

⁷² Bülent Somay (2014) p. 290.

⁷³ Ayşe Durakbaşa. “Kemalism as Identity Politics in Turkey” in *Deconstructing the Images of the Turkish Woman*. Zehra Arat (ed.) (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998) p. 147.

social life and having right in the rule was the proof for Turks have already established and they have the ability to establish civilizations before Islam.⁷⁴

In sum, while the Western thought has become the impetus of Turkish modernization and hence the nationalization, it sheds light into the tense relationship between state and religion.

3.3. From *millet* to nation

Although *millet* (nation) as a word exists in Ottoman Empire, it does not possess the contemporary meaning then. The *millet* system which classifies the subjects according to their religious affiliations has deteriorated with the loss of land and nationalist movements and hence loses its religious meaning and gained its current denotation. Başar Arı states the change in the meaning of *millet* throughout time. According to his findings, while a dictionary from 1680 defines millet as “law that the people are bounded by religion” in 1901 Şemseddin Sami notes that millet and *umma* are two concepts which are mistakenly used instead of each other. And finally according to the Turkish Language Institution’s dictionary dated 1945 millet is defined as the synonym of *ulus* which is defined as: “a society which differs from others in terms of language, culture and ideal.”⁷⁵ This does not show a mere change in the meaning of a single word in language but a paradigm shift of how state regards its people.

The modernizing elites insisted on founding a democratic republic, a regime which depends on the self-government of the citizens. However, this was not derived from a liberal understanding which provides individuals a large realm of freedom; it was a belief about state’s salvation through a nationalist republic and reach out the level of contemporary civilizations. Before the implementation of the constitution some documents were declared as a result of the demands of right: *Şer’i Hüccet* (1807), *Sened-i İttifak* (1808), *Tanzimat Fermanı* (1839) and *Islahat Fermanı* (1856). However these demands did not stem from

⁷⁴ Ibid. p. 141.

⁷⁵ Başar Arı. “Religion and Nation Building in the Turkish Republic.” (unpublished master’s thesis, METU, 2010) p. 23-24.

public but rather modernizing elites and foreign forces have played active role over the recognition of certain rights. While the former two resulted in no significant change in the lives of the citizens, the latter ones provide equality between Muslim and non-Muslim individuals with the pressure of the Western states.⁷⁶ The first reforms were about the conditions of the non-Muslim subjects, because the inequality between Muslim and non-Muslim subjects has altered in non-Muslim's favor. They can benefit from capitulations by changing their nationality. The *Tabiiyet-i Osmaniye* Law in 1869 declared the loyalty of all individuals to sultan, the 8th article of the *Kanun-i Esasi* in 1876 says "All the people who are subjected to the Ottoman State, without any exception, are called Ottoman regardless of his religion or sect". According to Füsun Üstel this is the sign of citizen's recognition as an actor of the new understanding of political-public sphere.⁷⁷

The meaning of the citizen shifted in three phases from religious to ethnic. Turk was related to the 'Muslim population in Anatolia and Thrace' between 1919 and 1924 in order to organize the population to save the caliph from the intruders during National Struggle; also to find a practical tool for the population exchange between Greece and Turkey. After the declaration of the Republic, the religious characteristics of Turkishness abandoned gradually. Although the definition of the 1924 constitution, 'the people of Turkey, without distinction of race and religion, is called 'Turk' in terms of citizenship' presents a neutral definition of citizenship mostly as a result of the obligations of the Lausanne Treaty; to name all the people, especially minorities, as 'Turk' was admitted as dangerous and hence non-Muslim minorities are accepted as Turks as of citizenship but not nationality.⁷⁸

In the years between the first declaration of the constitution and consolidation of the republic, the main objective was to preserve the loyalty and commitment of the citizen. During the congresses Mustafa Kemal pointed out that people living in the provinces of the

⁷⁶ Fatma Gürses. (2011) pp. 56-58.

⁷⁷ Füsun Üstel. (2014) p. 27.

⁷⁸ Ahmet Yıldız. *Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyene*. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013) pp. 124-148.

country are inseparable part of the state since they are mostly Muslim. In *Misak-ı Milli* the community within the borders of the state defined as Ottoman and Muslim yet they are also several other elements. All of these elements are tied to each other with sentiments like fraternity, respect, sacrifice. However, this definition did not originate from the dream of pluralist society, but to avoid ethnic separatist movements during national struggle. By the same token, pacts were done with Islamic conservatives and non-Turkish Muslims, knowing that those pacts will be broken in the following years. With the consolidation of the regime, this pluralistic discourse was left and the emphasis on the Turkish nationalism increases. The 1924 Constitution claims that “in terms of citizenship, the community of Turkey is considered as Turkish regardless of their religion or race.” The statement recognizes the ethnic diversity however equalizes them in terms of citizenship. The definition of the understanding of nation was seen on the several speeches or writings of Atatürk during 30s. According to him the unity in political entity, language, territory, ethnicity and affinity of history and morality are the five pillars in the creation of the Turkish nation. It is important to underline that religion is not an essential part of these pillars.⁷⁹

3.4. Ideological Framework of Newborn Nation: Kemalism

Kemalism, the official ideology of Turkish Republic, is the continuation of Young Turk thought especially inspired by Mustafa Kemal’s thoughts, speeches and reforms. According to Asım Karaömerlioğlu, Kemalism is a mentality which is labeled with pragmatism and nationalism and its being mentality rather than ideology enables it to be long lasting and extensive so much so that different actors from different worldviews sincerely define themselves as Kemalist. He states the main elements of Kemalism as: Nationalism with an overemphasis to the unity and solidarity, living constantly within the atmosphere of being surrounded by enemies, blessing of the state and state’s interests being preferred to

⁷⁹ Ergun Özbudun. “Milli Mücadele ve Cumhuriyet’in Resmi Belgelerinde Yurttaşlık ve Kimlik Sorunu” in 75. *Yılda Tebaa’dan Yurttaş’a Doğru*. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998)

individual's interests, difference is not welcomed in any level and social differentiation is despised and elitism.⁸⁰ These features are internalized by different levels of society via the efforts of bureaucratic and military elites and education. Regardless of Kemalism's being an ideology or a worldview it was "a project which aims to create a new nation, a new state and a new identity or a modernization project."⁸¹ A different type of citizen was desired to be created via dissemination of Kemalist ideology as it is described in here. Schooling was an important aspect of legitimation of these notions and inculcation of them to the minds of new generations. "[R]eforms should be top to down, society should be formed via common sense and these should be legitimized through education system."⁸² Hence the society leaps quickly and reaches to the contemporary civilizations' level. As Şerif Mardin puts it, "Kemalism's aim to reach contemporary civilizations' level includes positivistic, scientific worldview."⁸³ That is to say, the linear understanding of positivism affected modernizing elites and heralded them that Turkish society could be like West after following a certain path. It is important to note that although modernizing elites were influenced by the Enlightenment ideology in terms of rational and scientific thinking they were not absolutely dedicated to the notions of it. Sacralizing leaders and advising to follow their leads in order to be modern, declaring all members of a state as pieces of the chief of the state and assuming the aim of the education is to raise the pieces of the chief, dignifying one nation against others and counseling enmity towards other nations, declaring different ideas as harmful and exiling the professors who refuses to teach one accepted ideology do not comply with the notions of Enlightenment.⁸⁴

This discrepancy has stemmed from the nature of Turkish modernization "The most crucial distinction between top to down modernization and modernization after social process,

⁸⁰ Asım Karaömerlioğlu. "Türkiye'de Köycülük" in Ahmet İnel (ed.) *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce (Cilt 2): Kemalizm*. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları: 2001) p. 296.

⁸¹ İsmet Parlak. *Kemalist İdeolojide Eğitim*. (Ankara: Turhan Kitabevi, 2005) p. 108.

⁸² Ibid. p. 141.

⁸³ Şerif Mardin. *Türkiye'de Toplum ve Siyaset*. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000) p. 186.

⁸⁴ İsmail Kaplan. *Türkiye'de Milli Eğitim İdeolojisi*. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013) p. 195-196.

was that the modernizing elite's holding the state power and behave like their own interests.”⁸⁵ That is to say, since the modernizing elites aimed rapid progress they have wanted to see immediate change in society and whenever the society lagged behind they took strong measures to align people. Thus, modern institutions could be implemented to the society through non-modern institutions. The most striking example of how severe could be the homogenizing measures was the Independence Courts which had been originally designed to punish looters, defeatists and rebels but especially after Sheikh Said Rebellion was started to work as reformation courts. These courts gather extraordinarily, if necessary, in the anti-revolution cases and make quick decisions and executions. Sheikh Said Rebellion was an important case which shows the inconvenience of both religious and ethnic elements of the society against the homogenizing Republican ideology. The Kurds had worked adherently for the sake of independence and did not revolt against emerging Turkish state for independence like other nationalities during the formation years. However, during Lausanne Treaty the promises about autonomy and freedom about language were forgotten.⁸⁶ Especially the abolition of religious schools and Turkish becoming the language of education has resented the Kurdish groups of the area. Moreover the impact of sun language theory, Kurds being called as ‘mountain Turks’ and Turks being called as ‘dominant nation’ have been effective but ‘the most hated feature of the new Turkey by Kurds was the disestablishment of Islam which supplied the sheiks/chiefs [...] tax gathering privileges. [...] In addition, they undoubtedly felt, [...] that the government, by abolition of the Caliphate and the abrogation of *Şeriat*, was attempting to destroy religion. It is no surprise that when the rebellion emerged, the objective most often referred to was the restoration of the Caliphate and hence of

⁸⁵ Çağlar Keyder. “1990’larda Türkiye’de Modernleşmenin Doğrultusu” in *Türkiye’de Ulusal Kimlik ve Modernleşme*. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998) p.31.

⁸⁶ Eric Jan Zürcher. *Modernleşen Türkiye’nin Tarihi*. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010) p. 252.

establishment of Islam.”⁸⁷ Initially the rebellion was small but it spread quickly to the whole Southern and Eastern parts of Anatolia. To prevent the incidents Takrir-i Sükun Kanunu (The Law of Maintenance of Order) was put into action. The implementation of the law was left to Independence Tribunals.

“One of the most important results of the rebellion was the opportunity it afforded Kemal to carry out his reforms at a more vigorous pace. He was able to do this because the rebellion served to justify the suppression of dissident elements. [...] A more serious threat, as indicated by the rebellion, was the reactionary agitation of the religious leaders, especially the dervishes. With the suppression of the rebellion accomplished, the government did not hesitate to act against these groups. On September 2, 1925, three decrees were issued. All religious orders and their lodgings were closed by the first of these measures. The second decree classified all those belonging to the religious institutions, regulated their dress, and forbade those not specifically designated as religious officials to wear religious garb. According to the third decree all civil servants were to wear western clothes and hats, the fez being outlawed due to its connection with religion.”⁸⁸

Sheikh Said Rebellion was not the only unrest due to the religious purposes. The Menemen Incident took place in 23 December 1930. Six people have seized a mosque en route to Menemen and forced the locals to join their revolt against Kemalist state. They walked through the street with proclaiming *tekbir*, and announcing that they are going to restore *şeriat*. During the events, young officer Kubilay has decapitated by one of the rebellions when he challenged one of the rebels. Soon after, an armed military unit came and killed three, wounded one of the protesters.⁸⁹ In 1 February 1933 a group of people protested Turkish adhan in Bursa Grand Mosque and tried to pray after one person’s reciting adhan in Arabic. After the community witnessed the warnings of an undercover police officer, they marched to the governor’s office to protest. They have been caught and imprisoned in a short while. Atatürk directed his trip to Bursa when he heard about the incident and he declared the

⁸⁷ Robert W. Olson and William F. Tucker. “The Sheikh Said Rebellion in Turkey (1925)” in *Die Welt Des Islams* Vol.18, No. 3/4 (1978) p. 200

⁸⁸ Ibid. 205.

⁸⁹ Gavin D. Brockett. “Collective Action and the Turkish Revolution” in *Middle Eastern Studies*. Vol. 34. No. 4 (1998) p. 54-55.

republic has no toleration to these kinds of reactionists.⁹⁰ Likewise small local unrests, especially against Turkish adhan and prayer, were seen in Siirt, Çorum and İskilip.⁹¹ These events could be counted as the signs that the modernization process was not a smooth transition, but rather it has witnessed resistance and opposition from the public.

3.5. Framing Turkish Republic

The most important characteristic of the newborn Republic was its being defined as a democratic republic. Nuri Bilgin states the three important aspect of the republic. The most important one is the configuration of the public sphere by the rules of law. Republic is the foundation of the public sphere which guarantees the coexistence of the freedoms. Secondly, the laws of the republic are not sublime; they are prepared by people for people. Since all the people are going to obey the constitution, the legislation was not prepared by a group of people but the whole. The third one is citizenship. Republican citizen is a design of human which has rights as well as responsibilities: “Citizenship requires people to join decision making, evaluation, counseling and execution processes more and to constitute counter governments.”⁹² As this framework presents, the relationship between state and individual of the republic is radically different from the empire. Yet, it is absurd to think that the relations of state and individual would change miraculously by the proclamation of the republic. The practices of the period show that the ruling elites are unwilling to imagine and constitute the citizen of this frame. Süheyl Batum, in the article which he examines the constitutions from Kanun-i Esasi to 1980, calls attention to the ideological continuity between Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic. According to him, the relationship between state and individual did not occur as it is supposed to be in a democratic republic. Although Kanun-i Esasi consist the

⁹⁰Ali Dikici.
https://www.academia.edu/4076747/Ibadet_Dilinin_Turkcelestirilmesi_Baglaminda_Turkce_Ezan_Denemesi_ve_Buna_Gosterilen_Tepkiler (Last Access: 24.01.17)

⁹¹ Ibid. 89.

⁹² Nuri Bilgin. “Cumhuriyet Fikri ve Yurttaş Kimliği” in *75. Yılda Tebaa'dan Yurttaş'a Doğru*. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998) p 140.

notion of ‘public sovereignty’ it was with republican constitutions that this notion gained its real meaning. That is to say, public sovereignty was accepted and applied instead of personal sovereignty, monarchy and sultanate; however, public was excluded in the processes of the preparation of the constitutions, in terms of participation and representation, in the republican period. The participation of the individual to the processes of the formation and development of the political system was kept limited and elections were represented as the only possible and legitimate way of participation. Hence this system is also lack of the regulations which protects the rights of individuals in theory and practice.⁹³ In other words, the regime has changed only its name not its content during the transition from empire to republic. The necessary regulations of the democratic republic were not realized and hence the empowerment of the individual against state was not allowed. So, whilst the names of the individuals turn into citizen, their status remained almost the same. Although the founding elites did not want to establish full-fledged citizens in the exact meaning of the word; they did desire and also work hard to constitute citizen of their own understanding. In order to grasp the citizen model in the minds of the elites, some useful classifications are mentioned below.

According to Ayşe Kadioğlu, Turkey carries the characteristics of two types of nationalism, therefore citizenship: French and German. The difference between these two can be explained according to the “temporal distance between the state formation and nation-building processes, as well as their sequence”. While in France the nation state and nationalism emerged simultaneously; in Germany it took another half a century to form a nation state after the emergence of nationalism. Hence the “French nationhood evolved in predominantly political way, while the German one became predominantly ethnocultural” In other words while in France the statesmen were active in production of the political and social unity, in Germany the nation yearned for a state. Turkish conceptualization of citizenship

⁹³ Süheyl Batum. “Devlet-Toplum İlişkileri Çerçevesinde Cumhuriyet Dönemi Anayasaları” in *75. Yılda Tebaa’dan Yurttaş’a Doğru*. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998)

influenced by both: culture and civilization; as it can be seen in the writings of Ziya Gökalp. On the other hand, Turkey is close to the French understanding of state's preceding the nation. The "state-political unity appears as the constitutive unit of the Turkish nation-state. [../] Hence, Turkish citizenship appears as a notion defined from above by the state authorities."⁹⁴ The second classification of citizenship in the literature: liberal-individualism and civic-republicanism. According to liberal approach, citizenship is a status on the basis of rights and citizens have needs and entitlements. Social relations are based on contract and citizens do not have any obligations to society beyond minimal social ones. In other words, individuals are prior to the society. Republican approach, on the other hand, considers citizenship as an activity or a practice. Citizens participate into the society via these practices. Individuals have no logical or moral priority to society. Hence the society can make claim on their time, resources and lives. The Turkish notion of citizenship is closer to the civic-republican understanding. The citizens are burdened with duties and the common good has ontological priority over demands coming from the society.⁹⁵ Finally she mentions about the modern citizen on the axes of active-passive and public-private. There are four types of combination between these. The active citizen who struggles from the below, can put emphasis on public or private arenas. While in the former, the private space of the individual like family and religion is attacked; in the latter the rights of the individuals are underlined. On the other hand, the passive citizen can be given rights from above. If this kind of citizenship occurs in public realm, citizenship rights are combined with a legitimacy of representative institutions, courts and the social statesystem; and if it occurs in private realm citizens periodically vote for the election of the leaders but can no longer be responsible from them on the daily basis. These types of citizenships can be seen in France, America, England and Germany respectively. The Turkish conception of the modern citizenship is akin to the revolutionary

⁹⁴ Ayşe Kadioğlu. "Citizenship and Individuation in Turkey: the Triumph of Will over Reason" in *Cahiers d'Etudes sur la Méditerranée Orientale et la Monde Turco-Iranien*. Vol. 26 (1998) p. 5.

⁹⁵ Ibid. p.6.

French tradition since the private realm of the individual is attacked; and the German passive tradition since a successful liberal revolution is absent and hence the public realm is underdeveloped.⁹⁶

3.6. Religion in Modern Turkey

As it was mentioned above, the Turkish intellectuals were internalized the stages of positivism which heralds that all societies will drop their belief of gods, spirits, etc. and spend their lives with the guidance of mind and science. In this manner the modernizing elites take actions about the place of religion in social life. Ziya Gökalp's views about the issue are informative about the law-makers thoughts. According to Gökalp

“there are two main goals: (a) Separation of religion and state, namely to terminate the dominance of Islam over social and political life of Turkish society. (b) Separation of religion and Eastern civilization and thus enabling the coexistence of Islam's main values with European civilization and Turkish national culture.”⁹⁷

That is to say, the main aims of the modernization process, on the one hand annihilating the determination of Islam over social issues; on the other hand “counting Arabic tradition within religion as ‘non-fundamental elements of Islam’ and providing theoretical background for unlimited ‘purification’ of Muslim religion.”⁹⁸ Gökalp disapproves the concept of Islam civilization, and supports that “a religion which is truly a sum of beliefs and ceremonies can not be limited to one civilization. For this reason, Islam can merge with Western civilization like it had once merged with Eastern civilization.”⁹⁹ Hence, Gökalp demands both a reform for the religion and appropriates the modernization efforts and the processes of nation state building with the ‘purified’ religion.

The place of the religion within the new born republic was a dazzling question. On the one hand religion was an undeniable phenomenon which is deeply rooted in the conscience of

⁹⁶ Ibid. pp.7-8.

⁹⁷ Uriel Heyd (2002) p. 99.

⁹⁸ Ibid. p. 114.

⁹⁹ Ibid. p. 109.

people on the other hand it could be an obstacle for the modernizing principles. Thus in the early years of the Republic, efforts to reinterpret the religion was seen.

“It was obvious that an ideology like Islam within which the state and religion intertwined by its nature would be a rival for the Kemalist cadres who wants to impose their ideology and conscious about nation. Above all, the legitimate authority for Islam is the one who reflects the authority of Allah; therefore it contradicts with the Republican ideology which claims that the sovereignty belongs to the nation. In order to get rid of this strong rival, Mustafa Kemal and his entourage, first attempted to change the religion in theoretical level, but they gave up before initiating such project.”¹⁰⁰

The rector of Istanbul University and faculty member of Istanbul University Theology Department İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu declared to the press in 1928 that the language of the worship will be changed into Turkish, it is possible to put musical instruments in mosques and play religious music, and the worship could be made in benches. In the same year he presented a report to Istanbul University Theology Department named “Bill about the Foundations of the Religious Reformation.”¹⁰¹ Keeping up the mosques clean and neat, and entrance should be with a clean shoe if possible, musical instruments should be used in order to make aesthetical and enthusiastic way and sweet-voiced imams and muezzins should be recruited, khutbahs and preaches should be given by religion philosophers in Turkish can be counted among the premises of the project. This project could not be realized but the attempts of controlling religion continue. Although laicism could not find a place for itself as an article in constitution until 1937, the reforms which were done in the process aimed “to reduce the societal significance of religious values and to eventually disestablish cultural and political institutions stamped by Islam”¹⁰² Secularization program has three phases: symbolic secularization, institutional secularization, functional secularization. “Symbolic secularization

¹⁰⁰ İřtar Gözaydın. *Diyanet*. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009) p. 236.

¹⁰¹ Niyazi Altunya. “Türkiye Cumhuriyeti’nde Din Eğitimi” in *75 Yılda Eğitim*. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1999) p.218.

¹⁰² Şerif Mardin. “Religion and Politics in Modern Turkey” in *Islam in the Political Process*. James P. Piscatori (ed.) (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983) p. 142.

enforced changes in various aspects of national culture or societal life that had a symbolic identification with Islam by transforming the perception of Islamic symbols from sacred to profane.” Changing the alphabet from Arabic to Latin, acceptance of Western styles of clothing, adopting Gregorian calendar, changing week holiday from Friday to Sunday can be counted. “Institutional secularization, on the other hand, aimed at reducing the institutional strength of Islam and its influence on the political affairs of the country.” The caliphate and the office of Sheikh al-Islam were abolished and the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Pious Foundations founded instead. Also, Sufi movements and their activities were outlawed. The third phase, functional secularization, has “two stages: legal and educational. Legal secularization was designed to firmly establish modernization reform in Turkish society.” The secularization of the court system through the adoption Western codes instead of Sharia law which was an obstacle to the westernization program is an example. The second stage of the functional secularization “was implemented in the education system to establish a program of functional differentiation of institutions.” The Law for the Unification of Instruction is the main breakthrough for the education system.¹⁰³

Beyond the steps that have been taken to secularize the state, Atatürk himself has spent quite a long time to convince masses that Islam has no contradiction with laicism in the early years of the Republic. In the khutbah that he declared in Balıkesir at 1923, he pointed out that the mosques were places where daily issues and state affairs were discussed; and they can be designed like that again. For him, the *minbars* can be a place for enlightenment if the words uttered by the *imam* are consistent with the realities of art and science.¹⁰⁴ In the “Religion” chapter of *Atatürkçülük* book that have been prepared by the Turkish General Staff in 1984; Atatürk’s ideas about Islam was told thoroughly. According to his speeches, Atatürk

¹⁰³ Talip Küçükcan. “State, Islam and Religious Liberty in Modern Turkey” in *Birigham Young University Law Review*. Vol. 2003 No. 2.

¹⁰⁴ Hamza Zülfiyar “Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’ün Balıkesir Hutbesi” in *Atatürk Düşüncesinde Din ve Laiklik*. Ethem Ruhi Fıglalı, et al. (eds) (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1999) pp. 20-33.

believes that “it is pointless to resist the overflow of civilization [...] the nations who resist proceeding with their outdated, primitive and empty beliefs against the might and supremacy of civilization will be captured or humiliated if not destroyed.”¹⁰⁵ However, Islam is already coherent with civilization: “things that suits to reason and logic, also suits to Islam. If Islam was not suitable to reason and logic, it wouldn’t be the most perfect and the last religion.”¹⁰⁶ Even so, Turkish nation was lagged behind by the ones who used religious institutions control other institutions and have a say over every single issue of everyday life. The ones who misled “our pure and clean people” have always been the ones who “covers themselves with the curtain of religion”; “all of the evil who destroyed, captured, devastated the people has always derived from the impiety and malignancy behind the curtain of religion.”¹⁰⁷ The fundamentals of belief for Atatürk is “to believe Allah is one and only and Prophet Muhammad is his messenger. This is the primary principal of Quran. However legal issues are designed according to the needs of people who lived fourteen centuries before, they are time related and prone to change through time.”¹⁰⁸ According to him, Turkish state is a laic republic; within which everybody has right to believe whatever s/he pleases. Nobody forces others to embrace a religion or a sect. In order to regulate religious affairs there is Religious Affairs Administration and people should avoid people other than these officers especially the ones who insists wearing religious attire during day and do no hesitate to mislead people.¹⁰⁹

It is important to note again that Mustafa Kemal’s relatively moderate approach towards religion is to avoid indignation in the foundation years as it was also stated above. The daily lives of people have been regulated by Islamic rules and a sharp transition would cause an additional trouble. Instead, he preferred to show how Islam and civilization were

¹⁰⁵ Ethem Ruhi Fıçlalı, et al. (eds) “Din” in *Atatürk Düşüncesinde Din ve Laiklik*. (Ankara: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 1999) p.37.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid. p. 38.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. p. 49.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. p.47.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. p. 50.

compatible. However, as the state reinforced and Kemalism became the official ideology of the state the elites left the compatibility discourse and continued to denounce Islam as it was before:

“Until 19th century state elites have blamed the ‘retrogressive’ religious institutions which were against the reforms, as a reason for the empire’s decline and collapse. While in other Muslim countries the efforts of reconciliation between Islam and modernization in the same era; Tanzimat and then Kemalist elites acted with the assumption of Muslim people would not lean towards modernization efforts. They thought that the prosperity of the state and country would be possible by upbringing new generations who were thinking with laic, and therefore rational, mindscape. This approach shaped the idea of democracy of the state elites.”¹¹⁰

As is seen, laicism was deeply rooted as a principle in the minds of Atatürk and bureaucratic elites. Here, it is needed to understand what these cadres understand from laicism. As Andrew Davison points out *laiklik*, as it is used in Turkey, is different than secularism and has different outcomes than secular state does. According to him, while secularism requires a complete separation of religious and worldly matters; laicism by essence cannot be that indifferent to religion. Since laicism is about lay people, who are by nature religious, laicistic politics may separate state and religious affairs but always maintain control over religion. Thus, even though Republican People’s Party (RPP) “abolished Caliphate, the Sharia, and the *medrese* school system, demoted Islam from its previous place of constitutional and legal significance, [...] closed institutions of folk Islam [...] and promulgated nonreligious codes of governance”¹¹¹ it has always interested in religion. Davison’s differentiation is meaningful when it is thought with the abovementioned developments in Turkey. The concept of ‘true Islam’ was used as a euphemism of the religion compatible with state ideology. The original sources, such as Quran and Sunnah, were promoted in order to prevent subjective interpretations of religious figures, such as sheikhs and hodjas. However this “individualistic

¹¹⁰ Metin Heper (1998) p.44.

¹¹¹ Andrew Davison. “Turkey, a ‘Secular’ State?” *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, Volume 102, Number 2/3, (Spring/Summer 2003) p. 337.

faith' approach, is only an effort to open new authoritarian nationalistic identity.” According to this, religious motives were interpreted only in the axis of homeland and nation, and the religious obedience turned into obedience to state.¹¹² Thinking and behaving patterns of the people were associated with a new sense of belonging, and redefined. For example, the notion of *şükür* (gratitude) was explained in a religious education course book as such: “Realizing the civic duties with great success, act rationally by leaving aside the coincidences and using the machines effectively.”¹¹³ Hence, Islam as is seen in here was being instrumentalized in order to consolidate the identity and proper behaviors of the citizen.

In sum, although the Turkish Republic tries to eliminate the dominance of religion over the social and political life; it both makes use of religious concepts and preserves the dominant position of Sunni Muslims as citizen. Sunni Muslims are accepted as ‘pure Turks’ on one condition; being compatible with nationalist agenda:

“Turkish nation is both one and a whole and also hosts real and non-real members. It is not enough to be Muslim and belonging to Turkish origin to be a member of real Turkish nation. In addition to this, it has to be completely obedient to the state. Otherwise, as after the September 12th, not only religious minorities or Kurdish origin TR citizens, it is possible to expatriate Muslim and Turkish origin people immediately for political reasons.”¹¹⁴

As is understood, although the new born republic stops classifying its people in terms of religion, it still makes use of previous categories. That is, the state does not categorize people according to their religions but rather they are expected to be the citizens of the state. As Ahmet İnsel puts it explicitly, in terms of obedience all citizens are same in front of the state. If so, what is the relationship between the secular state and Sunni Islam? Why modern secular Turkey which tries to abandon its entire religious characteristic, especially in the foundational years, gives special place to Sunni Islam?

¹¹² Ergün Yıldırım. “Devletin Resmi Din Anlayışı: Din Dersi Kitapları Deneyimi (1923-1950)” in *Türkiye’de Sivil Toplum ve Milliyetçilik*. Stefanos Yerasimos (ed.) (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001) p. 610.

¹¹³ İbid. p.614.

¹¹⁴ Ahmet İnsel. “Türkiye’de Resmi İdeoloji Yaptırımcı ve Bütüncüdür” in *Birikim*. Vol. 105-106. (1998) p. 23.

Talal Asad discusses the secularization presuppositions, which claims the separation of the religion from politics, privatization of religion and declining social significance of religion and claims that religion as fulfilling certain requirements of modern society and having a say in modern politics such as economy, science, education can be deprivatized. The decrease of the religiousness of individuals not necessarily means that religion becomes more and more private matter in modern secular state. However, although Asad does not find a clear cut border between religion and secularism, and he sees the positive role of religion of entering into public sphere; he asserts that the liberal public sphere is not neutral. Hence the deprivatization of religions does not mean that all religions are acceptable in the public sphere by free speech. But rather, the religions that become compatible with the principals of the liberal discourse are acceptable in the public sphere.¹¹⁵ The position of the Sunni Islam in modern secular Turkey. It can only be heard in the public sphere as long as it is compatible with the national norms and ideas. Sunni Islam is heard as long as it corresponds to the general discourse of the state and when it is needed to evoke already existing understandings of people. This will be a guiding thought for the examination of the RCM textbooks in the forthcoming chapter.

¹¹⁵ Talal Asad. "Secularism, Nation-State, Religion" in *Nation and Religion: Perspectives on Europe and Asia*. Peter van der Veer and Hartmut Lehmann (eds.) (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999) pp. 181-187.

4. EDUCATION IN TURKEY

4.1. Educating the Citizen

As a result of the shift in the perception of state-individual relationship, children were started to be considered as the future of the country; they will eventually grow up and become the full-fledged members of the society. Additionally they were not yet exposed to the misleading of Eastern/Ottoman culture, so once they are given the right insights the society will be Western/modern in a very short period of time. Güven Gürkan Öztan points out the changing nature of childhood after Tanzimat within which the child was discovered as a different category than adults, and it was discovered that a different pedagogy is needed for them. Toys and special periodicals which are suitable for their age were designed. After Second Constitution the child was started to be regarded as ‘little citizens’ and absolute loyalty towards sultan was encouraged. A child has to know his/her rights and duties and feel bonded to the constitutional monarchy. With the proclamation of republic “to upbringing new generations who are tied to republican values and reforms, who adopt the ‘image of founder/protector *Gazi*’ and therefore to build a steady bridge between the ‘victorious now’ and ‘glorious future’”¹¹⁶ became the aim of the ideologists of the new regime. Öztan explains the characteristics of the republican children based on the children’s periodicals, novels and textbooks. According to these, the children of the new republic have to be civil, warlike and heroic, thrifty, honest, hardworking, bookworm and solidarist. The children are also supposed to be fit and healthy; they have to be careful about their nutrition, sleeping hours, sanitation and also refrain from the bad habits like alcohol.

Plenty of actors are playing active role on the upbringing of this citizen: family, society, educational publications, school, etc. School, among others, is the most important one without any doubt. The most crucial legal arrangement on education, *Tevhid-i Tedrisat*

¹¹⁶ Güven Gürkan Öztan. *Türkiye’de Çocukluğun Politik İnşası*. (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2011) p.63.

Kanunu was declared almost immediately after the proclamation of the Republic. Homogeneous, secular, modern, rational education has tried to be achieved with such regulations done in a very early period. Schools were regarded as the cornerstones of the society. Once they function effectively, the society which was dreamt is going to be achieved:

“‘School’ as for Republican elites, was primarily central in the process of individuals socialization, articulated into new social project, and hence internalization of the aforementioned project by new generations. On the other hand, ‘school’, as one of the ideological apparatus of the state has a fundamental importance in the transmittance of the Turkish which is the backbone of the knowledge, national values and especially national identity. Finally ‘school’, provides the advantage of direction and formalization of the education and control of the consciences from a single center in the project of the construction of secular society-laic state.”¹¹⁷

Hence the schools and the education given in the schools considered as crucial and had always find a place for itself in the political agenda of the state elites.

First of all education should be national for Republican elites. It can be international or religious, but they are directed to create a different type of person. If the aim of education is to raise new generations, it should be inline with the aims of the nation state. As Mustafa Kemal puts it:

“[t]wo types of education in one country raises two types of persons. If this be the case, it is totally injurious for the aims of uniting sentiment, thought and solidarity... As long as there isn’t a single system of education, it is futile to find a fashion a nation in which the people share the same thoughts and mentality.”¹¹⁸

The education of the pupils was not designed for them to learn history, geography or language per se; but rather they have to learn about these issues in order to obtain a national conscious. Thus, the education should be national, as is seen in ‘National History’ ‘National Geography’ course books. According to Mustafa Kemal,

“Everyone can derive a different meaning when education as a word used on its own. [...] For example, religious education, national education, universal education... The

¹¹⁷ Füsün Üstel. (2014) p. 127.

¹¹⁸ Sam Kaplan. *The Pedagogical State*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006) p. 41.

aims and purposes of these educations differ from each other. The education of New Turkish Republic will be national education.”¹¹⁹

The national education that he dreamt of “aims to raise morally altruist, economically productive, legally democratic, faithfully tolerant, politically republican and optimistic in life.”¹²⁰

The successors of Mustafa Kemal tried to pursue and elaborate his thoughts. In education, as well as other social and political aspects, Kemalist views prevail other opinions and preserve its dominant position. The key features of this ideology could be derived from a speech of İsmet İnönü, dated 5 May 1925:

“1. National education is against religious and universal education. However, it is against universalism more than religion. [...] Religion, in fact, is not bad but it has to be national. 2. Nation which depends on territoriality is not enough for the new regime. Nation should be a monolithic one which depends on one culture and one idea. 3. Other cultures and communities must deny themselves and should melt down into the nation. 4. National education is required in order to turn current ‘political Turkish people’ to a monolithic ‘mature’ nation. The general purpose of national education is melting down the ‘foreign cultures’ or their assimilation and hence the building of monolithic Turkish nation.”¹²¹

That is to say, the state elites have had a definition for the essence of Turkishness and they tried to configure education accordingly. All members of the society were expected to possess this essence. The courses such as national history, national geography and civics would be helpful for them to discover their essence, and act appropriately: “Nationalized history is a guide which introduces nation to itself (ensures nation’s recognition itself as a nation) and points a road and a target for the future. Civics, on the other hand, teaches the duties and the means of walking on that road to that target to every single member of the nation.”¹²² As a result of such indoctrination, “the new generations will be completely loyal to the Turkish

¹¹⁹ İsmail Kaplan. (2013) p. 139.

¹²⁰ Güven Gürkan Öztan. (2011) p.157.

¹²¹ İsmail Kaplan. (2013) p. 144-145.

¹²² Birol Caymaz. (2007) p.12

state and they will be ready to struggle with all other nations, ‘foreign’ ideas and movements.”¹²³

Rights and responsibilities are an important aspect of being citizen, hence it finds place in the citizenship education. As it was explained above, the duties are prior to the rights for the republican citizen. The duties of the citizen are clearly identified in the various courses: paying taxes, joining to the army, obeying the laws and vote in the elections. The rights, on the other hand, are given in order to perform the duties.¹²⁴ The rights of the citizens are handed over to the state and the state performs this as protection, and infrastructure construction.¹²⁵ The duties of the citizen are regarded as a debt in return for the services that the state provides.

The citizen-to-be child feels complete obedience to the authorities. Not surprisingly the education in schools is frequently juxtaposed with military services. Military service was important in two aspects. First it is the perfect model for discipline of the minds and bodies, which is fundamental for the health care discourse. Secondly, it is the model for order and obedience.¹²⁶ As Atatürk puts it; the purpose of national education is “to upbringing new generations loyal to the Turkish nation and state and prepare them to fight against the enemies of the Turkish nation and state.”¹²⁷ In a similar vein, he also conceptualizes the teachers in a militaristic way. He calls them as the “members of the army of wisdom [...] fulfills their sacred duty by teaching the [soldier] army who are killing and getting killed, why they are killing and getting killed.”¹²⁸ The children not only become ready for the defense of the country but also internalize the fact that the motherland is vulnerable and should always be defended. The constant struggle should be directed towards not only external enemies but also

¹²³ İsmail Kaplan. (2013) p.161.

¹²⁴ Füsün Üstel. (2014) p.181.

¹²⁵ Ibid. p. 185.

¹²⁶ Güven Gürkan Öztan. (2011) p. 171.

¹²⁷ İsmail Kaplan. (2013) p.140.

¹²⁸ Ibid. p.141.

the internal ones. The sultanate and its collaborators, thieves, smugglers, but most importantly conniving and traitor non-Muslim population consist of the ‘other’ of the society and one has to be aware of these people because they were once enemies and they can betray once again.¹²⁹

4.2. History of Religious Education in Modern Turkey

The ‘accepted citizen’ was defined in two main axes: civilization and patriotism. A republican morality was behind the actions of the citizens. Keeping the streets clean, not spitting into the floor, being respectful to the family members, being hardworking, benevolent and well-behaved were the characteristics of them.¹³⁰ While a series of concepts like honesty, diligence, obedience were tied to national and modern context; the religious information in the textbooks were given in order to support laicism and the new regime.¹³¹ Although the new regime makes use of the support of the religion, due to its correspondence in the consciences of the people; it was abandoned on the ground that it carries international elements.¹³² In sum, the education of the one-party regime reflects all of the characteristics of top to down, laicistic modernization, republican citizenship and a combination of revolutionary French and German passive traditions. The individuals are praised in terms of their devotion in the Independence War but they are expected to be the ready army of the nation. The duties are varied from to ‘pass’ with the modern European look to improve the nation with moral and material support.

“For a quarter of a century, in the republican era, the Turkish educational system worked on a strictly secular basis: all levels of religious education were officially banned.”¹³³ Some of the regulations of those years can be listed as such: The RE course was abolished from high school in 1924, secondary school in 1927 and primary school in 1929. However,

¹²⁹ Güven Gürkan Öztan. (2011) pp.218-222; Füsün Üstel. (2014) pp. 209-214.

¹³⁰ Füsün Üstel. (2014) pp.175, 179.

¹³¹ Güven Gürkan Öztan. (2011) pp.194-197.

¹³² İsmail Kaplan. (2013) pp.161-162.

¹³³ Recep Kaymakcan. “Religious Education Culture in Modern Turkey” M. de Souza et al. (eds.), *International Handbook of the Religious, Moral and Spiritual Dimensions in Education*. (Essex: Springer, 2006) p.450.

Ministry of Education declared that the RE course would be thought in primary school but there won't be any exams, in 1930 the 5th grade students were offered RE courses in Thursday afternoons. In 1939, RE was abolished also from village primary school curriculum.¹³⁴ This total annihilation was lasted until late 40s. With the initiation of the multi-party system, the religion emerged as a political and cultural issue again.¹³⁵ Democrat Party (DP) has won the favor of public after a short while of its foundation in 1946, such that RPP felt the obligation to soften its policies and tried to embrace faithful people. In 1948 *Imam Hatip* Schools, which were gradually closed until 1930, have reopened and again in 1948 an optional nonscheduled religious education course has been reintroduced to 4th and 5th grades of the primary schools. In 1949 Ankara University Faculty of Theology was founded. In 1950 the extracurricular RE course was included in the schedule. In 1951 *Imam Hatip* Schools was opened in seven cities, and the number has reached up to 19 as of 1960.¹³⁶ In the 3rd DP program it was stated that: "It is natural that our government who has found the guarantee of living in a free and independent country not only on the material strength but also on the equipment of the public and the youth with moral values, to give vital importance to the education sphere."¹³⁷

During 60s a series of steps were taken about religious life in society. High Institutes of Islam were opened in several cities, Religious Education Directorate was installed and in 1967 an optional RE course was introduced in the first and second year of high school.¹³⁸ But it was after 1971 coup that was accelerated religious as well as national measures against the rising leftist movements in 60s. The emphasis over national and moral values was remarkable in the education programmes of the successive governments. Besides, devotion to homeland and its people, sense of responsibility and avoidance of foreign ideological movements and

¹³⁴ Turgay Gündüz. "Türkiye'de Cumhuriyet Dönemi Din Eğitimi ve Öğretimi Kronolojisi (1923-1998)" in *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*. Vol: 7 No: 7 (1998) pp. 544-548.

¹³⁵ Recep Kaymakcan. (2006) p.450

¹³⁶ Turgay Gündüz. (1998) pp. 548-550.

¹³⁷ İsmail Kaplan. (2013) p.220.

¹³⁸ Turgay Gündüz. (1998) p. 551.

mimicry were promoted in the programmes. Although the development of democracy has been frequently underlined this was not a limitless understanding of freedom. In the period, TRT broadcasts and theaters were considered as means of education and were put emphasis on their compatibility with national and moral values. An enlightening example can be given from two irreconcilable governments in order to underline the ideological continuity: The Second National Front government (Justice Party, National Salvation Party and Nationalist Movement Party) which was formed in 1977 stated that the courses such as morals, sociology, philosophy and psychology which instill worldview to students, should preach loyalty to national and moral values the teaches of these courses should be brought in the Islam Institutes which would be transformed into academies. The Third Ecevit government formed by RPP and some independent deputies included its programme the promises that *Imam Hatip* students' being enabled to attend universities and Islam Institutes transforming into academies. That is, the governments of the period were all nourished from similar mindset and armed with the same armor against the 'enemy' ideologies.¹³⁹

In the speech that was given by 17th Chief of General, Staff Kenan Evren, on the night that the army seized the power in September 12, 1980, blamed the political parties to act according to their caprices and interests while in the country the thoughts and religion of the society was under the attack of the divisive and destructive acts. They provoked the sectarian conflicts in the country and caused the massacres in several cities. Therefore, it was declared that the Turkish army was obliged to seize the power in order to reinstate the unity, liberty, safety of the people and provide their welfare and happiness. Among the projected measures of the military government, education was given special importance. The education of the nation's future should not be left some syndicate members but it should be united under the principles and nationalism of Atatürk and to learn required productive knowledge and skill.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Ismail Kaplan. (2013) pp.253-259

¹⁴⁰ Kenan Evren. *Seçme Konuşmalar: 12 Eylül 1980- 6 Kasım 1989*. (İstanbul: Doğan Kitap, 2000) pp. 9-17.

The military government suppresses the armed conflicts with massive arrests from each side and gains of the 1960 constitution were reversed by the new constitution of 1982. There were constitutional liberties; however these could be canceled due to the national interests, public order, national security, and republican regime's being under threat and with the reason of public health.¹⁴¹

“1982 Constitution declared Kemalism/Atatürkism as the sole and official ideology that all political parties and national education have to obey. [../] In the 1982 Constitution Turkish nationalism which was attributed completely chauvinist content named as Atatürk nationalism and Atatürk's principles. [../] On the other hand, coup constitution diverged from the classical laic Kemalism. More correctly, in political, social, cultural-educational fields it combines the Kemalist laicism and a different distinctive ‘Islamic laicism’”¹⁴²

In other words, with 1982 coup, all ‘marginal’ thoughts and actions are declared illegal and every citizen is expected to act within the national ideology. Islam is presented as the crucial factor which unites the society. However it is fallacious to claim the association of Turkish nation state and Islam as a recent ‘combination’. As it was explained above, Islam played an intrinsic role for Turkish nation state. It provides the required traditions for the newborn republic in the very first years and even though the religion was tried to confine to the private lives of the citizens, the ‘pure Turk’ was implicitly Sunni Muslims. Besides, after 1946 Islam finds a place for itself in the policies of political parties. Hence, the rise of Islam cannot be considered as a continuation, which is a reaction to the oppression of secularism, or a rupture, which indicates the decline of secularism. But rather, “Turkish secularism is used to re-instrumentalize Islam in the service of ‘secularist nationalism’ to foster holistic citizenship, instead of liberating individual subjects, which should be the main purpose of any secularist

¹⁴¹ Eric Jan Zürcher. *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2010) p. 405.

¹⁴² İsmail Kaplan. (2013) p. 306.

project.”¹⁴³ That is to say, Turkish nation state has never been literally secular but rather a reinterpreted version of Islam which is compatible with modernity, Kemalist Islam¹⁴⁴; but with 1982 constitution it has become evident in its social manifestations.

One of the most interesting developments of the period was the introduction of the compulsory RCM courses. As the dean of Ankara University Theology Department Prof. Dr. Huseyin Atay claims, that the elective religion courses created three types of youngsters: school thought, private thought and non-informed students. He argues that these three types of youngsters do not have ideological and emotional unity and offers ‘school thought religious education’ as a solution.¹⁴⁵ Religion was considered as the unifying factor of the society against the harmful ideologies. The 24th article of the 1982 constitution asserts that:

“Religious and moral education and instruction shall be conducted under state supervision and control. Instruction in religious culture and morals shall be one of the compulsory lessons in the curricula of primary and secondary schools. Other religious education and instruction shall be subject to the individual’s own desire, and in the case of minors, to the request of their legal representatives.”¹⁴⁶

The new constitution makes a differentiation between education and instruction and states that the obligatory RCM course would be an ‘instruction’. That is, the course does not indoctrinate any religion’s rules and practices but rather it gives general understanding about religions and its thoughts basics of morality. However, if this article is considered with the aforementioned unitary and homogenizing policies, the seemingly democratic approach can be interpreted as; although the state wants its subjects to learn basics of religion, an adequate amount that they internalize the ‘Turkish culture’ it does not want them to elaborate on it, or become observant.

¹⁴³ Buket Türkmen. “A Transformed Kemalist Islam or a New Islamic Civil Morality? A Study of ‘Religious Culture and Morality’ Textbooks in the Turkish High School Curricula” in *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and Middle East*. Vol. 29 No. 3. (2009) p. 182.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 196.

¹⁴⁵ http://www.dinbilimleri.com/Makaleler/765485049_gunaydin.pdf

¹⁴⁶ https://global.tbmm.gov.tr/docs/constitution_en.pdf (Last Access: 24.01.17)

4.3. Recent Debates on Religious Education

Although Turkey is one of the state parties of the universal conventions or institutions which were discussed earlier, the implementation of these decisions has not always been that easy. The sensitivities of several belief groups about RCM course are reflected in the press time to time and some of these apply to courts, even ECtHR. To begin with, non-Muslims can be exempt from the course by revealing their identities.¹⁴⁷ While this is already a violation of human rights, in some cases they are forced to enter the class, invited to Islam¹⁴⁸ to perform Islamic rituals¹⁴⁹ or they are failed the classes even though they are exempt from it.¹⁵⁰ The most vulnerable groups in RCM courses are the nonbelievers and Alevis. The nonbelievers can omit the religion box in their identity cards but there is no regulation about them for being exempt from the course. Their struggle against the course can be refused by the local court in the name of the course is being an instructive one.¹⁵¹ They are forced to take the course, even by the decision of Council of State in 2012.¹⁵² However Council of State is acknowledged right an Alevi family in 2015 over the course is being dedicated to a singular sect; and an atheist family in 2016 in their application to the local court when their 4th grade child was forced to attend RCM classes and given zero as final grade. The child became exempt from the course as a result.¹⁵³ Alevism, on the other hand, is regarded as a branch of Islam so they cannot be exempt from the course and they are complaining about the assimilation within the

¹⁴⁷ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/din-dersi-muafiyetine-belge-sarti-28164296> (Last Access: 24.01.17)

¹⁴⁸ <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/protestanlarin-din-dersi-sikayeti/guncel/gundemdetay/02.01.2011/1333649/default.htm> (Last Access: 24.01.17)

¹⁴⁹ <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/hristiyan-cocuga-sehadet-tokadi/gundem/gundemdetay/17.04.2010/1226326/default.htm> (Last Access: 24.01.17)

¹⁵⁰ <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/din-dersinden-muaf-suryani---yok--yazildi/siyaset/haberdetayarsiv/20.10.2007/218817/default.htm> (Last Access: 24.01.17)

¹⁵¹ <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/din-egitimi-degil-ogretim-veriliyor/gundem/gundemdetay/01.09.2012/1589394/default.htm> (Last Access: 24.01.17)

¹⁵² <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/danistay-din-kulturu-dersinin-din-egitimi-olduguna-karar-verdi-29310136> , <http://www.radikal.com.tr/egitim/ateist-ogrenci-yargi-karariyla-din-dersinde-1098770/> (Last Access: 24.01.17)

¹⁵³ <http://www.haberiyakala.com/2016-03-16-mahkeme-ateist-ailenin-cocugunu-din-dersinden-muaf-tuttu-h109063.haber> (Last Access: 24.01.17)

classes.¹⁵⁴ Hate speech and discrimination towards Alevi's is commonly seen among RCM teachers. Occasionally these teachers are seen in the media however there is no evidence that they are punished even after an investigation has opened.¹⁵⁵ Although several workshops have been arranged and positive contributions were made, the only changes are small and nonessential in the textbooks. For instance, despite in the Alevi Workshop in 2010 the course was promised to be divided into two as obligatory RCM and religious education; the decision could not be realized.¹⁵⁶ Also the Alevism is represented as a tradition, and their dedication to Caliph Ali and his family equated to the Sunni's dedication and love.¹⁵⁷ As a result of these discriminatory actions, some Alevi citizens apply to local courts and even ECtHR. The most prominent case is the Hasan and Eylem Zengin's application to the ECtHR. Hasan Zengin demanded exemption from Provincial Directorate for National Education due to his rights given by Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 2001. However the directorate rejected his request due to the instructive structure of the course. The Administrative Tribunal also rejected his application in 2001 since the course is obligatory by the constitution. The Council of State supported the former decision and declined Zengin's application in 2003. Finally Zengin applied to ECtHR and the court recognized that according to the second article of the first protocol of ECtHR his rights were violated by the Turkish state.¹⁵⁸

Turkish government has conducted seven workshops and three meetings in line with Alevi Opening. The results of the workshops which are meant to be done for the purpose of initiating a dialogue with Alevis who have been marginalized due to the wrong policies, resolving their problems, maintaining social integration and dialogue, transforming the Alevi

¹⁵⁴ <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/zorunlu-ders-asimilasyondur/siyaset/siyasetdetay/21.11.2010/1316403/default.htm> (Last Access: 24.01.17)

¹⁵⁵ <http://t24.com.tr/haber/din-kulturu-ogretmeni-cemevi-kuranda-yok-sazli-sozlu-ibadet-olmaz.330191>, <http://www.mebpersonel.com/sendikalar/din-kulturu-ogretmeni-derhal-gorevden-alinmalidir-h115974.html> (Last Access: 24.01.17)

¹⁵⁶ <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/zorunlu-din-dersinde-ikili-formul-onerisi/guncel/gundemdetay/31.01.2010/1192950/default.htm> (Last Access: 24.01.17)

¹⁵⁷ <http://www.birgun.net/haber-detay/din-kulturu-ve-ahlak-bilgisi-kitaplarinda-yine-skandal-ifadeler-90537.html> (Last Access: 24.01.17)

¹⁵⁸ <http://www.aihmiz.org.tr/?q=tr/content/zengin-karari> (Last Access: 24.01.17)

perception in the society and to ensure them to be recognized as the way that they define themselves, are published as a report. The process has began in June 3-4, 2009 and ended in January 28-30, 2010. The Alevi opinion and faith leaders, academicians, theologians, representatives from several NGOs, agents from media organs and old and new politicians from different points of views have joined each of the six workshops respectively. Each group has evaluated the issue on their own side and shared the outcomes with each other in the last workshop. According to the final report, Alevi groups find a way to express their inconveniences and demands to overcome these troubles while the other participants offer solution suggestions from their parties. Also a series of more meetings was needed in order to resolve the concerns and anxieties that aroused during the process and three more meetings were conducted with Alevi faith leaders, family members of the Madımak Hotel losses and NGOs concerning with Madımak Hotel. Some of the outcomes of these workshops and meetings are: Alevi groups should gather for a clear definition of themselves and should share this with public opinion, state should take steps in order to ease the tensions of Alevi's who think that they are discriminated and stops discriminatory practices, homogenizing identity politics that nation state depends upon should be reconsidered, in order to eliminate the issues about reference and belonging of Alevis the problem should be handled in terms of Law of Unification of Education and Law of Dervish Lodges and Mausoleums which the Freedom of Religion and Consciousness is guaranteed, Alevis should benefit from *Diyanet*'s services and *Diyanet* should preserve its meta-Islam discourse, a constitutional regulation is required in order to remove the problems generated from the compulsory RCM course, optional courses which are guaranteed by Article 24 of the constitution should be brought into force and Alevis should benefit from that courses without revealing their identities, RCM courses should be revised and should include all faith groups, government should convince parties that it obeys

to the universal contracts, Alevi should have a say on both RCM courses and optional courses.¹⁵⁹

Although the results are written in relatively neutral language and reflect the demands of Alevi, the report draws reaction from Alevi associations. For example, the president of the Alevi-Bektashi Federation, Fevzi Gümüş, declares that the report is a document of assimilation. According to Gümüş, the dual RE courses will increase the psychological torture and assimilation of Alevi students. He also mentions that Alevism is being pulled into state policies and the state's "fake system of laicity". According to him, *Diyanet* is against the laicity principle of the state, subordinating Alevism to *Diyanet* and assigning salary to *dedes* is unacceptable since it will create a state *dede* like state imam. Finally, he claims that underlining that Alevism is not related with the Law of Dervish Lodges and Mausoleums since it is an independent faith which has distinctive temples and rituals.¹⁶⁰ The Alevi groups which did not content with the results of the workshops gathered in a meeting in 2011 to declare their demands: legal status for *djemevi*, Madımak Hotel's being a Shame Museum, to stop building mosque in Alevi villages, abolition of the compulsory RCM courses, and Alevi being the sole owner of their faith places.¹⁶¹

Although among other issues the compulsory RCM course has been the most crucial problem of Alevi; within the past years not only the content of the course has not been changed in a way that will ease the inconveniences, but also the responses coming from the state elites to a new conviction from ECtHR which was received in 2014 due to the application of fourteen Turkish citizens in 2011 are not promising for a future change.

Although it was clearly determined in the verdict that the course was turned into an education

¹⁵⁹ <https://serdargunes.files.wordpress.com/2013/08/alevi-c3a7alc4b1c59ftaylarc4b1-nihai-raporu-2010.pdf> (Last Access: 24.01.17)

¹⁶⁰ <http://bianet.org/bianet/din/129023-abf-alevilik-sunnilik-icinde-erilmek-isteniyor>, http://www.alevifederasyonu.org.tr/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=415:alevi-ly-raporu-bir-asimilasyon-belgesidir&catid=13:abf-baslamalar&Itemid=259, <http://bianet.org/bianet/toplum/128995-alevi-raporu-nda-akp-kendi-calip-kendi-oyuyor>. (Last Access: 24.01.17)

¹⁶¹ <http://bianet.org/bianet/azinliklar/128257-aleviler-esit-yurttaslik-icin-yine-meydana-cikiyor> (Last Access: 24.01.17)

course, the bureaucrats from different levels still insist that it is an instruction course and it should be preserved. The then prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu claims that the course can be cancelled if people from any sect are humiliated, blamed or discriminated. However, in the current books differences can find place for themselves and Sunnis and Alevis can find an opportunity to know each other.¹⁶² The President of Directorate of Religious Affairs also blamed the decision of ECtHR and warned not to mix education and instruction. For him, RCM is an instruction course and it is appropriate to the European standards.¹⁶³ The Minister of Education states that although the Alevism related content is enough the demand for exemption can be discussed.¹⁶⁴ President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan criticized ECtHR by making wrong decisions. For him, if the obligatory religion course is abolished, than the substance usage, terror and related to these racism and Islamophobia increases.¹⁶⁵

One last remark should be made for the current debates over education in regard to religion. 19th National Education Council, declared its recommendations in December 2015. The extension of the RCM course to the first three grades of primary school, two years permission for the ones who want to memorize Quran instead of one, value education's being an integrative part of education programmes, elective Ottoman Turkish course for *Imam Hatip* High Schools and omission of Preparation of Alcoholic Beverages and Cocktails course from Tourism and Hotel Management High School curriculum are some of the highlighted topics in the media.¹⁶⁶ These are regarded as signs of becoming more and more pious every day. Of course these anxieties are not solely derived from these articles. JDP has always expected to take religious measures. The elective religion courses*, the 4+4+4 education system,

¹⁶² <http://t24.com.tr/haber/davutoglu-hacibektasta-konustu-yolumuz-12-imamin-yoludur,276451> (Last Access: 24.01.17)

¹⁶³ <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/gormez-den-zorunlu-din-egitimi-gundem-1942400/> (Last Access: 24.01.17)

¹⁶⁴ <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/aleviler-icin-din-dersi-muafiyeti-gundem-1978598/> (Last Access: 24.01.17)

¹⁶⁵ <http://www.internethaber.com/erdogan-din-dersleri-zorunlu-olmadikca-725824h.htm> (Last Access: 24.01.17)

¹⁶⁶ <http://www.memurlar.net/haber/492505/> (Last Access: 24.01.17)

* According to the June 25, 2012 dated verdict of *Talim Terbiye Kurulu* (Board of Education and Discipline); the elective courses Quran, The Life of Prophet Muhammad and Basic Religious Knowledge are introduced to the primary and secondary school curriculum.

resolution of the *Imam Hatip* School's grading inequalities during university exam were the two most major developments in the education. However the revolution in education has accelerated after the then prime minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan declared in 2012 that "I want a youth who would be the claimant of their religion, language, brain, knowledge, chastity, home, grudge and hearth"¹⁶⁷ but summarized and sloganized in common sense as *dindar ve kindar nesil* (religious and grudging generation). The 'generation' discussion kept its importance in several other occasions, regardless of being related with education, when Erdoğan constantly asserts the type of youth that he dreamt of instead of the ones who conflicts with that image. While this comparison accelerates the polarization in the society a new parallel education institution to National Education Ministry is declared to be founded: MAVAK (Maarif Vakfı- Education Foundation). While, the usage of Arabic word *maarif* instead of *eğitim*, even though they meant same, is regarded as intentional; the extraordinary capabilities of the foundation raised questions. The institution is expected to educate its own teachers, and especially with this it is seen as the source of new type of generation.

To examine the degree of religiousness of the course content is not a direct aim of this study. However it will be kept in mind all along the analysis that the how the increased religiosity, if there is any, of the general education system effect the RCM courses and more importantly does the aim of upbringing 'religious and grudging generation' changed the characteristics of the 'accepted citizen'.

¹⁶⁷ <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/tr/originals/2016/06/turkey-education-erdogan-devout-generation-plan.html>
(Last Access: 24.01.17)

5. TEXTBOOK ANALYSIS

5.1. Evaluation of the Programme Changes

RCM course programme has changed several times since its introduction in 1982. A new programme has been announced in *Tebliğler Dergisi* (Journal of Announcements-from now on TD) in 1986, 1992, 2000 (only for 1-8 grades), 2005 (only for 9-11 grades) and 2010. In respect to these new programmes, new RCM textbooks were published in 2002 for 4,5,6,7 and 8th grades, in 2006 for 9, 10 and 11th grades, in 2007 for 4,5,6,7 and 8th grades in 2012 for 9, 10, 11 and 12th grades, in 2014 for 6, 7 and 8th grades and finally in 2015 for 4 and 5th grades.* However, these republishings are not corresponds to real changes most of the time. Three important changes can be mentioned within thirty three years.

1. The republishing of primary education books in 2002 after 2000 programme reform.
2. The republishing of the secondary education books in 2006 and primary education books in 2007 after 2005 programme reform.
3. The corporation of Alevism in certain grades in 2012.

The most obvious outcome of this classification is that the primary education books remained almost same until 2002 and secondary education books are 2006. Also no major change – except from the introduction of Alevism- is reflected on the books after 2005 reform although a new programme is published in 2010. In the following paragraphs these programs are going to be evaluated briefly.

* The schooling system in Turkey has changed two times within this time period. Until 1997-1998 school year, the first five years were named as primary school, next three years were named as secondary school and the final three years were named as lycee. So, the books were labeled as ‘Primary School IV’ or ‘Lycee II’. With the 1997-1998 school year the compulsory education was designed to be continuous eight years and the first eight years of school were named as primary education and the next three years were named as secondary education. Hence the books were started to be labeled 1 to 11 uninterruptedly, just with an indication on top such as ‘For Primary Education’ or ‘For Secondary Education’. This has also changed in 2012-2013 school year and 4+4+4 education system was adopted, compulsory education becomes 12 years. In this system both naming (calling the first eight as primary education and latter four secondary education) and numbering (1 to 12 uninterruptedly) remained the same. In my thesis, I will use this latter numbering system in order to be clear for today’s understanding, however I will give full reference in the footnotes and bibliography.

In April, 1992 a verdict named “Acceptance of the general principles of RCM course curriculum” was published in TD which was the exact same of the October, 1986 verdict. All of the 26 articles of the text were repeated again in the 1992 programme. Recep Kaymakcan asserts that pre-2000 the Ilmihal-Centered Approach was embraced in teaching of Islam. The ilmihal is based upon a hadith which explains the essentials of faith, worship and ethics. According to Kaymakcan,

“the ilmihal approach stresses, through its selection of content, faith, worship and ethics; it ignores the social and political dimensions of Islam” and “The prescribed content of ilmihal is certainly reflected in the present (pre-2000) content of textbooks for religious education in schools. The religious education curriculum has consistently included those aspects of Islam that affect the individual; and has excluded almost everything dealing with the social aspects of Islam.”¹⁶⁸

Ilmihal, by ignoring the social aspect of Islam becomes compatible with the Turkish laicite and the RCM course which is prepared accordingly is like the ilmihal itself: Confessional, which means “overt teaching and strengthening of a particular religion, its doctrines and its way of life.” Historical, that the issues are told in historical context and “little or no attempt has been made to find connections with contemporary religious life.” Embraces Traditional Learning, which aims to “transmit a system of knowledge, beliefs and values.” And prefers the Hanafi School of Thought among four Sunni schools of law.¹⁶⁹

When the books are examined within these years, the primary observation is that between 1983 and 2002 the primary education books were almost the same apart from some negligible rephrasings, paragraph changes, removals or additions. Since the books of this period were already instructive, text based, less illustrative, intensively directed towards upbringing the next generations; the accent on citizenship and laicite is high and the content was not effected from February 28th coup.

¹⁶⁸ Recep Kaymakcan. “Religious Education Culture in Modern Turkey” in *International Handbook of the Religious, Moral and Spiritual Dimensions in Education*, M. de Souza et al. (eds.). (Essex: Springer, 2009) p. 454.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. pp. 454-456.

According to the October 2000 volume of TD,

“The need for program change has occurred as a result of the developments in science and technology, increase of communication possibilities and the development of educational environments, the rise of the occupational formation of the teachers, and the diversification of roles in the learning environment, the global acceptance of the universal approaches such as "life learning" and "learning how to learn", and so on.”¹⁷⁰

The 2002 change was remarkable. The content became more suitable for the age group, the students were encouraged to think with the questions asked in the text, the concepts began to be explained within religious examples, the amount of verses and hadiths are increased, the amount of visuals were increased and so on. According to Kaymakcan with 2000 programme the Ilmihal-Centered approach is left and Quran-Centered approach is embraced.¹⁷¹ But what is more remarkable than that is the 2006/2007 change in the books as a result of 2005 curriculum reform.

According to “Primary Education Religious Education and Morals Curriculum and Guide” which is accepted to put into practice in 2007-2008 school year “as an answer to ‘What kind of RE?’ question; it is declared that an understanding ‘to develop the conditions to improve student’s consciousness’ based on the concepts of ‘respect to human; freedom to thought; morality; cultural heritage.’” Also according to the “Secondary Education Religious Education and Morals Curriculum” which is accepted to put into practice in 2005-2006 school year, similar to the primary education programme, “starting from the concepts of ‘respect to human; freedom to thought; morality; cultural heritage’ it is stated that an approach which can be formulated as ‘to create the conditions that will allow the student's consciousness to develop and to show the ways in which the student can help solve the problems of life’ is embraced.”¹⁷² The most innovative side of this programme is the preparation of the new textbooks was relied on “Learning Schools Project”. According to this, 2.625 primary

¹⁷⁰ *Tebliğler Dergisi* (2000) p. 913.

¹⁷¹ Recep Kaymakcan. (2009) p. 458.

¹⁷² İřtar Gözaydın. “Türkiye’de ‘Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi’ Ders Kitaplarına İnsan Hakları Merceğiyle Bir Bakış” in *Ders Kitaplarında İnsan Hakları II*. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 2007) pp. 168-169.

schools, 7.500 teachers and 100 thousand students from 25 cities were participated to the project which aims “to bring ‘student centered education’ into forefront, to make schools a center of knowledge production and classes a democratic venue.”¹⁷³ Despite these revolutionary attempts, the content of the new books does not meet the needs at all.

The most visible change in these years is the standardization of the chapters. Six learning fields for the 4 to 8 grades, seven for 9 to 11 grades are determined and each year different chapters related with these learning fields are instructed. The content is less instructive but more dependent on student’s making deduction, more demonstrative, illustrations are used to support narrative, the amount of verses increased, and the narration within Islam is also increased in this period. The overemphasis on laicite is ended and human rights as a subject matter have been introduced in the books. But when the education material is examined thoroughly, the efforts seem inadequate:

“At a first glance to the textbooks that, from ‘religious education and morality’ course a mainly Islam culture and morality is understood. [../] Although there are different religion, faith and practice groups who are affiliated with Turkish Republic with citizenship ties, the locality is considered equal with Islam. [../] another thing that stands out is that all the concepts of religion are being treated as facts. In other words, the education is not conducted with a religious research perspective but rather is given within the religion with a theological understanding.”¹⁷⁴

That is to say, although the Turkish education is effected from the global, universal developments and trends, the efforts seems to remain unfulfilled. The separative and confessional characteristic of the textbooks is preserved. The most crucial attempt to break down this separative and confessional characteristic was the introduction of Alevism in 2012.

The introduction of Alevism in the books in 2012 was the final change in the books according to my analysis. I use “the introduction of Alevism” instead of 2010 programme change because “when the RCM curriculum which was started to be used in 2011-2012

¹⁷³ Ibid. p. 169.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid. pp. 170-171.

school year is compared with the previous programme, it is evident that the change is not realized as a revision of the entire programme based on certain principles like neutrality and objectivity.”¹⁷⁵ Indeed, the content of the books remained almost the same. Again some negligible rephrasings, paragraph changes, adding or removals, additional headlines and page layout and visual differences can be seen throughout these years. These differences are negligible since they are not directly related with the topic of my thesis and also they do not have an important impact on the general meaning of the text. The Alevism related issues are important though. These changes were made as a result of the Alevi workshops which were mentioned before. It is mostly the 7th and 12th grade books that are affected from the change, since “Different Interpretations in Islam” as a chapter has introduced in these grades. However, subtle Alevism related additions can be seen almost every year. For example, Nawruz is added among the “National and Religious Festivities” in 5th grade. In the salaah chapter 6th grade, the additional sentence of Ja’fari jurisprudence to adhan is added and the words of Alevi notables are mentioned among the “The Behaviors that Islam is Avoided”. Or Muharram Fasting and Alevi Bektashi practices of Muharram Fasting are also mentioned in 10th grade.¹⁷⁶

5.2. Selected Books

Although I examined as many book as I can find to derive these general outcomes, I choose 42 of them as being representative. I pay attention to the abovementioned breaking points. It should be noted that between these breaking points the books remained same; hence a book from 1988 embodies the books from 1982 to 2002 for primary school and 2006 for secondary school. Similarly a book from 2009 is exemplary of the books between 2006/2007 and 2012. Also I take 2015 books into consideration to see the latest version of the books in each time.

¹⁷⁵ Mine Yıldırım. *2011-2012 Öğretim Yılında Uygulanan Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi Dersi Programına İlişkin Bir Değerlendirme*. ERG. (2012) p. 2.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid. pp. 2-6.

1. Ünver Günay, Kerim Yavuz. İlköğretim Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi 4. MEB. Ankara 1988.
2. Ahmet Tekin. İlköğretim 4. Sınıf Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi. Gizem Yayıncılık. Ankara. 2000.
3. Mehmet Akgül vd. İlköğretim Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi Ders Kitabı 4. Sınıf. MEB. Ankara. 2009.
4. Mehmet Akgül vd. İlköğretim Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi Ders Kitabı 4. Sınıf. MEB. Ankara. 2012.
5. Mehmet Akgül vd. İlköğretim Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi Ders Kitabı 4. Sınıf. MEB. Ankara. 2015.
6. Beyza Bilgin. İlkokullar İçin Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi 5. MEB. Ankara. 1988.
7. Komisyon. İlköğretim Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi 5. MEB. Ankara. 2005
8. Mehmet Akgül vd. İlköğretim Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi 5. MEB. Ankara. 2007
9. Mehmet Akgül vd. İlköğretim Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi Ders Kitabı 5. MEB. Ankara. 2012
10. Mehmet Akgül vd. İlköğretim Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi Ders Kitabı 5. MEB. Ankara. 2015
11. Abdülkadir Şener, Orhan Karmış. Ortokullar İçin Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi 1. MEB. Ankara 1991.
12. Ahmet Tekin. İlköğretim 6 Din kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi Ders Kitabı. Gizem Yayıncılık. Ankara 2000.
13. Mehmet Akgül vd. İlköğretim Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi Ders Kitabı 6. Sınıf. MEB. Ankara 2011.
14. Mehmet Akgül vd. İlköğretim Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi Ders Kitabı 6. Sınıf. MEB. Ankara 2012.

15. Komisyon. İlköğretim Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi Ders Kitabı 6. Sınıf. MEB. Ankara 2015.
16. Cihad Tunç. Ortaokullar için Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi 2. MEB. 1988.
17. Hasan Gökbulut ve Ömer Öcal. İlköğretim 7. Sınıf Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi Ders Kitabı. Bilim ve Kültür Yayınları. Ankara 2002.
18. Mehmet Yavuzcan. İlköğretim Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi 7. Ders Kitapları AŞ. 2005.
19. Mehmet Akgül vd. İlköğretim Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi 7. Sınıf. MEB. 2009.
20. Mehmet Akgül vd. İlköğretim Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi 7 Sınıf. MEB. 2012.
21. Komisyon İlköğretim Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi Ders Kitabı 7. Sınıf. MEB. 2015.
22. Ethem Ruhi Fıglalı. Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi 3. MEB 1988
23. Hasan Gökbulut, Ömer Öcal. İlköğretim 8. Sınıf Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi: Ders Kitabı. Özgün Matbaa. 2002.
24. Mehmet Akgül vd. Din kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi 8. Sınıf. MEB 2009
25. Mehmet Akgül, vd. İlköğretim Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi 8. Sınıf. MEB 2012
26. Komisyon. İlköğretim Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi 8. MEB 2015
27. M. Rami Ayas, Günay Tümer. Liseler İçin Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi I. MEB. Ankara. 1990.
28. A. Hikmet Eroğlu vd. Lise Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi Ders Kitabı Sınıf I. Özgün Matbaacılık. Ankara 2002
29. Akmet Ekşi vd. Ortaöğretim Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi Ders Kitabı 9. Sınıf. MEB. Ankara. 2009.
30. Ahmet Türkan vd. Ortaöğretim Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi Ders Kitabı 9. Sınıf. MEB. Ankara. 2012.

31. Ahmet Türkan vd. Ortaöğretim Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi Ders Kitabı 9. Sınıf. MEB. Ankara. 2015.
32. S. Hakkı Bolay. Liseler İçin Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi II. MEB. Ankara. 1988.
33. Salan 1995
34. Mehmet Akgül vd. Ortaöğretim Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi 10. MEB. Ankara. 2009
35. Ahmet Ekşi vd. Ortaöğretim Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi Ders Kitabı 10. Sınıf. MEB. Ankara. 2013.
36. Ahmet Ekşi vd. Ortaöğretim Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi Ders Kitabı 10. Sınıf. MEB. Ankara. 2015.
37. Mehmet Aydın. Lise Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi 3. MEB. Ankara. 1983.
38. Mahmut Balcı vd. Ortaöğretim Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi 11. MEB. Ankara. 2009
39. Eyüp Koç vd. Ortaöğretim Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi Ders Kitabı 11. Sınıf. MEB. Ankara. 2012.
40. Eyüp Koç vd. Ortaöğretim Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi Ders Kitabı 11. Sınıf. MEB. Ankara. 2015.
41. Mehmet Akgül vd. Ortaöğretim Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi 12. Sınıf. MEB. Ankara. 2011
42. Mehmet Akgül vd. Ortaöğretim Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi 12. Sınıf. MEB. Ankara. 2012
43. Nazım Genç. Ortaöğretim Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi 12. Sınıf. Netbil Yayıncılık. İstanbul. 2015.

5.3. Preliminary Questions

I approached books with bearing the following questions in mind: how do the Turks are represented in these books, how is the relationship between state and citizen, what are characteristics of ‘accepted citizen’ or how do the ‘accepted citizen’ is represented in the

books, who are included in the definition of the citizen and who are excluded or ignored, how do the citizenship issues are given in the books and how do religion contributes to the national character, what are the duties and responsibilities of the citizen, and over all what kind of a homeland do these books want children to imagine? These basic questions are added more on the way of examining books.

5.4. Upbringing the Citizen

So far, the importance of education for the nation state which is directed to the aim of raise the citizens of future, was explained. Besides, it was tried to be depicted how Islam is intertwined with Turkish nationalism and through a brief glance at the programes, the official perception of the religion remains same despite the internal criticisms and pressure of the universal conventions that Turkey is affiliated. In this section, the data collected from the selected books are going to be discussed in the light of preliminary questions. The succeeding ten headlines are designed to depict the Turkish citizen, as it is presented in the RCM textbooks.

5.4.1. Who is the Turk?

According to the extensive report published in the year 2014 with the reading of 245 textbooks of all compulsory courses in the curriculum of Turkish national education;

“textbooks place the state and society within a historical context and attempt to develop a shared feeling of belonging, or ‘concept of us.’ In this way, textbooks present us with a collective memory around which they aim to shape identity. Through textbooks it is therefore possible to see the limits of a country’s collective identity, who is included in this identity and who is excluded.”¹⁷⁷

In other words, the national compulsory education is designed to constitute one single narrative of identity and each course contributes this narrative in its own way. RCM books contribute this narrative from a Turkish-Islamic Synthesis perspective.

¹⁷⁷ Kenan Çayır. *Who Are We?: Identity, Citizenship and Rigths in Turkey’s Textbooks.* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 2014) p.9.

After Atatürk's death in 1938, humanist historicism movement occurred while secretly objects to the Kemalist historiography which tries to show especially to Europe ancient roots of Turks and their ability to establish states and also to find Turkish ancestors in Anatolia before Armenians and Greeks to legitimize Turkish existence in that particular territory;¹⁷⁸ and connected to Western schools of thought. Turkish-Islamic Synthesis has been developed by different agents coming from Kemalist or Islamic backgrounds, against this humanist movement highlighting the Asiatic and Islamic characteristics of Turkish history.¹⁷⁹

“The Turkish-Islamic synthesis can be described, in part, as an anti-Western reaction. It is a form of ideologicalization of Islam, but instead of being closed to values in the Qur'an, it puts forward the return to the Turkish “national culture” which is seen as a product of the synthesis between Turks own history and Islam. According to these views, Islam overcomes the Turkish culture and if it had not existed the Turkish culture would not have survived; but Turkish culture has also protected and strengthened Islam. If Turkish culture had not existed Islam would have atrophied.”¹⁸⁰

According to this narrative, Turks were stemmed from Middle East whose beliefs are similar to Islam and therefore accepted Islam easily after they made a corporation with Abbasids in a war. According to this narrative, an essence of Turks is defined, which is problematic by itself, and tried to establish parallelism between Turkish identity and Islam. As a 7th grade textbook claims:

“The Turks were not forced by any state or empire to enter Islamic religion. They accepted Islam with their own will.

Before the Turks became Muslim, they believed in Shamanism. Some of them embraced religions such as Manichaeism and Buddhism. But none of these religions fit the nature of the Turks. Islam which appeals to all nations of the world is a religion that corresponds to the nature of every nation; especially the moral codes were as if the rules that the Turks have adopted for centuries. Namely; Turks were natural born soldiers as a nation; Islam orders to fight for the homeland. The Turks did not lie and were not hypocrite, Islam forbid all bad habits. The Turks were a nation that loves cleanliness and care for a clean life, Islam is a religion based on cleanliness. The Turks

¹⁷⁸ Etienne Copeaux. *Türk Tarih Tezinden Türk İslam Sentezine*. (İstanbul: İletişim, 2013) pp.40-41, 50.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 79.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid. p.82.

were realistic, they did not pursue dreams, they loved to work; Islam ordered working and forbid laziness. So the first and most important reason for the Turks to become Muslim was that Islam was a religion that was suitable for their own nature. Turks have chosen the most suitable religion for their nature by embracing Islam.”¹⁸¹

According to the author although Turks have embraced several religions before, they cannot fit any of these. Although the prospected answers of the following questions would also problematic, even these are not needed to be answered in the text for the sake of consistency: Why Turks cannot fit into other religions, what were the characteristics of these religions that are not suitable to Turks and what is the justification of Turks disturbance? As it is stated, the answers of these are also problematic because in order to answer these one should admit there is an essence that all Turks share and all Turks, without exception, feel uncomfortable in their beliefs then. In another case, the unchanging beliefs of Turks are listed which were also suitable to Islam:

“Throughout their long history, Turks have been under the influence of some religions and beliefs from time to time. However, regardless of the names of these religions, they have their own beliefs and religious traditions. In this respect, they embraced Islam easily and with their own will, then they came to the forefront to serve the religion. It is because the Turks already had had the beliefs and religious traditions such as monotheism, afterlife, heaven-hell, angel-devil, soul, immortality of the soul and sacrifice. Therefore, the contacts of the Turks with Islam that started in the IX. century ended up embracing Islam in masses during the X. century. After the XII. century, Islam established superiority in Central Asia.”¹⁸²

¹⁸¹ “Türkler İslam dinine girmek için hiçbir devlet veya imparatorluk tarafından zorlanmamışlardır. Onlar Müslümanlığı kendi istekleriyle kabul etmişlerdir.

Türkler Müslüman olmadan önce, Şamanizme inanırlardı. Bir kısmı da Mani ve Buda dini gibi dinlere girmişlerdi. Ancak bu dinlerin hiçbiri Türklerin yaradılışına uymuyordu. Bütün dünya milletlerine hitap eden İslam dini, her milletin yaradılışına uygun düşen bir din olmakla beraber, bilhassa ahlak kuralları, sanki Türklerin yüzyıllardır benimsedikleri kurallardı. Şöyle ki; Türkler doğuştan asker milleti; İslam dini vatan için savaşmayı emrediyor. Türkler yalan, iki yüzlülük nedir bilmeyen bir milleti; İslamiyet bütün kötü huyları yasaklamıştı. Türkler temizliği seven, temiz yaşamaya özen gösteren bir milleti, İslamiyet de temizlik üzerine kurulmuş bir dindi. Türkler gerçekçi, hayal peşinde koşmayan, iş yapmasını seven bir milleti, İslam dini çalışmayı emrediyor, tembelliği yasaklıyordu. İşte Türklerin Müslüman oluşlarının ilk ve en önemli sebebi, İslam dininin kendi yaradılışlarına uygun bir din oluşuydu. Türkler İslam dinine girmekle yaradılışlarına en uygun dini seçmiş oldular.” (1988 MEB 7. p. 93-94)

¹⁸² “Türkler uzun tarihleri boyunca zaman zaman, yer yer bazı din ve inançların etkisinde kalmışlardır. Ancak bu dinlerin adları ne olursa olsun, onların devam ettirdikleri kendilerine mahsus inanışları, dini gelenekleri vardır. Bu bakımdan İslamiyeti kabulleri kolay ve kendi arzuları ile olmuş, daha sonra bu dine hizmette ön safa geçmişlerdir. Çünkü Türklerde İslamdan önce de tektanrı, ahiret, cennet-cehennem, melek-şeytan, ruh, ruhun

In other words, all Turks regardless of the environment, time, culture or religion has the same characteristics and they do not compromise these even though they embrace completely different religions. It seems like Turks before Islam, unwillingly got involved in several religions and they have always felt the disparity between their essences and the religion that they are believing. This is almost claiming that Turks are already Muslims but they have had to wait until the proclamation of the religion. Nevertheless, the belief which was tried to depict in here is '*Gök-Tanrı*' belief, which is embraced by the authors because of its overlapping with Islam. Sometimes the authors try so hard to overlap these two. In the following example both the author's etymological inferences are sourceless and also he is incapable to explaining the coexistence of the two words after the acceptance of Islam:

“The Old Turkish word “tengri” was used to describe the apparent sky (*sema*) and the Almighty God that meant “Allah”. In the expression 'sky god', 'sky' is an adjective for the word of God; gives meaning of “great”, “almighty”. After embracing Islam, the Turks used the word 'sky' as the apparent sky (*sema*) and 'Tengri' as their counterpart to the concept of 'Allah'. However, both words “Allah” and “Tanrı” have been used together.”¹⁸³

This narrative remains untouched by this time. The following example is taken from 2015 book:

“The “Sky-God” belief has been influential in the embracement of Islam by the Turks. According to the statements in Orhun inscriptions, the “Sky-God” is the creator of the earth, the sky and the whole universe. He determines the fate of the people. He enthrones the “Hakan” and protects him. “Hakan” gains victory with his help. He is prayed for help, sacrificed for him and is vowed in his name.
[./.]

ölmezliği, kurban gibi inançlar ve dini gelenekler vardır. Dolayısıyla türkler IX. Yüzyılda başlayan İslamiyetler temasları, giderek X. yüzyıldan kitleler halinde müslüman olmalarıyla sonuçlanmıştır. XII yüzyıldan Orta Asya'da İslamiyet üstünlük kurmuştur.” (1990 MEB 9. p. 46)

¹⁸³ “Eski Türkçede tengri kelimesi, göze görünen gök (*sema*) ve ‘Allah’ anlamına gelen Yüce Tanrı’yı ifade etmek üzere kullanılmıştır. ‘Gök Tanrı’ deyiminde ‘Gök’ tanrı kelimesi için sıfattır; Yüce, Ulu anlamını verir. İslamiyeti kabul ettikten sonra Türkler, ‘gök’ kelimesini ‘sema’, ‘tengri’ kelimesini de ‘Allah’ kavramına karşılık olarak kullanmışlardır. Ancak hem Allah hem de Tanrı kelimesi birlikte kullanılmıştır.” (1990 MEB 9. p. 49)

The Turks saw that Islam is a religion that is suitable to their own lifestyle and nature, very close and tolerant to their previous beliefs. Therefore, they began to approach Islam with sympathy and gradually adopt this religion.

It is during the 9th and 10th centuries that the Turks become Muslims in masses. [../]
The Islamic world gained a new source of strength as the Turks became Muslims. The rapid spread of Islam among the Turks gave a new spirit and strength to the Turks as well. [../]

We can also see the significance of the Turks towards Islam throughout the Republic of Turkey as well. Atatürk, the founder of our state, was a leader who gave importance to Islam. [../] ¹⁸⁴

Turks, after choosing the most convenient religion for themselves, they have start working for it. They took part in spreading and preserving this religion. Also the Muslim Turkish artists, scientists and writers have contributed Islam Civilization. While ‘spreading and preserving’ mission can be understood in relation with the founded Turkish Islamic states such as Ghaznevids, Seljuks and Ottoman Empire; the “Turkish-Islamic Culture and Civilization” topic is interesting to think over. First of all Islam is not merely a religion like others:

“As for 'Islam', only a religion does not come to the minds. This word suggests a society of almost one billion people, a culture, a civilization and a way of life. To be a Muslim is to be a person who has the purpose of walking on a certain road that has certain senses and thoughts. We have already pointed it out when giving a general information about religions. We said that, for instance, a Shintoist can be a Buddhist or a Jainist at the same time. This means that Islam and Shintoism do not affect human life and faith in the same way. If a person is a Muslim, s/he is no longer a Buddhist or a Christian. S/he can not be a materialist or an atheist neither. S/he can not embrace any belief which does not contain the belief of Allah.

¹⁸⁴ “Türklerin Müslüman olmasında Göktaını inancı etkili olmuştur. Orhun kitabelerinde belirtildiğine göre, ‘Göktaını; yerlerin, göklerin ve bütün evrenin yaratıcısıdır. İnsanların kaderini o tayin eder.’ Hakanı o tahta çıkarır ve korur. Hakan onun yardımıyla zafer kazanır. Yardım için ona dua edilir, kurban kesilir ve onun adına ant içilir. [../]

Türkler İslamın, kendi hayat tarzlarına ve mizaçlarına uygun, önceki inanışlarına çok yakın ve hoşgörülü bir din olduğunu gördüler. Dolayısıyla İslama sempatiyle yaklaşmaya ve zamanla bu dini benimsemeye başladılar.

Türklerin kitleler halinde Müslüman olması 9 ve 10. yüzyıllara rastlar. [../]

İslam dünyası, Türklerin Müslüman olmasıyla yeni bir güce kavuşmuştur. İslamiyetin Türkler arasında hızla yayılması, Türklere de yeni bir ruh ve kuvvet vermiştir. [../]

Türklerin tarih boyunca İslam dinine verdiği önemi Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devletinde de görebilmekteyiz. Devletimizin kurucusu olan Atatürk, İslam dinine önem veren bir liderdi. [../]” (2015. MEB 6. p.116.)

Just as a Muslim has certain qualities of his own, there will be some distinctive qualities of culture and civilization which are her/his products. At the center of the Islamic culture lies the understanding of God and human. As we have mentioned earlier, Allah is a Being with might, knowledge and will. Man is also a knowing, will-owning being. The ultimate goal of man is to reach moral supremacy and thus attain to his Creator. He has to struggle for it. The Islamic culture, which takes its power from these two basic understandings, is above all rational and realistic. It is rational, because it keeps thinking and knowing as its product at first.”¹⁸⁵

It means that there is a crucial difference between Islam and other beliefs and only Islam preaches the importance of reasoning and hardworking in order to reach wisdom. And hence Muslims accumulate a huge amount of knowledge in line with this preach. Here, the author not only glorifies Islam and Muslims (and so does Turks) but also is underestimating and ignoring all sorts of production and neglect the universality of knowledge. That is to say, the RCM textbooks seems to imagine a bordered, homogeneous and sterilized Islam Civilization and the products of every Muslim have put in that field, but no where else. For example a Muslim mathematician does not contribute into universal knowledge of mathematics but to Islam civilization. This will cause an unrealistic sense of self but more importantly leads to deterritorialization of the sense of history and time.

It is now clear that RCM textbooks define something as Turkishness which has strict borders around. According to this, the characteristic of the members within the borders are analogous and strictly different than the ones from the outsiders. And also Turkishness is equalized with Islam and it is claimed that all Turks without exception share the same

¹⁸⁵ “‘İslam’ denince akla yalnızca bir din gelmez. Bu kelime sayıları milyara yaklaşan bir toplumu, bir kültürü, bir uygarlığı ve bir yaşama biçimini akla getirir. Müslüman olmak, belli duygulara ve düşüncelere sahip olan belli bir yolda yürümeyi amaç edinen bir kimse olmak demektir. Daha önce dinler hakkında genel bilgiler verirken bir noktaya dikkat çekmiştik. Demiştik ki, söz gelişi, bir Şintoist, aynı zamanda Buddist ya da Jainist olabilir. Bu demektir ki İslam ve Şintoizm insan hayatını ve kaderini aynı şekilde etkilememektedirler. Bir insan, eğer Müslümansa artık bir Buddist veya bir Hristiyan değildir. O bir maddeci veya ateist de olamaz. Alah inancına yer vermeyen hiçbir inanişi ve fikri benimseyemez.

Nasıl ki bir Müslümanın kendine özgü birtakım nitelikleri varsa, onun ürünü olan kültür ve uygarlığın da bazı ayrıncı nitelikleri bulunacaktır. İslam kültürünün merkezinde Allah ve insan anlayışları yatar. Allah daha önce de söylediğimiz gibi, kudret, ilim ve irade sahibi bir Varlıktır. İnsan da bilen, irade sahibi olan bir varlıktır. İnsanın son gayesi, ahlaki yüceliğe ulaşmak ve öylece Yaratıcısına kavuşmaktır. O bunun için çalışmak çabalamak zorundadır. Gücünü bu iki temel anlayıştan alan İslam kültürü, her şeyden önce, akılcı ve gerçekçidir. Akılcıdır, çünkü düşünmeyi ve bunun ürünü olan bilmeyi önce tutar.” (1983 MEB 11. p. 70)

characteristics and when Islam was sent, every Turk embraced this religion smoothly. This approach is called essentialism. Essentialism can be defined:

“The doctrine that asserts that all tangible objects are separated from each other into a number of neutral categories; that it is possible to distinguish the category or class to which an object belongs from other categories of objects using rigid and specific boundaries; and that every being or object has an essence that makes it a member of a particular category of objects.”¹⁸⁶

That is to say, people are divided into certain irreconcilable categories that each of them has certain characteristics. Every member of these groups possesses these characteristics and these are and can only be possessed by the members of that certain group. National character is the clearest manifestation of this understanding. Although the idea of national character was produced in the formation of the Republican thought however it is still preserves its place in the books.

5.4.2. National Morality and National Character

In the second chapter the importance of the symbols, myths, traditions, memories and values as well as memories of golden ages, myths of origin and ethnic election, cults of heroes and ancestors, attachment of homeland¹⁸⁷ are mentioned in the constitution of national identity. The textbooks reveal the common values that constitute ‘us’. The holistic and essentialist approach can be seen within these examples. For example a 5th grade book explains the ingredients of being Turk:

“We are the Turkish nation. We have a common culture, history, language, religion, traditions and customs. Our songs, our *türkü*s, our tales, our lullabies, our stories of heroism are common. The phrases 'brave like Turk' and 'hospitable like Turk' show our common qualities. Our Nasrettin Hoca, our Hacı Bektaş Veli, our Yunus Emre, our many other *asiks* are notables who tell us about us. These are the values that

¹⁸⁶ Ahmet Cevizci. *Felsefe Sözlüğü*. (Ankara: Paradigma Yayınları, 1999) p. 724.

¹⁸⁷ Umut Özkırmı. (1999) p. 143.

constitute our cultural heritage, which binds us to each other as a nation and which we must always possess.”¹⁸⁸

These are the key notions of being Turk that the citizens should enjoy and be proud of. These are transferred from past to future, generation to generation. ‘National character’ is defined in the books as such:

“The word *seciye* means temper, creation, identity. The national *seciye* refers to the characteristics of a nation. There are unique personality structures and characteristics of nations like the ones of the people, that distinguish people from others.

[../.]

The Turkish nation has a high *seciye*. Truthfulness, bravery, valor, heroism, helpfulness, modesty, tolerance and independence are among its most distinctive features. His reputation for justice, compassion and hospitality has made him famous in the world. Atatürk did not hesitate to lead him because he knew the *seciye* of the Turkish nation very well.”¹⁸⁹

National character is an important theme for the textbooks. “According to this approach, the nation is an ethnic community with a unique character that is provided from a high and original culture. This common character is transferred from generation to generation nationwide.”¹⁹⁰ As people have their characters, societies also have characters. These can be transferred via cultural elements but more importantly it is thought that these exist in the bloods of people, and due to an ancestral tie people carry the same characteristics all along. Like Tekin Alp puts it, “the national spirit continues its existence as long as it does not lose its full purity; the remains of the ancestors continue to live with it.”¹⁹¹ Hence the generations not

¹⁸⁸ Biz Türk milletiyiz. Ortak bir kültürümüz, tarihimiz, dilimiz, dinimiz, gelenek ve göreneklerimiz vardır. Şarkılarımız, türkülerimiz, masallarımız, ninnilerimiz, kahramanlık hikayelerimiz ortaktır. ‘Türk gibi cesur’, ‘Türk gibi misafirperver’ deyimleri bizim ortak niteliklerimizi gösterir. Nasrettin Hocamız, Hacı Bektaş Velimiz, Yunus Emremiz, nice nice aşıklarımız bizi bize anlatan büyüklerimizdir. Bunlar millet olarak bizi birbirimize bağlayan, her zaman sahiplenmemiz gereken, kültürel mirasımızı oluşturan değerlerdir.” (1988. MEB 5. p.113)

¹⁸⁹ “Seciye sözcüğü; huy, yaradılış, kimlik anlamına gelir. Ulusal seciye ise bir ulusun özelliklerini ifade eder. Kişilerin başkalarından ayırt edilmelerini sağlayan kendilerine özgü kişilik yapıları ve özellikleri olduğu gibi ulusların da kişilik yapıları ve özellikleri vardır.

[../.]

Türk ulusu yüksek seciyelidir. Doğruluk, mertlik, yiğitlik, kahramanlık, yardımseverlik, alçak gönüllülük, hoşgörülülük ve bağımsızlık onun en belirgin özellikleri arasındadır. Adaleti, merhameti ve konukseverliği ile dünyaya ün salmıştır. Atatürk, Türk ulusunun seciyesini çok iyi bildiği için ona önderlik etmekte hiç tereddüt etmemiştir.” (2002 Özgün 9. p 66)

¹⁹⁰ Ahmet Yıldız. (2013) p. 171.

¹⁹¹ Tekin Alp. *Türk Ruhu*. (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1944) p.28-29.

only feel bounded to a greater whole due to the shared memories and traditions; they act as instinctively as a result their bloods.

Essentialist thought claims that cultures are divided into natural categories automatically and cultures can be differentiated from each other easily. There is an uninterrupted continuity among members of the same culture. In a pluralistic society like Turkey, the essentialist claims can turn into discrimination. Although the social identity changes through time and according to the plurality of the contributors; to resist reflecting it as an unchanging unity¹⁹² makes the textbooks to embrace unrealistic and self-evident data.

The arguments of national character are not dependent upon scientific data but rather to the words of Atatürk. In other words, the subjective arguments of Atatürk are represented as the truth. Similar example is from 2015 9th grade book:

“Atatürk emphasized national character and kept it on the agenda in the War of Independence. The national character had an important influence in gaining the independence of our nation. Atatürk tells us about our national character: 'The character of the Turkish nation is high. Turkish nation is hardworking. Turkish nation is intelligent. Because the Turkish nation knows how to overcome difficulties in national unity and solidarity. Because the torch that it holds in its hand and mind in the way of development and civilization is the positive science.

Atatürk, who knows the character of Turkish nation closely, expresses about national morality and national excitement: "National morality demands from people attention, effort and willingly sacrifice in every respect for the social order and the peace of the society, for the advancement of welfare, happiness and peace in civilization today and tomorrow. The requirements of a superior nation are executed by the people of that nation with a conscience and an emotional desire without long thought. That is the biggest national excitement.”¹⁹³

¹⁹² Kenan Çayır. “Türkiye’de Ulusal Kimliği Yeniden Tanımlama Yolunda Özcülük, Çokkültürlülük ve Kültürlerarası Eğitim” in *Eğitim Bilim Toplum Dergisi*. Vol. 14. No. 55. (Summer 2016) pp. 82-84

¹⁹³ “Atatürk milli seciye konusuna önem vermiş, Kurtuluş Savaşında da bunu sürekli gündemde tutmuştur. Ulusumuzun bağımsızlığını kazanmasında milli karakterin önemli etkisi olmuştur. Atatürk milli seçiyemiz hakkında şunları söyler: ‘Türk milletinin karakteri yüksektir. Türk milleri çalışkandır. Türk milleti zekidir. Çünkü türk milleti, milli birlik ve beraberlik içinde güçlükleri yenmesini bilmiştir. Çünkü türk milletinin yürümekte olduğu gelişme ve medeniyet yolunda, elinde ve kafasında tuttuğu meşale müsbet ilimdir. Türk milletinin karakterini yakından tanıyan Atatürk, milli ahlak ve milli heyecan hakkında şunları dile getirir: ‘Milletin toplumsal düzen ve sükunu bugün ve gelecekte refahı, mutluluğu ve esenliği medeniyette ilerlemesi için insanlardan her hususta ilgi, çaba fedakarlık seve seve canını feda etmek isteyen milli ahlakıdır. Üstün bir

Here, the sentences of Atatürk who was trying to uplift the morality of people and prepare them to a total fight, and then to generate a nation state with those people are taken from its context and presented as the absolute truth. Even the context is taken into consideration; these are the subjective ideas of Atatürk and they do not depend on any scientific data. But by using the authority of Atatürk his words gain a truth value in the books and presented as such. To refer normative statements is something frequently met in the textbooks.

“One of the most important elements of critical thinking is the ability to distinguish between normative and scientific statements and there is a distinct difference between these two types of statement. Normative statements, [../] contain subjective evaluations based on a specific moral, religious and ideological background. [../] Informative statements [on the other hand] implying that things that have/that we believe to have an objective truth outside ourselves can be proved or disproved by observation/experimentation.”¹⁹⁴

In light of these, neither the character of a nation nor national morality is something one can objectively prove or disprove. These are the subjective opinions of the speaker which cannot be presented as a fact in an education material.

5.4.3. Good Behaviors of the Citizen

Although Turks has the supreme characteristics by nature the RCM textbooks frequently presents the good behaviors that a citizen should possesses. The topics, *Güzel Huylardan Bazıları* (Some of the Good Habits), *İslamın Övdüğü Güzel Davranışlar* (Behaviors that Islam Favors), *İslamın Sakınılmasını İsteddiği Davranışlar* (Behaviors that Islam Bewares of) are the most frequently seen topics in the RCM courses. As Foucault claims, educational institutions are the places to develop “correct” behavior. They are not places where only knowledge is produced but also ‘docile bodies’ are created.¹⁹⁵ Hence the idea behind these subjects is to instill the ideal person and encourage the children to be like

milletin milli ahlakın gerekleri o millet bireyleri tarafından üzerinde uzun boylu düşünmeksizin vicdanı ve duygusal bir istekle yapılır. En büyük milli heyecan işte budur.” (2015 MEB 9. p.95.)

¹⁹⁴ Kenan Çayır. (2014) p. 108.

¹⁹⁵ Michel Foucault. (1995).

that. They also reflect the characteristics of the accepted citizen. Here the intertwining of Turkishness and Islam is the core of these topics. According to the books religion is good morality, and good morals enable us to develop good behavior which will be useful for social relations. The most mentioned ‘good behaviors’ can be listed as such:

“Religion contributes to being moral. Because it wants me to be a trustworthy, bound to his promises person who performs all his tasks. It recommends me not to betray, not to approach the evil, to not leave righteousness. It orders me not to talk behind someone’s back, not to despise others and avoid from jealousy, lie and slander. [../] I will become a moral person if I obey these demands of religion.”¹⁹⁶

While the good, right and beautiful behaviors, even bad and need to be avoided behaviors are frequently listed, how to reach these behaviors and by which means is not told. More importantly the books do not pave the way for students to develop those behaviors. The authors of RCM books confine with listing these behaviors which are socially accepted and religiously approved; and assert that the one who behaves in that certain manner s/he becomes a moral person that everybody loves and hence does Allah. Here are the some good characteristics for the citizen:

Honesty:

“Human beings live together with others in society. In this process it establishes various relations with other people. Relationships such as friendship, neighborhood, friendship are some of them. These relationships need to be based on mutual trust in order to continue safely. The first condition of the establishment of trust is that people must be honest with each other.”¹⁹⁷

Purity:

“If someone is moral, it first enables him/her to maintain a peaceful, happy life. An individual who is at peace with her/himself and has a harmonious inner world

¹⁹⁶ “Din güzel ahlaklı olmama katkı sağlar. Çünkü güvenilir, üzerine düşen görevleri yapan ve verdiği sözde duran bir insan olmamı ister. Emanete ihanet etmememi, kötülüğe yaklaşmamamı, doğruluktan ayrılmamamı öğütler. Kimsenin arkasından konuşmamamı, başkalarını hor görmememi; kıskançlık, yalan ve iftiradan sakınmamı buyurur. [../] Ben de dinin bu isteklerine uyarsam güzel ahlaklı bir insan olurum.” (2002 Bilim ve Kültür 7. p. 28)

¹⁹⁷ “İnsan toplum içinde başkalarıyla birlikte yaşar. Bu süreçte diğer insanlarla çeşitli ilişkiler kurar. Arkadaşlık, komşuluk, dostluk gibi ilişkiler bunlardan bazılarıdır. Bu ilişkilerin sağlıklı yürüyebilmesi için karşılıklı güvene dayanması gerekir. Güven ortamının oluşmasının birinci koşulu ise insanların birbirlerine karşı dürüst olmalarıdır.” (2002 Hitit 8. p. 72)

becomes an asset that reconciles, helps, and resolves difficulties in relation to others in the best possible way. [...] Because the clean ones; become the solid bases of the society life by realizing high values such as carrying out their work and duties as best as possible, helping others, not lying, solving difficulties, carrying out healthy relationships between people without hesitation with their self-sacrificing, loyal, altruistic personalities.”¹⁹⁸

Well behavior:

“One lives with other people in society. We are surrounded by our parents, our neighbors, a lot of people we know and do not know. We have various relationships with these people we live together with.

We should be moral and show good behaviours in our relations with other people. We must participate in useful events, improve ourselves. We must be honest and always tell the truth.”¹⁹⁹

Safekeeping:

“Everything that we have is a trust that Allah has given us. Pointing out what the concept of trust is, the Prophet said: [...] As can be seen in the hadith, it is stated that the duties are trusts which are ones between people and against the society. Our parents and children are among the important trusts. Children should be educated, kept away from all kinds of harmful habits, and brought up as useful individuals for the society.”²⁰⁰

As is seen in these examples, the target behaviors are listed and their public manifestations are told. Each behavior is explained in terms of its public gain and the verses and hadiths are used for supplementary reasons. Sure, good behaviors will have public benefits but, as shown above the narrative of these behaviors always asserts the public

¹⁹⁸ “Kişinin temiz ahlaklı olması öncelikle kendisinin huzurlu, mutlu bir yaşayışı sürdürmesini sağlar. Kendi kendisiyle barışık olup, uyumlu bir iç dünyası bulunan birey, başkalarıyla ilişkilerinde bağdaştırıcı, yardımcı, güçlükleri en iyi şekilde çözüme kavuşturan bir varlık olur. [...] Çünkü temiz kişiler; işlerini, ödevlerini en iyi şekilde yerine getirmek, başkalarına yardımcı olmak, yalan söylememek, güçlükleri çözmek, insanlar arası ilişkileri sağlıklı bir şekilde yürütmek gibi yüksek değerleri, fedakar, vefalı, özgeci kişilikleriyle duraksamadan gerçekleştirerek, topluluk yaşayışının en sağlam dayanakları olur.” (1990 MEB 9. p.120)

¹⁹⁹ “İnsan, toplum içinde diğer insanlarla birlikte yaşar. Ailemiz, komşularımız, tanıdığımız ve tanımadığımız pek çok insanla birarada bulunuruz. Birlikte yaşadığımız bu insanlarla çeşitli ilişkiler kurarız. İnsanlarla ilişkilerimizde daimen güzel ahlaklı olmalı, iyi davranışlarda bulunmalıyız. Yararlı etkinliklere katılmalı, kendimizi geliştirmeliyiz. Dürüst olmalı, her zaman doğruları söylemeliyiz.” (2002 Hitit 4. p. 25)

²⁰⁰ “Sahip olduğumuz her şey Allah’ın bize verdiği bir emanettir. Peygamberimiz bir sözünde emanet kavramının neleri kapsadığına işaret ederek şöyle buyurmuştur: [...] Görüldüğü gibi hadiste, kişilerin birbirlerine ve topluma karşı yükümlü buldukları görevlerin birer emanet olduğu ifade edilmektedir. Ailemiz ve çocuklar da önemli emanetler arasındadır. Çocukların eğitilmesi, her türlü zararlı alışkanlıktan uzak tutulması, topluma yararlı bireyler olarak yetiştirilmesi gerekmektedir.” (2015 MEB 7. p. 123)

manifestations of these behaviors and tries to avoid sectarian behaviors. But still, it can be observed that even the highlighted behaviors remain same, the emphasis on religion is increased after 2005 reform textbooks. In other words, while the frame of the citizen remains same the definitions of these characteristics are represented as the advices of the religion.

To make reference to an authority is one of the frequently observed problems in the textbooks. In this manner, RCM books present Prophet Muhammad and Atatürk as a role model. Their exemplary behaviors are show parallelism with the ‘good habits’:

“Our Prophet did not only advised people the good moral, but also he behaved accordingly. He is the best example for us with his words and behaviors. Allah says in the Qur'an that "Swear that the Messenger of Allah is a good example ... for you." Muhammad had a superior moral. He always and everywhere told the truth. He fulfilled his promise. He was a humble and smiling person. He behaved everyone well, not hurting anyone. He attended the invitations and got along well with his friends. He was very compassionate towards people. His heart was full of human love. He emphasized cleanliness, ensured that his body and cloth were always clean. He emphasized that his teeth and nails were clean. We should take these behaviors of our Prophet as good examples.”²⁰¹

Atatürk’s kind-heartedness:

“Atatürk was a kind hearted person both as a soldier and a commander and also as a human. His signs of being good-hearted are visible both in his early life as well as in his later life. It is the best example of his good heartedness that he immediately exerted an extraordinary effort to save his nation from the hands of the invading states after World War I.”²⁰²

In this group of examples, Prophet Muhammad and Atatürk are represented as role models.

However, neither the manifestations of their good behaviors are told nor the way that children

²⁰¹ “Peygamberimiz, insanlara güzel ahlaki öğütlemekle kalmamış, kendisi de buna uygun davranmıştır. O, söz ve davranışlarıyla bizim için en güzel örnektir. Allah Kuran’da, “Ant olsun ki Resulullah sizin için... güzel bir örnektir.” buyurmaktadır. Hz. Muhammed, üstün bir ahlaka sahipti. Her zaman ve her yerde doğruyu söylerdi. Verdiği sözü yerine getirirdi. Alçak gönüllü ve güler yüzlü bir insandı. Kimseyi incitmez, herkese iyi davranırdı. Çağırıldığı davete katılır, arkadaşlarıyla iyi geçinirdi. İnsanlara karşı son derece merhametliydi. Kalbi insan sevgisiyle doluydu. Temizliğe önem verir, bedeninin ve giysilerinin daima temiz olmasına özen gösterirdi. Dişlerinin ve tırnaklarının temiz olmasına önem verirdi. Bizler de peygamberimizin bu güzel davranışlarını örnek almalıyız.” (2002 Hitit 4. pp.27-28)

²⁰² “Atatürk hem bir asker ve kumandan olarak hem de bir insan olarak iyi kalpli bir kimseydi. Onun iyi kalpli olduğunun işaretlerine daha gençlik çağlarında rastlandığı gibi bundan sonraki hayatlarında da fazlasıyla görülmüştür. Onun I. Dünya Savaşından hemen sonra milletini, memeketini işgalci devletlerin elinden kurtarmak için hemen olağanüstü bir gayret göstermesi, onun iyi kalpliliğinin en güzel örneğidir.” (1988 MEB 7 p. 28)

develop these behaviors is clear. Besides, especially Atatürk's good characteristics are related with war. Even a topic which students (especially in the early ages) can relate their lives and develop positive messages and form their own lives is directed to form a socially accepted and approved individuals; and also even this kind of a text is distorted by war memories and defense of homeland.

5.4.4. National Unity and Solidarity

Social cohesion is given utmost importance in RCM textbooks. Citizens who are equipped with the good behaviors contribute to the national unity and solidarity. National unity and solidarity is given importance because books imagine a society not individuals. All individuals should be aware of their being a part of a whole; they should feel strong ties to the nation and fulfill their duties. As Benedict Anderson claims the nation is imagined as sovereign, in a limited territory as a community.²⁰³ The people should be aware of they are belonging to the same society Hence the textbooks put great effort to ensure and maintain the national unity and solidarity. As it was explained in the previous section, all of the good behaviors are presented with their relation to social interactions. The 'national unity and solidarity' issue seems as the outcome of the social relations. One should help and support his/her fellow citizens in order to maintain solidarity.

“We have all heard the idioms, 'From unity comes power.', 'Four eyes see more than two.' These idioms refer to the unity and co-existence, the benefits of the solidarity. We call it “solidarity” to prevent each other in bad and harmful works, cooperation in good and useful affairs, supporting each other.

In order for the country and the nation to be united and independent, all the individuals must be in solidarity. The best solidarity examples are living our sorrows and our joys together. The solidarity of the members of a nation is a sign of the unity and power of that nation.”²⁰⁴

²⁰³ Benedict Anderson. (1991).

²⁰⁴ “‘Birlikten kuvvet doğar.’, ‘Bir elin nesi var iki elin sesi var’ sözlerini hepimiz duymuşuzdur. Bu sözler birlik ve beraberliğe, dayanışmanın faydalarına işaret eder. İyi ve faydalı işlerde yardımlaşma, birbirimize destek olma; kötü ve zararlı işlerde birbirimize engel olmaya dayanışma diyoruz.

Solidarity is an important concept of Emile Durkheim, which he thinks that the society can withstand against the rapid changes of the modern world. According to him, organic solidarity, unlike mechanical one, is seen in highly populated, complex societies where everyone conducts his/her business. Integration to the society and living according to the norms values and collectivities of the society is crucial for an individual according to Durkheim. He gives importance to the division of labor since it provides the necessary integrity for the society.²⁰⁵ Solidarity is the key concept of Durkheim which sustains the social cohesion and unity.

As is seen in the quoted text above the solidarity is regarded as the most crucial element of the national unity. And unity is the core of being a nation. Similarly:

“Solidarity is that people who form a society must support each other in feelings, thoughts and common interests. It is that people have to help each other to solve their problems. It is necessary for the people to be in cooperation in order to provide unity and solidarity of the nation. Our nation has always shown exemplary behaviors in natural disasters such as war, flood, earthquake. Hand in hand in the War of Independence, it saved the homeland from enemies in solidarity. Atatürk expressed this situation with the words ‘... the Turkish nation knew how to defeat difficulties in national unity and solidarity ...’

Attracting attention to the importance of the solidarity, Ataturk said, "The nation is absolutely successful if it follows a common aim by spending common activity." When there is no solidarity, our national unity and coexistence may deteriorate. The integrity of our home can be jeopardized. Our state can lose its power. For this reason, we must always be in solidarity as a nation. Being in solidarity with joy and sadness will always make us happy. Because at the core of the solidarity is the feeling of liking goodness and avoiding evil.”²⁰⁶

Vatanın ve milletin birlik içinde, bağımsız olması için bütün fertlerin dayanışma içinde olması gerekir. Acılarımıza birlikte üzölmek, sevinçlerimizi birlikte yaşamak, dayanışmanın en güzel örneğidir. Bir milletin fertlerinin dayanışma içinde olması, o milletin birliğine ve gücüne işarettir.” (1988 MEB 5. p. 99)

²⁰⁵ George Ritzer and Douglas J. Goodman. “Emile Durkheim” in *Classical Sociological Theory*. (New York: McGrawhill. Fourth Edition, 2004)

²⁰⁶“Dayanışma, bir toplumu oluşturan insanların duygu, düşünce ve ortak çıkarlarda birbirlerine destek olmalarıdır. İnsanların birbirleriyle yardımlaşmaları, sorunlarının çözümü için elele vermeleridir. Yurdun bütünlüğünü, ulusun birlik ve beraberliğini sağlayabilmek için insanların dayanışma içinde olmaları gereklidir. Ulusumuz savaşta, sel, deprem gibi doğal afetlerde her zaman örnek davranışlar sergilemiştir. Kurtuluş

The narrative of Independence War is burst onto the scene in every context and it is represented as the ultimate point of being united as a nation towards the same goal and hence the spirit is tried to be preserved in the textbooks. It is implied that, if the social ties are loosened then the spirit of independence can be broken down and the nation will become vulnerable. To maintain the social unity and solidarity is as important as to save the nation. Thereby, citizens are equipped with the required qualifications which they can benefit in a potential war situation. After these explanations about unity and solidarity the chapter proceeds with national and religious festivities. The following example is from the same chapter of 2015 book. The only change in the narrative is the introduction of Nawruz among the festivities. In this example the origin of the sense of ‘us’ is represented as the again war and resisting to the enemy. ‘We’ have become a nation as a result of this, and we are celebrating our unity and solidarity with ‘our’ joyful days, festivities:

“Sharing people are loved and appreciated by their close circles. People who do not share what they have become increasingly lonely. The essence of sharing is goodness. There is a desire to lend love and goodness at the heart of behaviors such as lending our pencil, sharing our food with our friend and helping our little brother.

Solidarity has a great importance for the integrity of the country and the independence of the nation. A strong nation is formed on this count. We should know that in the absence of solidarity, national unity and integrity will suffer in society. We must always take into account the advice of our religion in this regard, and we must attach importance to living in peace with other members of society. We must not forget that being in solidarity with joy and sadness will strengthen us.”²⁰⁷

Savaşında el ele vererek dayanışma içerisinde yurdu düşmanlardan kurtarmıştır. Atatürk bu durumu ‘... Türk milleti, milli birlik ve beraberlik içinde güçlükleri yenmesini bilmiştir...’ sözleriyle dile getirmiştir.

Dayanışmanın önemine dikkat çeken Atatürk, ‘Ulus, ortak amaca, ortak faaliyet harcayarak yürürse mutlaka başarılı olur.’ demiştir. Dayanışma olmadığı zaman ulusal birlik ve beraberliğimiz bozulabilir. Yurdumuzun bütünlüğü tehlikeye düşebilir. Devletimiz gücünü yitirebilir. Bu nedenle, ulus olarak her zaman dayanışma içinde olmalıyız. Sevinç ve üzüntülerde dayanışma içinde olmak, bizi her zaman mutlu edecektir. Çünkü dayanışmanın özünde iyiliği sevmek ve kötülüklerden kaçınma duygusu yer alır.” (2002 Hitit 4. pp. 89-90)

²⁰⁷ “Paylaşan insanlar, çevreleri tarafından sevilir ve takdir edilirler. Sahip oldukları şeyleri paylaşmayan insanlar ise gittikçe yalnızlaşırlar. Paylaşmanın özünde iyilik vardır. Kalemtraşımızı ödünç vermek, arkadaşımızla yiyeceğimizi paylaşmak ve küçük kardeşimize yardımcı olmak gibi davranışların özünde sevgi ve iyilik yapma arzusu vardır.

Vatanın bütünlüğü ve milletin bağımsızlığı için dayanışmanın büyük bir önemi vardır. Bu sayede güçlü bir millet oluşur. Dayanışma olmadığında toplumda millî birlik ve bütünlüğün zarar göreceğini bilmeliyiz. Bu konuda dinimizin öğütlerini her zaman dikkate almalı, toplumda yaşayan diğer fertlerle barış içinde yaşamaya önem

The children should learn the aspects of solidarity from the tiniest thing –to share a pencil sharpener- to the greatest one –to constitute a strong nation. Becoming isolated is an important point to underline here. If one does not share his/her pencil sharpener, or do not share the joy of the national and religious festivities, then s/he becomes isolated from society which is the most unpleasant situation for the textbooks. To share joy and grief is the fundamental principle to sustain unity and solidarity and hence people should be delighted and bother from same things. Hence, the textbooks are trying to sustain a mediocre citizen who will not deviate from a social average. Kenan Evren’s talks clarify the point in here. When he was trying to explain the reasons of the coup to people, he often addresses to the intellectual dividedness of the youngsters.

“The outcomers set you against each other; they call you rightist, leftist, Sunni, Alevi and cause a fit between you.”²⁰⁸

“(He is explaining the verdicts of a very old communist congress which gather to divide Turkey): The second directive that they have given: ‘Divide your people to classes and parties as much as possible.’ Have not it divided before? They said ‘you are Kurd’ to some of them, they said ‘you are Alevi’ some of them, they said ‘you are rightist, you are leftist, you are panislamist, you are follower of Sharia’ to some of them. They try to divide every institution as much as it is possible. This was a result of that congress’ directives.”²⁰⁹

As it is understood Turkish people are originally one harmonious unit but there are enemies to our unity, that they ruin our harmony. So the Turkish people should be aware of these threats and do not join to the organizations or embrace thought which will damage solidarity, sectarian, separatist or marginal.

“Communities also constrain the freedom of someone in both intellectual and actual spaces just like sects do. Because the person who adopts the views of the community moves in the direction of those views.

vermeliyiz. Sevinç ve üzüntülerde milletçe dayanışma içinde olmanın bizi güçlendireceğini unutmamalıyız.” (2015 MEB 5. p 95)

²⁰⁸ Kenan Evren (2000) p. 77.

²⁰⁹ Ibid. p. 84.

Communities cause grouping and discrimination within the society. It leads to intolerance. Because everyone protects, defends and superiorizes its own community. That is why those communities are harmful in terms of our national unity and togetherness. We must stay away from such illegal formations.”²¹⁰

Here the children are worn about joining to communities. These communities are declared illegal not in the sense their activities but they are promoting sectarianism. Promoting marginal or just different point of view is discouraged and difference is presented as harmful and destructive. Every citizen should act according to the views of the community of nation not otherwise. Difference is equalized with deviance.

It was stated before that although the religious character of the post-2006/2007 books is more dominant, similar narratives are preserved within these years. The following lines are taken from an 8th grade book from 2009:

“Zakat prevents economic imbalances. Thanks to the zakat, poor people receive money. Thus the poor contribute to the revival of economic life by shopping with the help they receive. In addition, wealthy people contribute to the production by investments. Those who are poor come to the position that they will be saved from poverty and will give zakat in the future by finding job opportunities in the newly opened business fields.”²¹¹

Zakat is one of the most important examples of the interdependence of people. The social state is not even mentioned in the books but especially with zakat the solidarity among the fellow citizens are tried to be developed. It is important to see how a religious liability is interpreted within national ideology. In 2015 same example is still preserved with some regulations, yet the same logic is preserved: “Zakat avoids economic imbalances. It

²¹⁰ “Cemaatler de tarikatler gibi insanın hem düşünsel hem de eylemsel alanlarda özgürlüğünü kısıtlar. Çünkü cemaatin görüşlerini benimseyen kişi, o görüşler doğrultusunda hareket eder. Cemaatler, toplumda gruplaşmalara ve ayrımcılığa neden olur. Hoşgörüsüzlüğe yol açar. Çünkü herkes kendi cemaatini korur, savunur ve üstün görür. Bu yüzden o cemaatler ulusal birlik ve beraberliğimiz açısından zararlıdır. Bizler de bu tür yasal olmayan oluşumlardan uzak durmalıyız.” (2002 Hitit 8. p. 91)

²¹¹ “Zekat ekonomik dengesizlikleri önler. Çünkü zekat sayesinde fakirlerin eline para geçer. Böylece fakirler aldıkları yardımla alışveriş yaparak ekonomik hayatın canlanmasına katkı sağlarlar. Ayrıca zenginler yatırım yaparak üretime katkıda bulunur. Yoksullar ise yeni açılan iş sahalarında kendilerine iş imkanı bularak yoksulluktan kurtulur ileride zekat verecek konuma gelirler.” (2009 MEB 8. p. 39)

contributes to social justice in society. It contributes to the revival of economic life.”²¹² More important than these the 5th subtitle of the *Zekat, Hac ve Kurban Ibadeti (Zakat, Haj and Sacrifice)* titled chapter is being *Yardımlaşma Kurumlarımız (Our Charity Associations)*:

“Today, various charities have been established in order to realize cooperation and solidarity. These include the Red Crescent, the Social Aid and Solidarity Foundation, the Social Services and Child Protection Agency, the National Education Foundation, the Religious Foundation of Turkey, the City Food Bank and some non-governmental organizations. These institutions stand by the voluntary assistance of the government and charitable people.”²¹³

There are two main problems in here, first the absence of social state which should already provide these to the citizens; and secondly the channeling the religious sensitivities to social institutions. This is an understanding that keeps the individuals from establishing singular relationships, and places them in a social relationship in each time. Even the most voluntary action of individuals is interfered by the state and hence the duties of the state are undermined. To look after one another in the society is burdened on people and this is consolidated by the religious requirement.

Finally, morals, customs and values are frequently underlined as the rules which sustain national unity and solidarity:

“Customs or traditions are the good things that were accepted by reason and rooted in the society. The custom is the regulatory social values that connect the present to the past because it does not change easily and therefore will connect the present to tomorrow. A group of custom or tradition is a property of a whole nation and does not belong to a group or class. [../.]

It is the customs who ensures to maintain a nation as itself. The nation protects and maintains its personality with customs; but renews it with the traditions. It is the custom that prevents it from spoiling and enables continuity. It is the tradition that avoids transformation in the continuity. [../.]

²¹² 2015 MEB 8. p. 35.

²¹³ “Günümüzde, yardımlaşma ve dayanışmayı gerçekleştirmek amacıyla çeşitli yardım kurumları oluşturulmuştur. Kızılay, Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Vakfı, Sosyal Hizmetler ve Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu, Millî Eğitim Vakfı, Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, Belediye Aşevleri ve bazı sivil toplum kuruluşları bunların başında gelir. Bu kurumlarımız devletin ve hayırsever insanların gönüllü yardımlarıyla ayakta durmaktadır.” (2015 MEB 8. p. 41)

[../]

For this reason, customs and traditions constitute the memories of a nation. On the other hand, customs constitute some rules.. The first is the spirit of the nation, whereas the second is like the body.”²¹⁴

“Customs and traditions are the sources of stability and thus the sources of peacefulness, national unity, peace and trust and inner peace. Customs are the characteristics that make us. If these are destroyed, our society will be shaken.

Oldness of customs and good traditions show the depth of our culture. Customs and traditions are always available. Nations that have stable and essential customs, essential culture are the strongest and longest-lasting nations.”²¹⁵

These morals, customs and values are like the national character, are the integral part of ‘us’. They act as a bridge from ‘our’ past to future. It provides the communication between generations. To preserve these is the guarantee of the everlasting of the society. It constitutes an idea of unity, an imagination of togetherness with the ones that we cannot see in real life.

Like Homi Bhabha puts it;

“The nation like the individual, is the culmination of a long past of endeavours, sacrifice and devotion. Of all cults, that of the ancestors is the most legitimate, for the ancestors have made us what we are. [../] To have common glories in the past and to have a common will in the present; to have performed great deeds together, to wish to perform still more –these are essential conditions for being a people.”²¹⁶

Having the same ancestors, their good deeds are like a heritage that all of the people of the nation. By belonging the same nation with them, we also share the same characteristics with them. Hence the collective memory is shaped with these values and actions and this will project to the future actions of the people. It is like a relay race and each person performs

²¹⁴ “Örf yahut anane aklın kabul ettiği ve toplumda yer etmiş iyi şeylerdir. Örf, kolay kolay değişmeyen ve kolayca değişmediği için bugünü düne bağlayan ve bugünü yarına bağlayacak olan düzenleyici sosyal değerlerdir. Örf veya gelenek bir grubun bir zümrenin malı değil, bütün bir milletin malıdır. [../]

Bir milleti kendisi olarak bırakan örflerdir. Millet, kişiliğini örflerle korur ve devam ettirir; ama adetlerle yeniler. Değişirken bozulmayı önleyen, devamlılığı sağlayan örflerdir. Devamlılık içinde dönüşümü önleyen ise adetlerdir. [../]

[../]

Bu sebeple örf ve ananeler bir milletin hafızasını ve hatıralarını teşkil ederler. Buna mukabil adetler birtakım kaideleri meydana getirirler. Birinciler milletin ruhu, ikinciler bedeni gibidir. [../]”(1988 MEB 10. pp. 88-89)

²¹⁵ “Örf ve adetlerimiz istikrarın, ahengin kaynağı oldukları için milli birliğin, huzur ve güvenin, iç barışın da kaynağıdır. Örfler bizi biz yapan özelliklerdir. Bunlar yıkılırsa toplumumuz sarsılır.

Örf ve iyi adetlerin eskiliği, kültürümüzün derinliğini gösterir. Örf ve adetler her zaman vardır. Sağlam ve köklü orflere, köklü kültürlerle sahip olan milletler, en sağlam ve en uzun ömürlü milletlerdir.” (1988 MEB 10. p. 91)

²¹⁶ Homi Bhabha. *Nation and Narration*. (New York : Routledge, 1990) p. 19.

what is needed to be done whenever necessary. This will give them the spirit of belonging to a nation and being a part of a greater whole. Our morals and customs are the indicators of a long and deep-rooted history that everybody almost intrinsically acts accordingly.

5.4.5. Turkish Citizens and Others

Up to now, who is included to the definition of citizen is shown and the borders of the ‘accepted citizen’ are drawn. In this section the ones who are excluded are going to be discussed. Before that, why the ‘other’ is an essential category to develop an identity is going to be discussed. Social identity “is the knowledge of the individual's membership of a social group that is emotional and meaningful to him/her.”²¹⁷ In other words, an individual defines himself/herself not according to individualistic and unique features but rather according to a group membership that s/he affiliated with. People define and evaluate themselves according to the social group that they are tied with and the other groups constitute basis for this definition and evaluation. In order to uplift the self-respect, individuals favor their own group while biasedly despise the other group.²¹⁸ This theory presents that the ‘other’ is an essential part of the identity building of individuals. So, how ‘the other’ is defined is as important as how ‘we’ is defined. According to Zygmunt Bauman,

“In dichotomies crucial for the practice and the vision of social order the differentiating power hides as a rule behind one of the members of the opposition. The second member is but the other of the first, the opposite (degraded, suppressed, exiled) side of the first and its creation. Thus abnormality is the other of the norm, [../], stranger the other of the native, enemy the other of friend, ‘them’ the other of ‘us’, [../] Both sides depend on each other, but the dependence is not symmetrical. The second side depends on the first for its contrived and enforced isolation. The first depends on the second for its self-assertion.”²¹⁹

²¹⁷ J. C. Turner. “Towards a Cognitive Redefinition of the Social Group” in *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations: Studies in the Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. H. Tajfel (eds). (London: Harvester Wheat Sheaf, 1982) p. 7.

²¹⁸ H. Andaç Demirtaş Madran. “Sosyal Kimlik ve Ayrımcılık” in *Ayrımcılık*. (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2012) p. 76.

²¹⁹ Zygmunt Bauman. *Modernity and Ambivalence*. (New York: Cornell University Press, 1991) p. 15.

The positive side of the dichotomy has the right to make the definition, and hence gain power through degrading the other. The textbooks are crucial to see who the other of the Turkish citizen is, and how they are presented. The discrimination of the other and constructing the national identity by excluding the other is one of the most significant problems of textbooks that this limits/singularizes the imagination of both students and teachers.²²⁰ As a result of such understanding, the citizen of Turkey is blind to differences, and more importantly s/he regards differences as a problem. The extent of the problem will be more evident when it is considered together with the idea of national character which was depicted above. Students are expected to internalize their eternal and everlasting sublime characteristics while they can only access to rumors and hearsay arguments about the others in the limited occasions that they can find. As Tajfel and Turner claims,

“The evaluation of one’s own group is determined with reference to specific other groups through social comparisons in terms of value-laden attributes and characteristics. Positively discrepant comparisons between in-group and out-group produce high prestige; negatively discrepant comparisons between in-group and out-group result in low prestige.”²²¹

So, in order to establish a high prestige for the Turkish citizens, the authors of the textbooks make positively discrepant comparisons in favor of Islam. Other religions are degraded as not being compatible with Islam or they are criticized with Quranic verses. Religion is the best tool for making these comparisons since they claim salvation is only possible via that particular religion’s way. So the Turkish citizenship benefits from the positive discrepancy of Islam from the other religions, therefore the chapters dedicated to ‘other beliefs’ is not for introduction of differences but rather it is to support Islam from another angle.

First of all, the books are very much aware of the fact that students hear about different opinions or beliefs from different channels. So they are struggling to confute these

²²⁰ Kenan Çayır (2014) p. 38.

²²¹ Henri Tajfel and John Turner. “An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict” in *Intergroup Relations: Essential Readings*. Michael Hogg and Dominic Abrams (eds.) (Philadelphia: Psychology Press, 2001) p. 101.

opinions. However, this effort is not carried on in an ideological level but rather the hearsay arguments are repeated and responded.

“Our religion is the most reasonable and natural religion. And that's why, it has become the last religion. For a religion to be natural, it must conform to mind, science, knowledge and logic. Our religion is totally suited to them, 'says Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, a great idea and statesman. Indeed, a religion that insists on reason and knowledge as much as Islam can not be shown. It brings a question to the mind necessarily: Are there religions that do not care about reason and knowledge? There is no doubt that every religion addresses to a being which possesses reason and thought, that is to say, man. But it is also a fact that belief systems exist that keep people away from using their minds and call them to believe without thinking. Why is this happening? In other words, why does a religion refrain from encouraging, thinking and debating? This question can be answered as follows. If there are ideas and principles that are contrary to mind and logic, such religion will regard faith as a virtue and religiosity without thinking. A faithful believer in such an understanding may often not refrain from saying 'I do not mind but I still believe'. According to them, reason is incapable of understanding the religious realities. Reason drives people to doubt, doubt is the greatest enemy of faith.”²²²

The text begins with a normative sentence about Islam. According to the explanation which is wrapped with an immunity shield just because it is quoted from Atatürk, Islam is completely suitable to reason, science, knowledge and logic. The author positions the religions which are not suitable to these, against Islam. While he does not give any names of these religions, he discusses about these religions all along with sentences. This enables the reader to fill the lacking part with any desired religion as well as glorifying Islam against all others. The text evidently does not aim to be instructive but rather tries to establish a positive image for Islam

²²² “‘Bizim dinimiz, en makul ve en tabii bir dindir. Ve ancak bundan dolayıdır ki, son din olmuştur. Bir dinin tabii olması için akla, fenne, ilme ve mantığa uygun düşmesi gerekir. Bizim dinimiz, bunlara tamamen uygun düşer.’ diyor büyük fikir ve devlet adamı Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Gerçekten de, islam dini kadar akıl ve ilim üzerinde ısrarla duran bir din gösterilemez. Bu, ister istemez, insanın aklına şöyle bir soru getiriyor: Acaba akla ve ilme önem vermeyen dinler de mi vardır? Şüphe yok ki her din akıl ve düşünce sahibi bir varlığa, yani insana hitabeder. Fakat şu da bir gerçektir ki, insana aklını kullanmaktan alıkoyan, onu düşünmeden inanmaya çağırın, inanç sistemleri yok değildir. Bu neden böyle olmaktadır? Başka bir deyişle, bir din, niçin düşünmeyi ve tartışmayı teşvik etmekten kaçınsın? Bu soruya şu şekilde cevap verilebilir. Eğer bir dine akıl ve mantığa ters düşen birtakım fikirler ve ilkeler varsa, böyle bir din, düşünmeden inanmayı bir fazilet ve dindarlık sayacaktır. Böyle bir anlayış içinde bulunan bir dine inananlar, çok kere ‘anlamsız ama yine de inanıyorum’ demekten kendilerini alamayabilirler. Onlara göre akıl, dini gerçekleri kavramaktan ve anlamaktan acizdir. Akıl insanı şüpheye sürükler, şüphe ise, imanın en büyük düşmanıdır.” (1983 MEB 11 p. 38)

at the expense of other beliefs. In a similar example, the author makes advantage of the vagueness of his expressions. He is comparing Islam with ‘some’ religions:

“There are such religions that they see and show the world as a prison for man, and the body for the soul. According to them, how cold the person is from this world and how weak the body is, it will be virtuous and religious at the same time. This and other beliefs are at the basis of establishing religious structures outside the community and in remote places, for the sake of prayer and worship. For example, according to some belief systems, clergy should not marry and they should not have children. Because they tie the human to the world and separate them from Allah.”²²³

Which religion is this? What are the visions, tenets of it? Why it embraces such philosophy and what is expected from such understanding? Without giving answers to these and similar questions, the text seems like gossip rather and a decent piece educational material. However this is the powerful side of the text. The ‘religions’ can be filled with any one but Islam. The religions other than what ‘we’ believe are full of absurdities and their requirements are impossible to succeed.

“We must touch one more point about goodness and helpfulness: The religion of Islam counts helping as a religious duty, a moral principle. It can even be said that Islam is the only religion that supposes a kind of helping out and being in kindness as a religious duty.”²²⁴

Here, the reader has nothing to do but to rely on the expertise of the author. Islam is the one and only religion among others; this is the sole truth we have to know. Although this example seems as it is giving information about Islam, by claiming that Islam as the sole one, it also degrades the other religions which evidently do not have a notion of a particular type of cooperation. In the beginning a shift was mentioned of the attitudes of RCM books in

²²³ “Öyle dinler vardır ki, dünyayı insan için, bedeni de ruh için bir hapisane olarak görür ve gösterirler. Onlara göre, insan bu dünyadan ne kadar soğur ve bedenini ne kadar zayıflatırsa, o ölçüde erdemli ve dindar olur. Toplumun dışında ve çok uzak yerlerde dini yapılar kurmanın, dua ve ibadet için oralara çekilmenin temelinde, işte bu ve benzeri inanışlar yatar. Sözgelisi, bazı inanç sistemlerine göre, din adamları evlenmemelidirler; çoluk çocuk sahibi olmamalıdır. Çünkü bunlar, insanı dünyaya bağlar ve Allah’tan uzaklaştırır.” (1983 MEB 11. p. 43)

²²⁴ “İyilik etmek ve yardımseverlikle ilgili bir noktaya daha dokunmamız gerekir: İslam dini, yardımlaşmayı dini bir görev, ahlaki bir ilke olarak sayar. Hatta denilebilir ki, İslam belli bir çeşit yardımlaşmayı ve iyilikte bulunmayı farz kılan yegane dindir. [../.]” (1983 MEB 11. p. 123)

2006/2007, the most significant change is the abandoning of the directly humiliating words. However, this does not mean the attitude is changed.

The *Tartışalım* (Let's Discuss) box of 2015 10th grade book:

“Would you like to see an artistic work that is only made for you? If you say 'yes', it is enough to raise your hand and look at your fingers. Because the artistic traces that are processed in your fingertips are not present in any other living creatures. Is it coincidence that billions of people have been born with special fingerprints since the first man? Or does this show the presence of a mighty craftsman?”²²⁵

Although it seems as if the text is talking about a wonder of creation, in fact the intention of the author is scorning evolution. Although the authors do not want to mention its name, they want to disgrace the idea of evolution and try to refute its thesis by reducing it to the idea of coincidence: If fingerprints cannot occur on their own, one cannot be created by itself. The authors choose to trivialize the issues which can be discussed and reflected upon especially in the 12th grade. This way the course would both present the students to choose their own ways and if they choose to be believers, it would prepare them for life, where s/he is going to meet with different opinions. Although, reasoning, making inferences, critical reading should be some of the critical features of primary and secondary education, the students are left to memorize and internalize the required knowledge. The knowledge is about who ‘We’ are and who ‘We’ are not.

Another example is from 2015 9th grade book. The last two subtitles of the first chapter which different religions and types of beliefs, are Polytheism and Atheism. In a question box right before the Polytheism headline, before any information, “To believe the existence of multiple gods is not comply with tawhid belief. Why?” question can be seen. In the explanation part, the author claims that this is a belief of “primitive societies” and states “although they admit Allah as the almighty creator, they attribute extraordinary powers to

²²⁵ “Şu anda sadece size özel üretilmiş bi sanat eseri görmek ister misiniz? ‘Evet’ diyorsanız, elinizi kaldırıp parmaklarınıza bakmanız yeterlidir. Çünkü parmak uçlarınıza işlenen sanatsal izlerin bir benzeri başka hiçbir canlıda mevcut değildir. İlk insandan bu yana milyarlarca insanın kendisine özel parmak iziyle doğması tesadüf müdür? Yoksa bu yüce bir sanatkarın varlığını mı göstermektedir.” (2015 MEB 10 p.12)

things other than Allah and wait expect help from them. Quran reads such about this issue: ‘...Allah will never forgive to finding rivals to him.’”²²⁶ This is the end of three short paragraph of definition. Atheism title also begins with a question box: “Do you think the incidences in the universe and creation happened as a result of coincidence?” And follows with this text:

“Atheism is the rejection of God's existence and acting as if God does not exist. Atheism maintained its existence, even if it was individual, at all periods of history. Atheism is also against all religions and the conception of gods of religions as it denies the existence of God. Atheism, a reactionary thought in the face of God's belief, was adopted by some philosophers of the Western world, but today it has weakened by losing its intellectual resources completely.

[../.]An atheist person aims to establish a 'Godless world' or 'Godless lifestyle' with attitudes and behaviors, lifestyle, rules and habits. He tries not to think of anything about God for this and to keep himself away from religion and worship.

In addition to denying Allah, atheists also link the existence of the universe and the events that take place at the stage to a coincidence. They argued that all the events that they could not find a scientific reason happened due to a coincidence. They claim that God is absent and try to disprove all the evidence that is claimed about his being, saying they are inadequate.

Some forms of beliefs and movements of thought that do not base on revelation may lead to adverse effects on society, such as mental depression, moral collapse, corruption in the core values that hold society together, damage to the social and cultural fabric, alienation from national and spiritual emotions. For example, satanism, which is one of them and which means worshiping the devil, is born as a rebellion and revolt against Christians in particular and against all religions in general. Satanists see some problem youth as the target audience. They try to adapt their ideas to them. Satanists torture people in their rituals, kill animals and encourage violence. They cause peace and tranquility in the society and cause turmoil. The Qur'an, however, warns us about the evil and traps of the devil: "O the children of men! ... Do not worship the devil ... ”²²⁷

²²⁶ 2015 MEB 9 p. 17

²²⁷ “Ateizm, Tanrının varlığını reddetmek ve Tanrı yokmuş gibi davranmaktır. Ateizm tarihin tüm dönemlerinde bireysel de olsa varlığını sürdürmüştür. Ateizm Allah'ın varlığını inkar ettiği gibi tüm dinlere ve dinlerin tanrı tasavvurlarına da karşıdır. Allah inancı karşısında tepkisel bir düşünce olan ateizm, Batı dünyasının bazı filozofları tarafından benimsenmiş, ancak günümüzde düşünsel kaynaklarını tamamen yitirerek zayıflamıştır. [../.]Ateist bir kişi tavır ve davranışları, hayat tarzı, sahip oldukları kural ve alışkanlıklarıyla ‘Tanrısız bir dünya’ veya ‘Tanrısız bir yaşam tarzı’ kurmayı hedefler. Bunun için Tanrı hakkında hiçbir şey düşünmemeye ve kendini dinden ve ibadetlerden uzak tutmaya çalışır.

The ‘question boxes’ in the beginning of the both titles has already the ‘true’ answers in them. In the first part, by using the word, Allah, instead of God, polytheism is reduced to a deviance from Islam, and by quoting a verse from Quran polytheists are condemned according to Islam’s understanding. In this manner the text serves not to give information about polytheism per se, but rather to underline Islam’s point of view. Similar attitude is preserved in the atheism title. The normative sentences depend on the hearsay information. These lines are written to ‘already Muslim’ student, however they are not written to make the student equipped but rather underlining the ‘other’, terrify the students with the verses of Allah, and try to keep the students off from even the knowledge both claiming they are ridiculous and wrong. By referencing ‘some Westerner philosophers’ not only fuels the hatred about West and Western ideology which is clearly harmful to ‘us’, but also undermining the extent of the ideology. This undermining continues without giving any source with the expression ‘it is totally declined’ in our time.

As atheists do not believe Islam, they do not believe any of the monotheistic religions. Since the ideological foundations of their disbelief never presented, these line stands for an accusation rather than being information. Accusation continues with the claim that atheists ‘try to create godless world’; and yet, no information is given about their operations for such aim or what are they doing to create that world? The authors also conclude that if the atheists do not believe in creation, they do believe in evolution which is based on ‘coincide’. They act

Ateistler Allahı inkar etmenin yanısıra evrenin varlığını ve evrende meydana gelen olayları da tesadüfe bağlarlar. Bilimsel bir sebebini bulamadıkları tüm olayların bir tesadüf sonucu meydana geldiğini savunurlar. Tanrının yokluğunu iddia edip onun varlığı hakkında ileri sürülen tüm delilleri çürütmeye çalışarak bunların yetersiz olduğunu söylerler.

Vahye dayanmayan bazı inanç biçimleri ve düşünce akımları. Ruhsal bunalım, ahlaki çöküntü, toplumu birarada tutan temel değerlerde bir yozlaşma, sosyal ve kültürel dokudaki zedelenme, milli ve manevi duygulara yabancılaşma, gibi olumsuzluklara toplumda olumsuz etkilere yol açabilir. Örneğin, bunlardan biri olan ve şeytana tapma anlamına gelen satanizm özel olarak Hristiyanlığa, genel olarak da bütün dinlere karşı bir başkaldırı ve isyan hareketi olarak doğmuştur. Satanistler bazı problemleri gençleri hedef kitle olarak görür. Düşüncelerini bunlara benimsetmeye çalışırlar. Satanistler ayinlerinde insanlara işkence eder, hayvanları öldürür ve şiddeti teşvik ederler. Toplumda huzur ve güveni bozup kargaşaya neden olurlar. Oysa Kuran, şeytanın kötülükleri ve tuzakları konusunda bizleri şöyle uyarır: ‘Ey ademoğulları! ... Şeytana kulluk etmeyin...’ (2015 MEB 9 pp. 18-19)

‘as if’ god does not exist and try to confute the evidences of God’s existence. The wording here reveals a lot. First of all, aiming to create a godless world, and ‘try to confute’ implies that atheists are in a constant harmful action towards believers that we, as believers, have to be aware of. Secondly, ‘as if god does not exist and try to confute the evidences of God’s existence’ means god exists and there are evidences of it but they ignore to see this reality. Also by associating atheism with Satanism, the textbook makes an important attempt on trivialization. The aim is to degrade the main topic by juxtaposing irrelevant two things. The final paragraph is quite remarkable indeed. The authors discuss about the possible outcomes of disbelief. Without presenting any evidence again, they conclude that disbelief is caused psychological breakdown, depression but noteworthy than that, damage in the social and cultural texture and alienation from national and moral feelings. A Turkish child should be Muslim, or at least, should believe in something. The national feelings are getting stronger with belief, which brings some sort of regulation over individual.

Although RCM textbooks are all set against disbelief, they give voice to other religions whenever they support the Islamic view, but when they have to discuss them on their own, they are not as welcoming as they are for the former one. For example, the *Dinleri Tanıyalım (Let’s Know About Religions)* chapter of a 7th grade textbook from 2002 starts with a discussion about religion as a phenomenon. And after discussing Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism as living religions; pursues with these headlines: Reincarnation, Christmas and the New Year, Missionary and Let’s Respect to Other’s Beliefs. At the first glance it is weird to see these as separate headlines from the main body of the religions that they are related with. The content of these titles reveals the reasons of this separation. After giving information about reincarnation in two short paragraphs, the text continues with the following paragraph which asserts that this does not suit with ‘our religion’, Islam:

“Reincarnation and Karma are beliefs of Indian religions. It is also incompatible with belief in the hereafter in Islam. According to Islam, every person lives a certain life and is responsible for what he has done throughout his life. People who are to be resurrected after they die will see the return of their good and evil deeds in the hereafter. Moreover, there is no mention of spiritual immigration in our religion. When the doomsday breaks, all living things will die. However, all living beings will be resurrected by God's command. The time that begins with this resurrection and lasts forever, is called as the Hereafter Day”²²⁸

Next, after historical information about Christmas and the New Year, the two are separated and the topic is finalized with the following sentence: “The New Year’s celebrations in our country have no religious connotation.”²²⁹ Finally, in the missionary section,

“Organizations assigned to spread any religion are called mission, and those assigned are called missionary. Missionary activity has become an important event especially in Christianity. This activity is also seen in religions such as Buddhism and Hinduism.

The working methods of missionaries include establishing religious organizations, opening schools, making various publications and helping. Those who will be missionaries are specially trained. They are trained in matters such as language and culture of the country that they will be sent, ways of persuading people. They try to convince people in other religions, beliefs and thoughts in the visited countries to convert them to their own religion.”²³⁰

As is seen the other religions, beliefs and disbeliefs could have always find a place for themselves in the books. But these are not for being explanatory but framing the ‘other’ in the minds of students. That is to say, as it was discussed before, the books are not giving place to

²²⁸ “Reenkarnasyon ve Karma, Hint dinlerine ait bir inançtır. İslamdaki ahiret inancıyla da uygunluk göstermemektedir. İslam inancına göre her insan belli bir ömür yaşar ve yaşamı boyunca yaptıklarından sorumludur. Öldükten sonra tekrar diriltilecek olan insanlar, ahirette iyilik ve kötülüklerinin karşılığını göreceklerdir. Ayrıca dinimizde ruh göçü de söz konusu değildir. Kıyamet kopunca bütün canlılar ölecektir. Ancak Allahın emretmesiyle bütün canlılar tekrar diriltileceklerdir. Bu yeniden dirilişle başlayan ve sonsuza kadar sürecek olan zaman, ahiret günü adını alır” (2002 Bilim Kultur 7. p. 106)

²²⁹ (2002 Bilim Kultur 7. p. 108)

²³⁰ “Herhangi bir dini yaymak için görevlendirilen örgütler misyon, görevlendirilen kişiler ise misyoner adını alır. Misyonerlik, özellikle Hristiyanlıkta önem verilen bir etkinlik olmuştur. Budizm, Hinduizm gibi dinlerde de bu etkinlik görülmektedir.

Misyonerlerin çalışma yöntemleri arasında dinsel örgütler kurma, okullar açma, çeşitli yayımlar yapma ve yardımlarda bulunma sayılabilir. Misyoner olacak kişiler, özel olarak yetiştirilirler. Gönderilecekleri ülkenin dili, kültürü, insanlı ikna etme yolları gibi konularda eğitilirler. Gittikleri ülkelerde başka din, inanç ve düşüncede olan insanları ikna ederek kendi dinlerine kazandırmaya çalışırlar.” (2002 Bilim Kultur 7. p. 108)

every belief according to the weight of each within the society, and hence giving more place to Islam; but rather Islam is presented as the internal element of ‘our’ character and ‘other’ religions are presented in order to depict the irreconcilableness of ‘we’ and the ‘other’.

In the light of these I want to show one last example here. In the late 2000s, especially after 2006/2007 change, as a result of the social demands in order to be recognized in the national education, the court verdicts, the demand to adapt global alliances; the ‘differences’ becomes an issue. “Interpretations within Islamic Thought” has already become a chapter of 11th grade with the 2006 programme, after the initiation of Alevism in 2012 to 7th and 12th “Interpretations within Islamic Thought” and “Sufist Interpretations within Islam” chapters are introduced respectively. While the 11th grade book focuses on interpretations of political and Islamic jurisprudence; the 7th grade book adds sufist interpretations to this list and 12th grade only focuses on this sufist interpretations. These are Yesevism, Kadirism, Nakshibendism, Mevlevism and Alevism-Bektashism. According to a list which is called ‘Sufist Interpretations in Islam’, this is obviously inadequate and far from accomplishing its mission. However, the former four seems supportive to make a cluster for Alevism which is also hesitated to be uttered alone. According to the chapter, the reasons of the different opinions within Islam are stemmed from the human factor, social change and custom and habits. Sufist interpretations, on the other hand, deal with the moral issues of the religion and try to regulate love, respect and tolerance among people.²³¹ The same narrative is preserved in the definitions of the former four after they are given short information like who has founded that path and where did it stemming from.

By Alevism-Bektashism is on the other hand associated with each other:

“The person who loves Caliph Ali, who respects and supports him is called Alevis. Alevis are the Muslims who believe in Allah's unity, accept Muhammad as the last

²³¹ 2012 MEB 7. p.85.

prophet, whose holy book is the Qur'an, who love the Prophet Muhammad and his people.

Bektashism is the name of the thought who is affiliated with Hacı Bektaş Veli and formed by those who follow his path. Hacı Bektaş Veli is a person who played a very important role in the development of Alevi-Bektashism, guiding many who came after him. Hacı Bektash Veli pioneered the spread of Islam in Anatolia and the Balkans and provided an important contribution to the settlement of ethical principles here.”²³²

Here, and all of the cases when Alevism is referenced, it is used with Bektashism. It is not clear that if these two are the same and if so why they are named differently. If Hacı Bektash Veli is a figure which works to the development of Alevism, then what is Bektashism, and also if these have differences what are the leading figures of Alevism or what is the historical development of it?

The festivities are one of the important constituents of ‘us’ as it was mentioned above. After 2012 with the introduction of Alevism to the curriculum Nawruz and Hidrellez finds place for themselves among the festivities:

“Nawruz means the new day and heralds the coming of the spring. The day 21st of March is accepted as the re-awakening of the nature and restarting of the agricultural activity by the various Turkish tribes from the past to the present day and celebrated as Nawruz. Nawruz is celebrated in a wide geographical area from Central Asia to the Middle East and the Balkans.

[../.]

According to popular beliefs, Nawruz is associated with various historical personalities and events. According to Alevi, Ali was born on the March 21st and on this day he married Fatima. For this reason, the Nawruz festivals on March 21st are often celebrated by both Asian Turkish tribes and Seljuk and Ottoman Turks.

[../.]

Hidrellez is the name of the festival, which is a religious figure composed of the names of Khidr and Elijah in popular language. [../.]

²³² “Hz. Ali’yi seven, sayan ve ona taraftar olan kişiye Alevi denir. Aleviler; Allah’ın birliğine inanan, Hz. Muhammed’i son peygamber olarak kabul eden, kutsal kitabı Kur’an-ı Kerim olan, Hz. Muhammed’i ve onun ehl-i beytini seven Müslümanlardır.

Bektaşilik, Hacı Bektaş Veli’ye bağlı olan ve onun yolundan gidenlerin oluşturduğu düşüncenin adıdır. Hacı Bektaş Veli, kendisinden sonra gelen birçok kimseye rehberlik yapmış, Alevi-Bektaşiliğin gelişiminde çok önemli rol oynamış bir şahsiyettir. Hacı Bektaş Veli, Anadolu ve Balkanlarda İslam’ın yayılmasına öncülük etmiş ve buralarda ahlaki ilkelerin yerleşmesine önemli bir katkı sağlamıştır.” (2012 MEB 7. p. 91)

Various preparations are made with the approach of Hidrellez in both Anatolia and Turkish communities outside Anatolia. [../.]”²³³

In a similar manner to the naming of Alevism, Nawruz is presented as a Turkish festival, which different cultures attribute their own meaning to it, so it is not so special for Alevis but rather it is assimilated within the Turkish culture. Another level of discrimination here is towards Kurds. By recognizing Nawruz as a Turkish festive, even the existence of Kurds, who celebrate this particular festivity, is ignored.

5.4.6. Family as the Cradle of the Citizen

Family is an extensive subject in RCM textbooks. Most of the time whole chapter is dedicated to the issue. The reason why I give place it in the very beginning of my analysis is that it is being one of the most convenient topics to demonstrate that how religious definitions or advices are always used as supplementary or supportive for the nationalist agenda. Between the two interpretations, religion and Turkish civil law, the books always position themselves besides the latter but alleges that it is the interpretation of the religion.

The most striking example of this is about how the marriage is founded, namely the wedding. A 1988 dated book describes typical wedding celebrations in Turkey, mostly seen in rural areas, and terminates the subject with the classical urban way of wedding, which clearly indicates civil wedlock:

“Today these ceremonies are carried out in many places with old vitality and vanity. However, in some regions and especially in big cities, the celebrations

²³³ “Nevruz, yeni gün anlamına gelir ve baharın gelişini müjdelir. 21 Mart günü geçmişten günümüze kadar çeşitli Türk boylarınca tabiatın yeniden uyanışı ve tarımsal faaliyetin yeniden başlangıcı olarak kabul edilmiş ve Nevruz adıyla kutlanmıştır. Nevruz Orta Asya’dan Orta Doğu’ya ve Balkanlara kadar geniş bir coğrafyada kutlanmaktadır.

[../.]

Halk inanışlarına göre Nevruz, çeşitli tarihi şahsiyetler ve olaylarla ilişkilendirilmektedir. Alevilere göre Hz. Ali 21 mart günü doğmuş ve bu günde Hz. Fatıma ile evlenmiştir. Bu nedenle 21 mart Nevruz şenlikleri gerek Asya Türk boylarında gerekse Selçuklu ve Osmanlı Türkleri’nde çoğu zaman kutlanmıştır.

[../.]

Hidrellez, halk dilinde Hızır ve İlyas isimlerinden oluşan dini bir muhtevaya bürünmüş bayramın adıdır. [../.] Gerek Anadolu’da gerek Anadolu dışındaki Türk topluluklarında Hidrellezin yaklaşmasıyla birlikte çeşitli hazırlıklar yapılmaktadır. [../.]” (2012 MEB 5. pp. 110-111)

in houses or wedding halls during evening suffice after the wedding ceremonies at the daytime.”²³⁴

A book from 2002 explains how culturally adopted practices can be interpreted as religious, even though they are not. For example, sacrificing animal, making a vow or a wish during the visit of the tombs are some of the misbehavior which religion cannot accept. According to the book, religious marriage is also something like that:

“One of the cultural practices that are common in our society is religious marriage contract. Some people have a religious marriage contract after the official one. However, according to our religion, what is important in marriage is that the people accept their marriage by their own will and document it in front of the witnesses. The official marriage contract is enough for the marriage to take place. Religious marriage contract is illegal.”²³⁵

Here, while the text does not provide any religious reference to its claims, although it talks on behalf of the religion. It seems that the authority of the author, who is entitled to write a religious education course book, validates the claim. However, according to Quran, agreeing on a *mehr* (bridewealth) is mentioned as the sole and crucial criteria of the issues of marriage and divorce.²³⁶ However, by omitting the requirements of the Islamic understanding of wedding the religious definition becomes suitable to the civil one. Secondly, the religious marriage contract is declared illegitimate with the last sentence of the quote. This illegitimacy is sure depended upon the Turkish civic law which is clearly preferred to religious law; yet, it still needs the approval of the religion to strengthen its position among the Muslim population.

Similarly, in a 7th grade book from 2005:

²³⁴ “Bugün bu törenler, birçok yöremizde eski canlılık ve gösterişiyle sürdürülmektedir. Ancak bazı bölgelerde ve özellikle büyük şehirlerde, gündüz yapılan nikah töreninden sonra, akşam evde veya salonlarda yapılan eğlencelerle yetinilmektedir.” (1988 MEB 8 p. 79)

²³⁵ “Toplumumuzda yaygın olan kültürel kaynaklı uygulamalardan biri, dini nikahtır. Bazı insanlar resmi nikahtan sonra dini nikah yaptırmaktadırlar. Oysa dinimize göre nikahta önemli olan, kişilerin evlenmeyi kendi istekleriyle kabul etmeleri ve bunu tanıklar önünde belgelemeleridir. Evliliğin gerçekleşmesi için resmi nikah yeterlidir. Dinsel nikahla evlilik yasal olarak geçerli değildir.” (2002 Hitit 8 p. 36)

²³⁶ For additional information about *mehr*, apply for Quran: 2/236, 237; 4/4, 20, 21 24, 25; 5/5; 33/50; 60/10.

“Family is the smallest unity in society that is based on relationships between parents, children, siblings, based on marriage and blood ties. Some families also include relatives, such as grandparents. The family is formed when a man marries a woman. Marriage happens after the marriage contract according to the law. Marriages made through religious marriage contracts are not valid. Individuals form families, and families form the society.”²³⁷

Here, in fact the most important sentence is the last one which states that the families constituted from individuals compose the society and hence it should be formed according to the norms of nation state, not something else. The national family would be the mediator of the norms of nation state to the new generations.

Last and the clearest example about this can be given from 2015 11th grade book. In its “Values and Family” chapter, the book mentions how all the religions dignify family:

“For example, in Judaism, marriage is seen as a sacred union and is given great importance. In Judaism marriage is a religious act and marriage occurs in the synagogue. Adultery, which is also forbidden in the Ten Commandments, is among harmful behaviors to marriage.

Marriage in Christianity, are seen as symbols of unity of Jesus and the church. According to Christians, when two people married in the presence of God, they are considered to be a single being in the eyes of God. Marriage has been promoted as a religious institution by Christians.

Islam attaches importance to marriage and wants to protect the family life. There are many verses in the Qur'an that encourage marriage and promote the establishment and maintenance of the family. One of them reads: ‘... marry those who have come to the age of marriage among you ...’ Our Prophet also expressed the importance of marriage: ‘Young people! Those of you who can make your family’s living should now marry. Because marriage keeps the eye away from the *haram*. Protects the self more.’

In the Qur'an and in the sunnah, marriage to those who came to the age of marriage is encouraged, while on the other hand, non-marital relations are

²³⁷ “Aile; evlilik ve kan bağına dayanan, anne, baba, çocuklar, kardeşler arasındaki ilişkilerin oluşturduğu toplum içindeki en küçük birliktir. Bazı ailelerde büyük anne büyük baba gibi akrabalar da yer alır. Aile bir kadınla bir erkeğin evlenmesiyle kurulur. Evlenme hukuk kurallarına göre nikahla gerçekleşir. Dinsel nikah yoluyla yapılan evlilikler geçerli değildir. Bireyler aileyi, aileler de toplumu meydana getirir.” (2005 Ders Kitapları A.Ş. 7. pp. 81-82)

forbidden: ‘Do not approach adultery. Because it is an shamelessness and a very bad way.’²³⁸

Here although it seems that the book is listing the interpretations of three monotheistic religions, it preserves the attitude of the previous examples. While certain expressions such as ‘religious command’ or ‘religious institution’ for Judaist and Christian marriage respectively; Islam only ‘encourages’ marriage according to the text. Again, while the marriage is related with synagogue and church for Judaism and Christianity, there is no association with mosque or imam for Islam. Yet, there is a family record booklet in the visual implies that the marriage should be the civil one for the Muslim Turks. Also, while the quoted verse seems to be chosen intentionally neutral in order to avoid describing the legal procedures or requirements of the Islamic wedlock; the hadiths are chosen about maintaining and preserving the family union, which are what nation state supports as well as religion.

To be clear for the further explanations, let’s look at briefly how marriage and family is conceptualized in Quran. As it is cited above, according to Quran, the marriage is realized by arranging a *mehr* between husband and wife²³⁹, and divorce is also depended on who is going to keep the *mehr* and woman’s waiting for her three menstrual periods after her husband’s leaving home, without seeing any other man with the purpose of remarriage²⁴⁰. Also the qualifications of the spouses who are eligible for marriage are clearly described; while it is strictly forbidden to marry a polytheist for both sexes, men can marry to monotheist

²³⁸ “Örneğin Yahudilikte evlilik, kutsal bir birliktelik olarak görülmekte ve buna son derece önem verilmektedir. Yahudilikte evlenme, dinî bir hükümdür ve nikâh Sinagogda kıyılır. On emirde de yasak olan zina, evliliğe zarar verici davranışlar arasında yer alır.

Hristiyanlıkta evlilik, Hz. İsa ve kilise birliğinin sembolü olarak görülmektedir. Hristiyanlara göre iki insan Tanrı huzurunda evlendiklerinde Tanrı’nın nazarında onların bir tek varlık oldukları kabul edilmektedir. Evlilik, Hristiyanlarca dinî bir kurum sayılıp teşvik edilmiştir.

İslam dini evliliğe önem vermiş ve aile hayatını korumayı istemiştir. Kur’an’da evliliği teşvik eden, ailenin kurulmasını ve korunmasını öğütleyen birçok ayet vardır. Bunlardan birinde şöyle buyrulmuştur: “...Aranızdaki evlilik çağına gelmiş olanları evlendirin...” Peygamberimiz de evliliğin önemini şu şekilde dile getirmiştir: “Gençler! Ailesini geçindirebilecek olanlarınız hemen evlensin. Çünkü evlenmek gözü haramdan daha fazla sakındırır. Nefsi daha fazla korur.”

Kur’an’da ve sünnette evlilik çağına gelen kişilerin evlenmesi teşvik edilirken diğer yandan evlilik dışı ilişkiler, “Zinaya yaklaşmayın. Çünkü o, bir hayâsızlıktır ve çok kötü bir yoldur.” ayetiyle yasaklanmıştır.” (2015 MEB 11. pp 82-83)

²³⁹ Quran: 4/4, 20-21, 24-25

²⁴⁰ Quran: 2/228-229, 231, 235, 237; 65/1-2, 4.

women while women can only marry to Muslim men²⁴¹. Quran also allows polygyny even though monogamy is found more favorable.²⁴² Mother and father are found worthy of respect and they should be treated decently but one should not follow their words if they are forcing to disobey Allah.²⁴³ These are some examples from Quran to demonstrate how it regulates family life and sets rules and restrictions. As it can be seen by even listing, these rules and restrictions of Islam can be conflictual with Turkish constitutional family law. In the following paragraphs the examples from family chapters are going to be discussed. The examples are going to be approached not by their inconsistency with religious understanding but their affinity to nationalist agenda.

In junior grades, family is represented as provider and shelterer and hence worthy of love and respect. In these years, even the most natural and spontaneous feeling, love, is provided justification and causality. Family should be loved and respected due to their great effort and certain duties should be fulfilled as a pay off. What makes these examples worthy of quoting is their indebteding, and therefore duty calling language. Since the family is the cradle of the future citizen, family relations are considered as the role play of citizen relations and duties:

“If we think a bit, then we understand that we should like our family, our mother, our father and our brothers very much. Our mother carried us in her stomach for nine months. As we were born, she put her life in jeopardy for us. As a baby, she fed us with her milk.

Our parents left their sweet sleeps for us. They were sorry when we were sick. They tolerate to every sacrifice for us.

Our parents worked every day regardless of time. They spent their earnings for us.

[../.] We can not pay for their sacrifice whatever we do. So at least we should show them our love.”²⁴⁴

²⁴¹ Quran: 2/221; 5/5

²⁴² Quran: 4/3

²⁴³ Quran: 29/8; 31/14-15; 46/15.

²⁴⁴ “Bizler, biraz düşünürsek, ailemizi, annemiz, babamız ve kardeşlerimizi çok sevmemiz gerektiğini anlarız. Annemiz, bizi dokuz ay karnında taşıdı. Bizler dünyaya gelirken hayatını bizim için tehlikeye attı. Bebekken bizi sütüyle besledi.

Likewise, after a similar introduction, in a 4th grade book from 2002 lists the function of the parents' advices:

“My parents want me to show good behaviors and avoid from bad and harmful behaviors. They teach me to be righteous and hardworking. They advise me to be helpful, tolerant and self-sacrificing. Their advice is that I can be a moral person. So if I follow their advice, I will be a person who is respected and loved by society.”²⁴⁵

As is seen here, the family has a preparatory function for social life. Mother and father of the children, as mature citizens, transfer the necessary knowledge and behavior to the next generations within the family. It is important to note that here the advices of the parents are not necessarily religious unlike Islam's annotated understanding of obedience to parents. A 7th grade book from 2005 is more focused on duties rather than love and affection between family members:

“Individuals have a duty to each other in the family

The presence and the continuity of the family in a healthy way requires a certain order. The availability of this order depends on the fulfillment of the responsibilities by the family members. Individuals with a sense of responsibility sustain this order with mutual love, understanding and tolerance. Children who grow up in such a family are also show moderate behaviors, live regularly and are aware of their responsibilities.

[../.]

Individuals must fulfill their responsibilities so that the family can live a healthy, happy and peaceful life. They should know that our religion attaches importance to all this. In this regard, our sacred book contains various advices. Here's one of these: 'If one or both of you leans next to you, do not even say ‘Ah’ to them [../.]'

Responsibility of child raise and family planning

Family planning is that each family has as many children as they need to meet all their expenses without difficulty.

[../.]

Annemiz ve babamız gece tatlı uykularını bizim için böldüler. Hastalandığımızda üzüldüler. Bizim için her fedakarlığa katlandılar.

Anne ve babamız her gün çalıştılar. Soğuk, sıcak demediler. Kazançlarını bizim için harcadılar.

[../.] Biz onların haklarını ne yapsak ödeyemeyiz. Öyleyse hiç olmazsa onlara sevgimizi göstermeliyiz.” (1988 MEB 4 pp. 121-122)

²⁴⁵ “Anne ve babam benden iyi ve güzel davranışlarda bulunmamı, kötü ve zararlı davranışlardan kaçınmamı isterler. Bana doğruluğu ve çalışkan olmayı öğretirler. Yardımsever, hoşgörülü ve özverili olmamı öğütlerler. Onların bu öğütleri, iyi ve güzel ahlaklı bir insan olabilmem içindir. Ben de onların öğütlerine uyarsam Toplum tarafından sevilen, sayılan bir kişi olurum.” (2002 Hitit 4. p. 63)

A family with larger number of children will have trouble if it can not provide the necessary economic conditions for their well-being. The peace and happiness of the family deteriorate. In such a case, children grow up as unhappy individuals. The country's economy is also affected negatively. Country population grows rapidly. The state can not create enough job opportunities, it can not meet the needs of the citizens as it is.”²⁴⁶

Here, while the authors act as if family is an institution where the duties of all are set, even the most intimate feelings such as love, respect and tolerance are tied to sense of responsibility. The family planning part seems as if it is taken from a campaign brochure of Ministry of Family. As it can be noticed easily the rate of population growth is linked to the country's economy, business opportunities and meeting the needs of citizens. The quoted verse seems as if it does not belong there, it is put there in a manner that the authors want to remind themselves this is a RCM book and somehow every issue should be related to religion. This quote also important to show how the content of the textbooks are intertwined with the contemporary politics. The family planning part cannot find a place for itself in the current books because the existing policy of Turkey is demographic enhancement. This idea finds its

²⁴⁶ “Ailede bireylerin birbirlerine karşı görevleri vardır

Ailenin varlığı, sağlıklı bir şekilde devamı belli bir düzeni gerektirir. Bu düzenin sağlanabilmesi aile üyelerinin sorumluluklarını yerine getirmelerine bağlıdır. Sorumluluk bilinci taşıyan bireyler; karşılıklı sevgi, anlayış ve hoşgörü içinde aile düzenini birlikte sürdürürler. İlişkilerin böyle kurulduğu bir ailede yetişen çocuklar da ölçülü davranışlarda bulunur, düzenli yaşar ve sorumluluklarının bilincinde olurlar.

[../.]

Ailenin sağlıklı, mutlu ve huzurlu bir yaşam sürdürebilmesi için bireyler sorumluluklarını yerine getirmelidirler. Bütün bunlara dinimizin de önem verdiğini bilmelidirler. Bu konuda kutsal kitabımızda çeşitli öğütler yer alır. Bunlardan birinde şöyle buyrulur: ‘Onlardan biri veya her ikisi senin yanında yaşlanırsa kendilerine of bile deme [../.]’

Çocuk yetiştirme sorumluluğu ve aile planlaması

Aile planlaması, ailelerin sınırlı sayıda ve her türlü giderini zorlanmadan karşılayacakları kadar çocuk sahibi olmalarıdır.

[../.]

Bakamayacağı sayıda çocukları olan bir aile onların iyi yetişmeleri için gerekli ekonomik koşulları sağlayamadığında sıkıntı çeker. Ailenin huzuru ve mutluluğu bozulur. Böyle bir durumda çocuklar mutsuz bireyler olarak yetişirler. Ülke ekonomisi de bundan olumsuz etkilenir. Ülke nüfusu hızla artar. Devlet yeterli iş olanakları yaratamaz, yurttaşların gereksinimlerini gereği gibi karşılayamaz.” (2005 Ders Kitapları A.Ş 7. pp. 86-89)

best manifestation in President Tayyip Erdoğan's speeches which is sloganized as, *en az üç çocuk* (at least three children)²⁴⁷.

Here is a compact and summarizing quote from a 4th grade textbook:

“Human continues his/her life in the society. The smallest unit of the society is family. The family is a warm and peaceful environment in which the faith and values of the culture and tradition will be lived together.

The family is one of the basic institutions for the advancement, development and survival of the society. [../] Strong and sensitive families are needed for healthy individuals to grow up and for peace and well-being rule the society. In communities where the majority of the families have these characteristics, love and respect develop, favors become popular, and good behavior is rewarded. It is indicated in the Qur'an that the love and respect has such importance in families and societies formed by families by ordering: ‘among His signs is this, that He created for you mates from among yourselves, that ye may dwell in tranquillity with them, and He has put love and mercy between your (hearts): verily in that are signs for those who reflect.’”²⁴⁸

Here the book clearly puts forward that family is a social unit that needs to be healthy in order to maintain peaceful societies. And in order to solidify this thought the book quotes a verse which does not implies any social connotation. If we check the previous and following verses of the mentioned verse (30/21), we would see that Allah is giving examples about his existence and omnipotence like death and resurrection of all the plants, creation of men from soil and creating him with matches. So by de-contextualizing the verse, the book gives it the meaning whatever is needed and hence provides a religious support. The text continues as such:

²⁴⁷ <http://www.ntv.com.tr/turkiye/erdogan-is-isten-gecmeden-en-az-3-cocuk,ZEQhCeWHVKS06IEDhd72Ng> ,
<http://www.milliyet.com.tr/erdogan-neden-3-cocuk-istedigini-acikladi--siyaset-1650260/> ,
<http://bianet.org/bianet/siyaset/160991-erdogan-1-2-3-4-cocuk-gerisi-allah-kerim>

²⁴⁸ “İnsan, toplum içinde yaşamını sürdürür. Toplumun en küçük birimi ailedir. Aile, kültürün geleneğin inanç ve değerlerin birlikte yaşanacağı sıcak ve huzurlu bir ortamdır.

Aile toplumun ilerlemesi, gelişmesi ve yaşaması için temel kurumlardan biridir. [../] Toplumda barış ve huzurun egemen olması, sağlıklı bireylerin yetişmesi için güçlü duyarlı ve örnek ailelere ihtiyaç vardır. Bu özelliklere sahip ailelerin çoğunlukta olduğu toplumlarda sevgi ve saygı gelişir, iyilikler yaygınlaşır ve güzel davranışlar ödüllendirilir. Kuran'da ‘Kendileri ile huzur bulasınız diye sizin için kendi (cins)inizden eşler yaratması ve aranızda sevgi ve merhamet var etmesi de onun (varlığının ve kudretinin) delillerindedir...’ Buyrulmaktadır ailede ve ailelerden meydana gelen toplumda sevgi ve saygının ne kadar önemli olduğuna işaret etmektedir.”2012 MEB 4. p. 109

“Family is the place where people first receive education. [../] We learn to respect, to love, to help, to be patient and tolerant in the family. Good behaviors like being clean, sharing, helping are first earned in the family. Values such as establishing friendship, keeping promises, giving gifts, greeting are also learned first in the family.

In our belief values and in our tradition, the family has an important place. Everyone in the family respects each other and gives importance to the ideas of each other. Love, compassion and cooperation do not miss among family members. Happiness is shared during visits and giving gifts during holidays and other important days. The distressed and painful days are lightened and forgotten with family solidarity.

For the future of our nation, it is necessary to protect, educate and live the family institution. Atatürk's words about the importance and preservation of the family are clear: 'The basis of civilization, progress and strength is in the family life. Degeneracy in this life certainly leads to social, economic and political deterioration. The women and men who make up the family must have the natural rights and they must be able to fulfill their family duties.

In our laws, the family is defined as the basis of the society. The institutions responsible for the family try to protect the family structure in a healthy way.”²⁴⁹

Pay attention to the first two paragraphs. Two different paragraphs are made to list almost identical characteristics that family contributes to us. If the second paragraph starts with ‘our belief and tradition *as well*’ what the first paragraph stands for? Needless to answer this question, the implementation of the phrase ‘as well’ is its being supplementary and supportive. However, the latter two paragraphs answer the question. The future of our nation depends on the family. The strength of family is required to safeguard social, economic and political fields.

²⁴⁹ “Aile insanların ilk eğitim aldıkları yerdir. [../] Sevmeyi saygı duymayı, yardımlaşmayı, sabırlı ve hoşgörülü olmayı, ailede öğreniriz. Temiz olmak, paylaşmak, yardımlaşmak gibi güzel davranışlar ilk olarak ailede kazanılır. Arkadaşlık kurmak, verilen sözde durmak, hediyeleşmek, selamlaşmak gibi değerler de öncelikle ailede öğrenilir.

İnanç değerlerimizde ve geleneğimizde de aile önemli bir yere sahiptir. Aile içinde herkes birbirine saygı gösterir ve birbirinin görüşüne önem verir. Aile bireyleri arasında sevgi, merhamet ve yardımlaşma eksik olmaz. Bayramlarda ve diğer önemli günlerde yapılan ziyaretler ve hediyeleşmelerle mutluluklar paylaşılır. Sıkıntılı ve acı günler aile dayanışması ile hafifler ve unutulur.

Milletimizin geleceği için aile kurumunun korunması, eğitimi ve yaşatılması gereklidir. Atatürk’ün ailenin önemi ve korunmasıyla ilgili şu sözleri konuya açıklık getirmektedir: ‘Medeniyetin esası, ilerlemenin ve kuvvetin temeli, aile hayatındadır. Bu hayatta yozlaşma, muhakkak sosyal, ekonomik ve siyasi bozulmaya neden olur. Aileyi oluşturan kadın ve erkeklerin doğal haklarına sahip olmaları, aile vazifelerini yerine getirebilme gücünde olmaları lazımdır.’

Yasalarımızda aile, toplumun temeli olarak nitelendirilmiştir. Aileden sorumlu kurum ve kuruluşlarca aile yapımızın sağlıklı bir şekilde korunmasına çalışılmaktadır.” (2012 MEB 4 pp 109-110)

Let's find similar narrative in the following example:

“The Exemplary Behaviors of the Prophet Muhammad in His Family

Family is the smallest unit that constitutes a society. We live in this happy nest with our parents, brothers and sisters. We meet our nutrition and shelter needs in our family. We first learn the basic feelings and good habits that make up our personality. Love, respect, solidarity, sacrifice are firstly met in the family environment. For all these reasons, our family is very important to us.

Each family member has various duties and responsibilities. A great part of this responsibility belongs to the family elders. [../.]

The Prophet Muhammad, beside being a prophet, was a family elder model. He was a model person in the family like in every other area. In the Qur'an, the verse states that the prophet Muhammad is a model man: ‘Ye have indeed in the Messenger of Allah an excellent exemplar for him...’²⁵⁰

Prophet Muhammad, especially after 2006/2007 finds extensive place for himself. It is a general attitude of the books to exemplify especially good behaviors with him. Here, although the title promises to mention about the ‘behaviors’ of Prophet Muhammad; the text begins with the repetition of the general perception about family and lists almost the same information with the abovementioned examples. Since the text does not include any information about in what ways Prophet Muhammad is an exemplary family member, the text serves to articulate Prophet Muhammad’s behaviors are suitable for the general narrative of the national family. The lacking examples is tried to be filled by a verse, which by nature is an indisputable source; but becomes a decent example of tautology: Prophet Muhammad is an exemplary family member because Allah says so.

In 2009 9th grade book, “Values and Family” chapter begins with religious narrative compared to the abovementioned books. It mentions how values are generated, in what ways

²⁵⁰ “Hz. Muhammed’in Ailesindeki Örnek Davranışları

Aile toplumu oluşturan en küçük birimdir. Bizler anne, baba ve kardeşlerimizle bu mutlu yuvada yaşarız. Beslenme ve barınma gereksinimimizi ailemizde gideririz. Kişiliğimizi oluşturan temel duyguları ve güzel alışkanlıkları ilk olarak ailemizde öğreniriz. Sevgiyi, saygıyı, dayanışmayı, fedakarlığı öncelikle aile ortamında tadarız. Tüm bu nedenlerle ailemiz bizim için çok önemlidir.

Ailede her bireye çeşitli görev ve sorumluluklar düşer. Bu sorumluluğun büyük kısmı aile büyüklerindedir. [../.]

Hz. Muhammed, peygamber olmanın yanında, örnek bir aile büyüğüydü. O, her alanda olduğu gibi aile içinde de örnek bir insandı. Kuran’da Hz. Muhammed’in örnek bir insan olduğu: ‘Ant olsun, Allah resulunde sizin için ... güzel bir örnek vardır’ ayetiyle belirtilmiştir.” (2005 MEB 5 p.98)

religion effects the generation of values, how customs and moral principles are related with religion. After these, with ‘Common Values That Unites Society’ subtitle a new section begins. In this section; Unity in Homeland and Ideal, Flag and National Anthem, Freedom and Independence, Respect for Human Rights, Concept of National Character and Atatürk is taught and finally as fifth subtitle appears as ‘Family is the Foundation of Society’. I will not go deep in this example here because, both the content is the repetition of the abovementioned examples and I will cite this chapter later on in different contexts. The reason why I list all the subtitles of a chapter is to see the concepts that RCM textbooks juxtapose. Family is regarded as one of the ‘national values’ and hence it is repeated as much as the rest of the items in this list.

5.4.7. The Duties and Responsibilities of the Citizen

Before I go deep into the duties and responsibilities of the citizen, I want to draw attention to abundant usage of the word, duty. According to RCM textbooks almost every relationship is defined with duties. We have duties towards our family:

“In order for the relationship among family members to continue in a healthy way, they must try to fulfill their duties thoroughly. Those who are aware of this responsibility will not refrain from fulfilling their obligations.”²⁵¹

To Allah:

“If we thank to the people in our neighborhood for the slightest favor, we should also thank Allah, who has given us countless blessings.

The best way to thank Allah is to fulfill our duties against him.”²⁵²

“We have duties against Allah. First of all, we must believe him and love him with all his heart. We should take shelter in him, ask him for help and worship him. We must thank him for his blessings.”²⁵³

²⁵¹ “Ailede ilişkilerin sağlıklı bir şekilde yürümesi için aile bireylerinin görevlerini eksiksiz olarak yerine getirmeye çalışmaları gerekir. Bu sorumluluğu duyan kişiler, üzerlerine düşen yükümlülükleri yerine getirmekten kaçınmazlar.” (2005 Ders Kitapları A.Ş 7. p. 86)

²⁵² “Çevremizdeki insanlara yaptıkları en ufak bir iyiliğe karşı hemen teşekkür ediyorsak, bizlere sayısız nimetler veren Allaha karşı da teşekkür etmemiz gerek.

Allaha karşı teşekkür etmenin en güzel yolu, Ona karşı olan görevlerimizi yerine getirmektir” (1995 Meram 4. p. 24)

Even ‘good morality’ comes as a result of certain duties:

“Our dear Prophet ordered in this regard: ‘Those who are the most superior in morality are the most mature in faith.’ Thus, he expressed how effective morality is in maturing the faith. Our duty is to our moral, to fulfill our human duties against our relatives and the society.”²⁵⁴

Füsün Üstel, concludes her canonical work *‘Makbul Vatandaş’ın Peşinde* with stating that accepted citizen’s being militant instead of civil. This militant citizen based upon three axis: patriotism, the systematic of duties and responsibilities and the perception of threat/danger. While the patriotism is not only territorial but also cultural/ethnic sensitivity and based upon ‘relativity’; the actor of the textbooks is the citizen who is ‘indebted with duties’. “The citizen, who is defined by his or her duties to his family, nation and state, is represented within a comprehensive but apolitical publicity.”²⁵⁵ Finally the “main function of the perception of threat/danger is to sustain the domination of the mental mobilization via the indication of the ‘other’.”²⁵⁶ The final aspect of the citizen will be discussed under the next headline, here the patriotism and how the citizens are made indebted to their homeland.

First of all let’s look at the definition of homeland:

“Homeland is a piece of land on which a nation is living and building its culture. Homeland is also called as the motherland. A community of the people who live mostly on the same land and have the unity of history, language, emotion, ideal, customs and traditions are called as the nation.”²⁵⁷

“Homeland is a piece of land on which a nation lives independently, whose boundaries are evident. Homeland is not just a piece of land. It is also a place where we can freely

²⁵³ “Allaha karşı görevlerimiz vardır. Her şeyden önce ona inanmalı ve onu gönülden sevmeliyiz. Ona sığınmalı, ondan yardım dilemeli ve ona ibadet etmeliyiz. Verdiği nimetlere karşı ona şükretmeliyiz.” (1988 MEB 5. p. 22)

²⁵⁴ “Bu konuda sevgili Peygamberimiz, ‘Ahlak yönünden en üstün olanınız, iman bakımından da en olgun olanınızdır.’ buyurmuştur. Böylece güzel ahlakın, imanın olgunlaşmasında ne derece etkili olduğunu ifade etmiştir. Bize düşen; ahlakımızı güzelleştirmek, yakınlarımıza ve topluma karşı insanı görevlerimizi yerine getirmektir.” (2000 Gizem 6. p. 6)

²⁵⁵ Füsün Üstel (2014) p. 323.

²⁵⁶ Ibid. p. 324.

²⁵⁷ “Vatan bir ulusun üzerinde yaşadığı, kültürünü oluşturduğu toprak parçasıdır. Vatana, yurt da denir. Çoğunlukla aynı topraklar üzerinde yaşayan, aralarında tarih, dil, duygu, ülkü, gelenek görenek birliği olan insan topluluğuna ise millet (ulus) adı verilir.” (2002 Hitit 6. p. 48-49)

live our national and spiritual values. The nation is a community of people who live on the same land and are connected to each other by common values.”²⁵⁸

It is remarkable that the textbooks’ definition of homeland is made in accordance with the ethnocultural perspective. Homeland is the territory where the people live in, shares the common history, culture, language and sentiments. It is a place for the nation to live and prosper in safety and confidence. The duties of the citizen are considered as a pay back to the state which makes the citizens living in homeland without fear. The duties of the citizen are listed in the books as:

“In order for the state to be strong, to defend the country and the nation, the nation must be in sacrifice. Among them, as our religion has ordered too, obedience to ‘ulu’l-emr’ comes at the first. The duties of the people, such as military service, taxation, participation in elections, compliance with laws and regulations, must be fulfilled with enthusiasm and affection. The state takes all the necessary precautions to defend the country. It makes the necessary investments for peace and prosperity of the nation. The people who have such a state enjoy the happiness. When he sees that all his needs are met and that every service is in place, he will pray that ‘May Allah not show decadence of the state’”²⁵⁹

Although state takes ‘any’ measure for the defense of the country but the duties of the citizens are clearly indicated: obedience to the leaders and laws, doing military service, paying taxes, joining to elections. Hence the most spontaneous feeling of people, love, turns to a burden for the citizen. Among these duties and responsibilities, the obedience and more than that doing military service have particular importance. Hence they are examined under separate titles below. What is needed to be underlined here again is the citizen is required to imagine himself/herself as a part of a whole which has a certain history and culture and s/he is

²⁵⁸ “Vatan, bir milletin bağımsız olarak üzerinde yaşadığı, sınırları belli olan toprak parçasına denir. Vatan, sadece bir toprak parçası değildir. Aynı zamanda milli ve manevi değerlerimizi özgürce yaşayabileceğimiz bir yerdir. Millet ise aynı topraklar üzerinde hayat süren, birbirlerine ortak değerlerle bağlı olan insan topluluğudur.” (2015 MEB 5. p. 122)

²⁵⁹ “Devletin güçlü olması, vatani ve milleti müdafaa edebilmesi için, milletin birtakım fedakarlıklarda bulunması gerekir. Bunların başında, dinimizin de emrettiği şekilde, içlerinden biri olan ‘ulu’l-emr’e itaat gelir. Askerlik yapmak, vergi vermek, seçimlere katılmak, kanun ve nizamla uymak gibi halkın üzerine düşen görevler, şevkle ve sevgiyle yerine getirilmelidir. Devlet, vatanın savunması için gereken her türlü tedbiri alır. Millet huzur ve refahı için gerekli yatırımları yapar. Böyle bir devlete sahip olan halk mutluluğun tadını çıkarır. Her ihtiyacının karşılandığını, her hizmetinin yerine geldiğini görünce, ‘Allah devlete millete zeval vermesin’, ‘Allah devletin yokluğunu göstermesin’ gibi duaları dilinden eksik etmez.” (1995 Salan 10. p. 68)

indebted with duties as a result of an effort to protect and preserve that particular territory, history and culture which is also imagined as under the attack of various threats.

5.4.8. Citizen does not Hesitate to Die for the Sake of the Country

Military service and obedience have superiority among other duties hence they are going to be discussed under separate titles. “Establishing a state and protecting the state is a military takeover at the last analysis. The redefinition of military service as the duty of the citizen has made a circumstance, the altruism in dying for the sake of homeland and the nation, as an indispensable part of the citizenship.”²⁶⁰ Hence the utmost manifestation of the love of homeland is represented as to die for the sake of it in the textbooks. The citizens should not hesitate to die for their countries, or at least they should be ready to die in the periods of truce. Truce seems more accurate wording instead of peace here, because the textbooks are full of ‘being surrounded by internal and external enemies’ narratives that it cannot be estimated when they are going to attack. Thus, the citizen should be ready to defend his country. For example, a Social Studies textbook “tell students that ‘Some states see Turkey as a threat,’ before giving them the following question to discuss: ‘What could be some of the duties and responsibilities of [Turkish] citizens when faced with these states that see our country as a threat? Discuss’ (Grade 5 Social Studies, Book 2, MoNE: 163)”²⁶¹

Dying for the sake of country is the most crucial duty of the citizen among others according to the textbooks. Let alone the National Security course which was given 86 years in between 1926 to 2012; the militaristic content of the rest of the curriculum is remarkable. Militarism can be defined as the “the promotion of values, practices, processes and approaches of the army and military service and dissemination of these to the all aspects of life (or at least the desire to disseminate them); and militarization as the continuation of the

²⁶⁰ Suavi Aydın. “Popüler Kültür ve Milliyetçilik: Sokağın Hissi” in *Milliyetçilik ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet*. (İstanbul: İletişim, 2015) p. 55

²⁶¹ Kenan Çayır. (2014) p. 47.

process(es) in this manner.”²⁶² Militarism manifests itself in three ways in textbooks according to Ayşe Gül Altınay: military-nation, affirmation and glorification of the war/violence and militarized citizen. The books construct a reality of ahistorical compulsory military service and leave no room for the imagination of the civil area and make impossible to criticize militarism since it would mean to discuss the essence of the nation. Also they make impossible to think peaceful ways of self-defense and present war as the sole way of social struggle. And finally the citizenship equalizes to patriotism and patriotism to self sacrifice in the books.²⁶³

The *Promoting Human Rights in Textbooks III* reveals that the militaristic content of the books remained untouched except from the removal of the National Security course. Kenan Çayır also remarks that although the removal of the National Security course is an important step, the project shows that “the militaristic spirit and language of the National Security lesson live on in other subjects. It was observed that militaristic content is systematically presented in every lesson, from Turkish to English and from Elementary Civics to Music.”²⁶⁴ Not only with the representation and visualization of the child-soldier narrative who had obliged to join to the army in a very early ages, but also with the questions which asks students to identify themselves with the people of the Independence War period: “If you were one of the children who greeted the Turkish army in Izmir, what would you have liked to say to Mustafa Kemal Pasha?” (Grade 4 Social Studies, Book 1, MoNE: 55) or “If you had been appointed as commander of the Western Front what would have been the first thing you did?” (Grade 8 Revolution History and Kemalism, MoNE: 66)²⁶⁵ Yet, it is RCM which provides a religious aspect to these concepts and implies that the national fight is also what religion encourages. Hence the national narration is strengthened.

²⁶² Ayşe Gül Altınay. “‘Can Veririm Kan Dökerim’: Ders Kitaplarında Militarizm” in *Ders Kitaplarında İnsan Hakları II Projesi*. (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 2009) p. 144.

²⁶³ Ibid. pp.

²⁶⁴ Kenan Çayır. (2014) p. 49.

²⁶⁵ Ibid. p. 52.

RCM course supports this general attitude of the Turkish textbooks with the concept of martyrdom. *Shahadah*, the Arabic word which stands for martyrdom, derives from the root letters of s-h-d and means testimony. *Shahid*, which also derives from the same root letters, means witness and hence *shahid* means the one who witnesses. This meaning crystallized in the concept of *kalima shahadah*, with which one testifies the uniqueness of Allah and Muhammad's being the prophet of his.²⁶⁶

Asım Öz states that while the word is used for several meanings in more than 150 places in Quran, the verses related with 'dying for the sake of Allah' do not include any word related with s-h-d root letters. In other words, it is better to be alive in order to be a witness. Dying could only be a small part of martyrdom which martyrs witness the Allah's blessing after death. Nevertheless, the understanding of martyrdom as 'dying for the sake of Allah' is settled in Muslim environments especially after ideological tensions resulting with deaths and the cases such as Palestine and Bosnia where violence towards Muslims end up with mass massacres. Nevertheless secular Turkish nation state also benefits from this settled meaning.

“While the new state religion –laic republican thought-, the reconstructed national cultural memory is replaced with old collective memory; it has to use the old familiar symbols. The new forms of the sacred reside in the collective memory, they use the same signs but performed in a different analysis and their functional connotations are the safest way.”²⁶⁷

Martyrdom is among one of these symbols; maybe the most effective one, for Turkish nation state. Martyrdom, as its widely accepted definition which is discussed above, a special concept of self sacrifice which indicates to die for the sake of holy reasons, for spreading Allah's word. However,

“While according to monotheistic religions, martyrdom is the highest degree for the decedent person, secular state model glorifies to die for nation in a similar manner.

²⁶⁶ Asım Öz. “Anlam Kaybının Telifisi ile Siyasi Konular Arasında” in *Öl Dediler Öldüm: Türkiye’de Şehitlik Mitleri*. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2014).

²⁶⁷ Saime Tuğrul. *Canım Sana Feda*. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2014) p.156.

They pursue to be the transcendent models of national identity with their heroic actions. The definition of martyrdom has started to be used in the secular culture for the ones who die armed, fighting against the enemy in the war.

The memories of the ones who die, who sacrifice himself for this society serves to identify the living ones. This is more evident about the martyrs who dies during the fight against enemy. He dies as a result of the combat with the enemy who threatens the unity, in order to protect the unity.”²⁶⁸

That is to say, in modern Turkish state martyrdom is not about whether the persons who are dead are actually martyrs. The honor of martyrdom and the war in connection becomes unquestionable due to the connotations of martyrdom in collective consciousness. Hence the martyrdom becomes functional for the nation state. It is functionalized for the remaining people, and to strengthen their patriotism. Calling the dead soldiers as martyrs canalize the sorrow of the remaining people to pride that their loss is not for nothing but for a rightful and honorable war: “Although there may be various inconsistencies at the starting point and although the narratives do not correspond to the reality, martyrdom is accepted as a tradition that describes the national character; a founding element of what makes us ‘we’.”²⁶⁹ We, the ones who are not martyrs, become citizens by leaving aside all of our differences and fulfill our duties to this lands which are hydrated with the bloods of our martyrs.

In fact, we can say that, the narrative of War of Independence plays an important role in the intersection of these two. War of Independence, especially the Battle of Çanakkale, creates the image of the defense of homeland and to die during this defense is also sacred. Although this is crystallized in the Independence March, same theme can be seen in the literature of the period. The important thing is here, the war was given against infidels and it was *dar al-Islam** that was about to be rescued in the minds of the soldiers and the people

²⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 170.

²⁶⁹ S. Ozan Zeybek. “Savaşları Yeniden Yazmak: Şehitler ve İktidarın Seçici Belleği” in *Öl Dediler Öldüm*. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2014) p. 158.

* According to the law of Islam, the world is sharply divided into two: *dar al-Islam* (territory of Islam) and *dar al-harb* (territory of war, or enemy). While the former corresponds to the territory under Islamic sovereignty and its inhabitants are Muslims (by birth or conversion) and people of tolerated religions (who prefer to remain non-Muslim at the sacrifice of paying a poll tax; the latter consisted of all the states and communities outside the

which are still fighting for and living in Ottoman Empire. Let's have a look at a reading text in 5th grade book from 1988, named 'Mother of the Martyrs and Veterans'. The incident in the text is happening during Sakarya War. A group of soldiers stop over in a village and surround by a group of children whose fathers were dead in Çanakkale or İnönü wars. After a while an old woman approaches to the soldiers and asks about the condition of the army. She, herself, lost her three sons in Çanakkale and İnönü and sent her last son to army. When the soldiers wish him to be a veteran, she replies as such: "I do not think about my son, boy. I do think the orphans, by showing the children with her hand, this homeland. May Allah protect them to be beaten with the feet of infidels."²⁷⁰ The text is important because it is not a piece written by the author of the book herself but a story which was written by Ahmet Ağaoğlu, who lived between 1869-1939 and was effective on the Turkish intellectual and political life. Hence this piece of his reflects the true attitude of a Turkish villager. Her calling the enemy as infidel (*gavur* in Turkish, which is a pejorative word for non-Muslim) explains what I am trying to put forward. The people and the soldiers were still considering that they are in a holy war against the enemies of the religion.

However this war was also the foundation of the modern Turkish state and the soldiers were dead during the establishment of the republic. Hence those wars and soldiers are also important for the republic. Even the color of the flag of the newborn state is red due to the bloods shed during these wars. Like this, the state interprets the events according to the needs of its foundational goals. And to transmit these goals to the future generations the textbooks are one of the most important tools. Hence the Independence War is one of the important topics for Social Studies to Turkish course. RCM textbooks contribute the issue and complete it compatible with the collective consciousness about the concept of martyrdom.

territory of Islam. Its inhabitants are called *harbis* or people of the territory of war. It is Muslim's legal obligation to reduce latter to Muslim rule in order to achieve the ultimate goal, to the enforcement of *Shari'a* over the entire world. (see: Majid Khadduri. "Islam and the Modern Law of Nations" in *The American Journal of International Law*. Vol.50, No. 2 (April, 1956) p. 359)

²⁷⁰ 1988 MEB 5. pp. 120-122.

In the 10th chapter of the 5th grade book from 1988, the patriotism is told with these words:

“In the pre-historic periods, people would settle where the water and nutrition could be found. They were fighting for these places. Every season, Turks living nomadic life migrated to places where there were enough food and water for themselves and for their animals. The situation changed after they settled and took a place as their homeland. These settlements which were accepted as homeland was no longer exchangeable even with places with more water and food. Because the land was now a homeland. How did this change happen? This change happened after living there throughout the history and filling this place with memories. The things that happened when they lived there, it was drawn on each corner, each mountain and each plain on this land. Water, animals, plants were part of the people living with them. Especially the houses, sculptures, roads, bridges, monuments built on it... The epics telling heroes, the song who embraces the bitter - sweet events ... Soil is now the soil that can be died for its sake. It is the smallest part, once can not be chewed by the enemies. Whatever is good, beautiful and dear is ready to sacrifice for this cause. The braves brought up carefully and sensitively by their mothers can be sacrificed without questioning. ‘either they save the motherland and become martyrs, or they are saved together with the motherland and become veterans!’

To ensure that a nation will have its homeland, it must be the majority of people who love and recognize that homeland. As our poet had said so well:

‘A land is a motherland if there are those died in the sake of it.’

A homeland may be invaded by the enemies only if a nation gets away from loving and deserving it.”²⁷¹

²⁷¹ “Tarih öncesinde insanlar; suyun, yiyeceğin bulunduğu yerleri yurt tutup yerleşirlerdi. Bu yerler için savaşırlardı. Göçebe hayatı yaşayan Türkler, her mevsim, hayvanları ve kendileri için yeterli suyun ve yiyeceğin bulunduğu yerlere göç ederlerdi. Yerleşik hayata geçtikten, belli bir yeri yurt tuttuktan sonra ise durum değişti. Yurt tutulan yer, artık, daha çok suyu ve yiyeceği bulunan yerlere bile değişilmez oldu. Çünkü, yurt artık vatan olmuştu. Bu değişiklik nasıl olmuştu acaba? Bu değişiklik, üzerinde tarih boyunca yaşana yaşana, toprağın hatıralarla dolması ile olmuştu. Yaşadıkça olup bitenler, köşe köşe, dağ dağ, ova ova bu topraklara işlenmişti. Sular, hayvanlar, bitkilerin onlarla birlikte yaşayan insanlardan birer parça olmuştu. Hele üzerine kurulmuş evler, mabedler, yollar, köprüler, anıtlar... Kahramanları anlatan destanlar, acı - tatlı olayları yakılan türküler... Toprak artık uğruna can verilecek topraktır. Onun en ufak parçası, bir kez düşmanlarca çiğnenmesin. Güzel olarak, iyi ve sevgili olarak ne varsa bu uğurda fedaya hazırdır. Annelerin nazla, özenle büyüttüğü yiğitler, hesap sormadan feda edilir. ‘Ya vatanı kurtarsınlar, şehit olsunlar, ya vatanla birlikte kurtulsunlar, gazi olsunlar!’ denir.

Bir milletin vatanına sahip olacağından emin olabilmesi için, o vatani tanıyan, seven insanların çoğunlukta olması gerekir. Şairimizin pek güzel söylemiş olduğu gibi:

‘Toprak, eğer uğruna ölen varsa vatandır.’

Bir vatan, ancak milleti onu sevmekten, ona layık olmaktan uzaklaşırsa, düşmanların olabilir.” (1988 MEB 5. 105-106)

The narrative is started with the historical development of humanity from nomadism to settled life that is not based on any document or information. However, with the second sentence the historical ‘data’ is narrowed down to Turkish history and their settled life. A pastoral and cultural homeland definition suddenly stiffens with an unjustified emphasis on death. While the expression, ‘either be a martyr or veteran’, becomes a slogan; the patriotism reduced to death and the statement that if there is no one to be found to die for the sake of country, being occupied by the enemy is presented as a threat to the eight years old children. After this opening which clearly does not have any religious connotation, the elements of patriotism are listed in the rest of the chapter. The sixth subtitle of the same chapter is Martyrdom, all over again. In this section five different verses are quoted and one or two sentence of explanation is made before each:

“Loving our homeland, working to protect it and fighting when necessary are both our religious and national duties. In Qur'an we have been advised: ‘Fight in the cause of Allah those who fight you, but do not transgress limits; for Allah loveth not transgressors’ Surat al-Bakara 190. verse [../.]

Beside killing, there is also dying in the battle. But where there is no death. If the time of death for a person comes, death will come and find him regardless he goes to war or stays at home. This is faith in Islam. It is very valuable to die in battle while defending the homeland. They are not dead. The Qur'an reads: ‘And say not of those who are slain in the way of Allah. ‘They are dead.’ Nay, they are living, though ye perceive (it) not. ‘Surat al-Bakara, verse 154.’

No richness in Islam, no worship are not as valuable as fighting in the way of Allah, fighting for the homeland: ‘I swear that if you are killed or die in the way of Allah, your reward in front of Allah is over all that others have gathered and accumulated.’²⁷²

²⁷² “Vatanımızı sevmek, onu korumak için çalışmak ve gerektiğinde çarpışmak hem dini hem milli görevimizdir. Kuran-I kerim’de bize şöyle öğüt verilmiştir: ‘Size savaş açanlarla Allah yolunda savaşın. Fakat aşırı gitmeyin. Allah aşırı gidenleri sevmez. Bakara Suresi 190. ayet [../.] Savaşta öldürmek olduğu gibi ölmek de vardır. Fakat ölüm nerede yoktur ki. İnsanın eceli geldiyse, savaşa gitse de evde otursa da, ölüm nasıl olsa gelip onu bulacaktır. İslam dininde inanç budur. Savaşta, vatan savunmasında ölmek ise çok değerlidir. Onlara ölü denmez. Kurani Kerim bize bunu şöyle açıklar: ‘Allah yolunda öldürülmüş olanlar için, ölüler demeyin. Onlar diridirler. Fakat sizin aklınız buna ermez. ‘Bakara Suresi 154. ayet.’

Here, martyrdom is not explained as a concept and the explanations are totally irrelevant from their religious connotations. The verses are used out of their context, and provide a Quranic ground to what is described. The verses, which do not correspond to a meaning on their own, are standing there by procedure. And as it was mentioned above none of them includes *shahid* or *shahadah* words. Finally, in the last example the phrase, defense of homeland, does not take part in the verse but added in the explanation part. By juxtaposing the phrases ‘in the way of Allah’ and ‘during the defense of homeland’ the author equalizes these two or at least makes them usable instead of each other.

Another example is from ‘Values and Family’ chapter of 9th grade book from 2002. The first tree subtitle of the chapter is related with the concept of value, value religion relationship and the relationship between value and personality. The fourth subtitle of the chapter is named ‘Foundational Values that Unites Society’. These foundational values are parallel to the patriotism topics from the previous years. Thus, under the Unity of Homeland and Ideal title these lines are given place:

“Homeland is not just a piece of land. It is the place where common values and memories are experienced. There are many values on homeland that remind us of our ancestors. A tombstone that we pass by, historical inscriptions and mosques carry the traces of our culture and civilization.

[../.]

Our missing for our history, our will to live our culture and civilization, the tolerance for our nations lays on the basis of the love we show our homeland. At some time, our ancestors risked their lives for the sake of the people and the nation, and they have become martyrs and veterans in this way. Our religion valued martyrdom and veterans. In this regard Almighty Allah says: ‘Think not of those who are slain in Allah's way as dead. Nay, they live, finding their sustenance in the presence of their Lord. They rejoice in the bounty provided by Allah. And with regard to those left

İslam inancında hiçbir zenginlik, hiçbir ibadet, Allah yolunda, vatan savunmasında savaşmak kadar değerli değildir: ‘Yemin ederim ki, eğer Allah yolunda öldürülür veya ölürseniz, Allah katındaki mükafatınız, başkalarının toplayıp biriktirdiği şeylerin hepsinden üstündür.’” (1988 MEB 116-117)

behind, who have not yet joined them (in their bliss), the (martyrs) glory in the fact that on them is no fear, nor have they (cause to) grieve.”²⁷³

As is seen it almost repeats the narrative of the previous example. We can show our loyalty to our homeland which we are tied to in terms of culture and civilization by dying or at least to be ready to die. The narrative is supported with the image of three armed soldiers who are ready to attack, and lines from Mehmet Akif Ersoy about one should protect the country if he does not want it to demise. The verse in the passage was also took place in the previous example. It is quoted wider than it was before and the expression which does not take place in the original verse, ‘not yet becomes martyr’, is added according to the needs of the text. The verses can be extended or shortened as desired, additional information can be put or explained however needed. What is important here is the narrative; the religious explanation is supplementary yet supportive. The message here is clearly ‘our religion’ supports Turkish national perspective.

Last example of this section is from 12th grade book of 2012. The faith of afterlife and its contribution to human life is being mentioned in the ‘Life in World and Hereafter’ chapter. Such an individualistic topic can be handled as self reflexive manner rather than being instructive, if the ages of that grade is taken into consideration. However, the same manner is preserved:

“The faith of the Hereafter makes humans brave and powerful. Because for the believer of the Hereafter, death is not an end, it is the beginning of a new life. As a matter of fact, the history of humanity is filled with victories of many weak communities which overcame the fear of death with this faith against much stronger

²⁷³ “Vatan sadece toprak parçasından ibaret değildir. Ortak değer ve hatıraların yaşandığı mekandır. Vatan toprağı üzerinde, atalarımızı hatırlatan pek çok değer bulunur. Yanından geçtiğimiz bir mezar taşı, tarihi kitabe ve camiler, kültür ve medeniyetimizin izlerini taşır.

[../.]

Vatanımıza gösterdiğimiz sevginin temelinde, tarihimize duyduğumuz özlem, kültür ve medeniyetimizi yaşatma arzumuz, milletimize gösterdiğimiz hoşgörü yatar. Zaman gelmiş atalarımız vatan ve millet uğruna can vermeyi göze almışlar, bu uğurda şehit ve gazi olmayı bilmişlerdir. Dinimiz şehitlik ve gaziliğe değer vermiştir. Bu konuda Yüce Allah şöyle buyuruyor: ‘Allah yolunda öldürülenleri sakın ölümler sanma. Bilakis onlar diridirler., Rableri katında Allah’ın, lütfundan kendilerine verdiği nimetlerin sevincini yaşayarak rızıklandırılmaktadırlar. Arkalarından kendilerine ulaşamayan (henüz şehit olmamış) kimselere de hiçbir korku olmayacağına ve onların üzülmeceklerine sevinirler.’” (2009 MEB 9 p. 70)

communities. The Qur'an describes the lives of the prophets and gives us examples of them. The role of faith of the Hereafter is also great when Muslim Turkish troops win the Dardanelles Victory, which seems to be impossible.”²⁷⁴

The fear of death is one of the most humane feelings that regardless of belief one can experience it. The book does not embrace this natural feeling and try to strengthen the students. Instead of discussing about how religion empowers people about overcoming this fear, the authors claim that ‘religious people do not fear from death’ which in fact alienates the individual than empowerment. One can easily think that I am a believer but I fear of death, so I am a sinner. The main reason of this is understood from the following sentences. The ones who overcome the fear of death are the one who protect our country. Their faith enables them to die without hesitation. The meaning solidifies with these sentences. The book does not interest in the fear itself but presents the students their ancestors as a role model: dying for a higher purpose should overcome any personal fear.

The only image within the four and a half pages of ‘The Contribution of the Belief of Afterlife to this World’ section is related with this paragraph. In the image a troop of soldiers are running down from a little hill, with arms in their hands, obviously attacking to the enemy. On the image three verses from Mehment Akif Ersoy’s poem, ‘To the Martyrs of Çanakkale’²⁷⁵

Militarism is one of the most important aspects of the Turkish national education and the RCM course provides a valuable contribution to the general narrative: martyrdom. The concept triggers the old symbols and signs in the collective memory and feeds the national narrative with the power of divinity. In this way, not only the cause that the martyrs die for (protection of homeland) glorifies and also the the blood becomes a tie between past and

²⁷⁴ “Ahiret inancı insanı cesaretli ve güçlü kılar. Çünkü ahirete inanan insan için ölüm bir son değil, yeni bir hayatın başlangıcıdır. Nitekim insanlık tarihi, bu inançla ölüm korkusunu yenmiş nice zayıf toplulukların çok daha güçlü topluluklara karşı kazandıkları zaferlerle doludur. Kuran-ı Kerim peygamberlerin hayatlarını anlatırken bizlere bunların örneklerini verir. Müslüman türk askerinin imkansız gibi görünen Çanakkale Zaferini kazanmasında da ahiret inancının rolü çok büyüktür.” 2012 MEB 12 p. 13.

²⁷⁵ Ibid. p. 13.

present. Today the discourse of martyrdom used in the daily politics unprecedentedly high. Martyrdom is regarded as a status in front of the state that enables to count the family as the relatives of the martyr. In this manner civil martyrdom as a concept is invented recently. Without feeling the need to categorize these people under a new concept, they are named as martyrs.²⁷⁶ As it was explained above, in this way people who lost their relatives or friends in terror actions will not revolt and they will understand that the war against terror is not a futile effort. Once again the blood becomes a way to legitimize state actions and also once again the old concept is instrumentalized in order to consolidate a new situation. Similarly the losses in the accidents are begun to be called martyrs.²⁷⁷ In this way, people are prevented to interrogate the reasons of the accident much and abandoned to fatality. But most importantly the executors, from president to ministers, give speeches which encourage martyrdom.²⁷⁸ There is two side of this inflation in the discourse of martyrdom. First it is fueled by the education about martyrdom, and secondly that education is supported by constant repeating in the public area. Hence, the idea of state's being prior to citizen and the defense, love and value of the homeland can be understood by the bloodshed is consolidated from two sides.

5.4.9. Citizen is Obedient: *Ulu'l-Emr*

Being obedient to the rulers and laws is another important duty of the citizen as it was stated above. As it was stated before, according to Michel Foucault the governmentality enables the “control of populations to ensure political obedience and docile and useful workforce for the demands of emerging capitalism become the central concerns in this art of

²⁷⁶<http://www.ntv.com.tr/turkiye/teror-eyleminde-olen-siviller-sehit-sayilacak,x0fdoPHbGki-oTGfavln5w>,
<http://www.radikal.com.tr/politika/uludere-kurbanlari-sivil-sehit-1082739/>,
<http://www.sabah.com.tr/gundem/2015/07/23/suruc-kurbanlari-sivil-sehit-sayilacak>,
<http://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/1269085-sivil-sehitlerin-yakinlarina-aylik-baglanacak>.

²⁷⁷<http://www.haberturk.com/gundem/haber/949279-somada-olen-301-madenci-sivil-sehit-sayilacak>,
<http://gazetemanifesto.com/2016/12/03/yurt-yoneticisi-biz-suleymanciyiz-yurttaki-kizlarin-yanmasi-allahin-takdiri-onlar-sehit-oldu/>,

²⁷⁸<http://www.haberler.com/cumhurbaskani-erdogan-bizim-terorden-arindirilmis-9095312-haberi/>,
<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/bakan-ozhaseki-allah-nasip-ederse-ben-de-sehit-olayim-insallah-sizler-de-olun-40304869>

governance.”²⁷⁹ Within institutions like military, asylum, school, work place, etc. the acceptable citizen is created. These institutions disseminate the discourse of truth and focus on to correct the deviant behavior of the citizen if there any.

RCM textbooks provide a key concept to create docile bodies of the nation: *ulu'l-emr*. Hence it is a Quranic concept, it becomes a non-negotiable truth. *Ulu'l-emr* can be translated as “those who are in charge” and it depends on the 4/59 verse of Quran which reads: “O you who have believed, obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you. And if you disagree over anything, refer it to Allah and the Messenger, if you should believe in Allah and the Last Day. That is the best [way] and best in result.”²⁸⁰

According to the *Diyanet*'s Tafseer, the wording of this verse is important to understand its meaning. Here, the verse repeats the same word, obey, for Allah and for the Messenger however it mentions for the ones who are in authority with a conjunctive. “This indicates that these people are different than Allah and his prophet as of liability of obedience and they are not obeyed if their commands are conflicting with Allah and his prophet’s instructions.”²⁸¹ That is to say, one and only condition of obedience to a ruler according to Islam, is his/her being coherent with the real owners of command. Yet, this verse is shown as a proof in RCM textbooks for Islam’s respect for governmental bodies and its advice for the believers to keep the commands of their rulers. And by quoting this verse the rulers gain a divine approval for their actions and hence their rule should not be questioned.

The concept is appeared in the RCM books from the very beginning of the introduction of the course until 2009. Each encourages the obedience to the governors, however does not resolves the sovereignty conflict with the Quranic explanation. According to the verse, sovereignty belongs to Allah himself, and the ruler can only be an operator of his

²⁷⁹ J.D. Marshall. “Foucault and Educational Research” in *Foucault and Education*. Stephen Ball. (ed.) (London: Routledge, 1990) pg: 15.

²⁸⁰ <https://quran.com/4> (Last Access: 24.01.17)

²⁸¹ <http://mushaf.Diyanet.gov.tr/> (Last Access: 24.01.17)

word. The first problem here would be the anachronic impossibility that a Quran verse applies to a 20th century executor like prime minister or president, which by definition differs from the Quranic understanding of government. Secondly, the problem of who is going to control these executors' convenience to the Allah's message. The religious institutions of a state are the apparatuses of the state so that they cannot act upon something else than that state's law; and an outsider control mechanism would have no sanction over the legitimate power of the state. And finally, as it was explained in the previous chapters, in nation states the sovereignty belongs to nation and the executors govern the state on behalf of the nation.

This idea is crystallized in the oath of the members of Grand National Assembly. The text clearly states that members "swear upon [their] honor and integrity to safeguard [../] the absolute sovereignty of the nation; [and] to remain loyal to the supremacy of law, to the democratic and secular republic, and to Atatürk's principles and reforms."²⁸² Of course this is a nonbinding statement; however it manifests what the individuals show their loyalty at and what are the legitimate boundaries of making policy within the country. Hence, the *ulu'l emr* argument becomes an important support from divinity to national leaders.

The 10th chapter of the 1988 5th grade book, *Vatan Sevgisi (Patriotism)*, has mentioned above. This book remains same, except from minor changes, until the 2002 primary school program change and the verse preserved its place under the 3rd subtitle of this chapter, *Vatandaşlık ve Vatandaşın Görevleri (Citizenship and the Duties of the Citizen)*, until 1998:

"Tax is the participation of the citizen in the cost of the state. A huge amount of money accumulates by the combination of the money of different amounts based on the income level of the citizens. With this money, things will be done to meet our needs.

"Our army is ready power to protect our homeland at any moment. By conscription, every man gains the knowledge and skills to join the army when necessary.

²⁸² https://global.tbmm.gov.tr/docs/constitution_en.pdf (Last Access: 24.01.17)

Participation in elections is both the right and the duty of every citizen. It is very important to do this work with love and care, and to monitor the work of the elected people.

Fundamental education acquires the necessary knowledge to perform all these tasks. Citizens who receive this information can constantly monitor and implement innovations in their work. If done so, nation will always be strong and go further.

‘O you who have believed, obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you.’ (An-Nisa, Verse 59)²⁸³

I will not go deeper into these articles here which are going to be discussed under ‘duties of citizen’ later on. However, I want to remind here that these are the characteristics of official nationalism which was quoted in the very beginning of the study and belongs to 19th century. This kind of a perception is irrelevant for a 7th century religion’s imagination. While obligatory primary education is totally out of question before 19th century; citizenship based taxation, universal conscription and democratic election are the concepts of modern secular national state. The reason why I am underlining these here is to show how irrelevant to quote the verse here, under these totally modern concepts. It is nothing but to confuse the minds of students and create an impression that these are what religion also approves.

A couple pages after these lines a remarkable reading text occurs, ‘Obedience to Statesmen’:

“For some reason, the leader of the era forbade his great scholar Imam Abu Hanife to give up the fatwa (bringing solutions according to the rules of religion). By the way, in one evening, a woman came to Ebu Hanife for a question.

- “Oh Imam, I have a question!” she said.

Ebu Hanife:

²⁸³ “Vergi vatandaşın devletin masraflarına katılmasıdır. Vatandaşların kazançlarına göre verecekleri küçük – büyük paraların birleşmesiyle çok büyük paralar oluşur. Bu paralarla hepimizin ihtiyacına cevap verecek işler yapılır.

Ordumuz, vatanımızı her an korumaya hazır kuvvettir. Askerlik yapmakla, her erkek gerektiğinde orduya katılabilecek bilgi ve becerileri kazanır.

Seçimlere katılmak, her vatandaşın hem hakkı hem görevidir. Bu işi seve seve ve dikkatle yapmak, seçilenlerin çalışmalarını izlemek çok önemlidir.

Temel eğitim, bütün bu görevlerin yapılabilmesi için gerekli bilgileri kazandırır. Bu bilgileri alan vatandaşlar, çalıştıkları işlerle ilgili yenilikleri sürekli izleyebilir ve uygulayabilirler. Böyle yapılırsa, milletçe daima güçlü ve ileride oluruz.

‘Ey iman edenler, Allah’a itaat edin; elçiye itaat edin ve sizden olan emir sahiplerine de...’ Nisa Suresi 59. Ayet.” (1988 MEB 5 p.110)

- Our leader has forbidden me to give you fatwa. The order requires obedience! He replied.

She insisted:

- Sir, it's late now, where will our Leader see you? she said.

Ebu Hanife:

- Even though the Leader does not see, Allah sees us. Allah has commanded us to obey our great statesmen! He said and refused her.”²⁸⁴

The wording here is quite remarkable. The word, leader, evokes a president or some kind of secular leader of a modern state. However Abu Hanifa lives under the reign of Abbasid Caliphate, which means the ‘leader’ who forbids him to declare fatwa here is the caliph himself who is the top authority on religion after the Prophet. So by omitting this piece of information from the story, the obedience suddenly covers all kinds of statesmen of all times and provides a religious moral by underlining that ‘even one of greatest imams obeys his leader’ message for today’s people. We do not know what the conflict between the caliph and the imam was; also we do not know that this incident really happens since there is no reference in the book, but these are irrelevant because these lines are enough for the desired message.

The 3rd chapter of the 8th grade book from 1988, *Laiklik ve İslam (Laicite and Islam)* and 16th subtitle is *Devlete ve Kanunlara Saygı (Respect to State and Laws)*:

“The state was established for the administration of the nation. The state is the guardian of all kinds of material and moral values of the nation. The nation's honor, dignity and sovereignty exist only in the presence of the state. Protection of the nation's life, property, chastity and honor is among the most important duties of the

²⁸⁴ “Bir sebepten dolayı devrin başkanı, büyük bilgin İmam Ebu Hanife’ye fetva (din kurallarına göre çözüm getirme) vermeyi yasaklamıştı. Bu arada bir akşam, bir kadın, bir sorusu için Ebu Hanife’nin yanına geldi.

-Ey İmam, benim bir sorum var! dedi.

Ebu Hanife:

- Başkanımız bana, fetva vermeyi yasakladı. Emre itaat gerektir! diye cevap verdi.

Kadın ısrar etti:

-Efendim şimdi gecedir, Başkanımız sizi nereden görecek? dedi.

Ebu Hanife ise:

- Başkan görmezse de Allah görüyor ya, Allah devlet büyüklerimize itaat etmemizi buyurmuştur! dedi ve kadını geri çevirdi.” (1988 MEB 5. p. 123)

state. In addition, the state meets all kinds of needs such as roads, bridges, hospitals, schools, dams, ports, heavy industry and so on.

In short, the state takes all kinds of precautions for the happiness and security of the nation. To provide peace and security in the homeland and to protect the homeland from danger within the borders; and to defend the solemnity, dignity and honor of the nation outside the nation are the duties of the state.

In this manner, respect for the state is, in fact, respect for ourselves, our honor, dignity and solemnity, as one of the constituents of the nation.

On the other hand, the protection of the homeland and nation, religion and language is possible with the presence of a powerful and mighty state. The fact that the state can be powerful and mighty depends also on its citizens fulfilling their duties of respect and support to the state,

It is the first task on this subject to comply with the law of the state. Everyone who loves his country and nation must respect and obey the state and state laws. Allah declares in the Qur'an: 'O you who have believed, obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you ...'

It is seen that this verse commands obedience to the leaders who are the administrators of the state. Thus, to comply with the laws, the order of the state, and the measures taken to become powerful and mighty, is to fulfill God's command."²⁸⁵

This is an understanding that positions the state over the individual and awaits respect. The provider and shelterer state, which deliver certain infrastructure services but more importantly protects its citizens honor and dignity. Such a narrative exchanges the entities such as honor, dignity, chastity, religion and language which people are afraid to lose with being obedient

²⁸⁵ "Devlet, milletin yönetimi için kurulmuştur. Milletin her türlü maddi ve manevi değerlerinin koruyucusu devlettir. Milletin şerefi, haysiyeti, egemenliği, ancak devletin varlığıyla var olur. Milletin can, mal, ırz ve namusunun korunması da devletin görevlerinin başında gelir. Ayrıca milletin yol, köprü, hastane, okul, baraj, liman, ağır sanayi ve benzeri gibi her türlü ihtiyacını da devlet karşılar.

Kısaca devlet, milletin mutluluğu ve güveni için her türlü tedbiri alır. Vatan toprakları içinde iç huzur ve güveni sağlamak ve vatani tehlikelerden korumak; dışta da milletin vakarını, haysiyet ve şerefini yüceltmek ve savunmak, devletin görevidir.

Bu bakımdan devlete saygı, aslında, milleti meydana getiren fertlerden biri olarak kendimize, kendi şeref, haysiyet ve vakarımıza saygıdır.

Öte yandan, vatan ve milletin, din ve dilin korunabilmesi, güçlü ve kudretli bir devletin varlığı ile mümkündür. Devletin güçlü ve kudretli olabilmesi de, vatandaşların devlete olan bağlılık, saygı ve destek görevlerini eksiksiz yerine getirmelerine bağlıdır.

Devletin koyduğu yasalara uymak, bu konudaki ilk görevdir. Vatani ve milleti seven herkesin devletine ve devletin koyduğu yasalara saygılı olması ve ona itaat etmesi gerekir. Yüce Allah Kuran-ı Kerim'de şöyle buyurmaktadır: 'Ey iman edenler, Allah'a itaat edin; elçiye itaat edin ve sizden olan emir sahiplerine de...'

Görülüyor ki bu ayet, devletin idarecileri durumundaki büyüklere itaati emretmektedir. Böylece yasalara, devletin düzenine ve güçlenip kudretli hale gelmesi için alınan tedbirlere uymak, Allah'ın buyruğunu yerine getirmektir." (1988 MEB 8 pp. 63-64)

to the state. This is not the definition of an active citizen who is already entitled to take these services and being protected as a result of their taxes and votes and asks for an account whenever these are not realized. The state is needed to be grateful by providing these services. Citizens are powerful of being provided and sheltered; state is powerful of being respected and obeyed. RCM textbooks underline the duties of the citizen in this mutual relationship frequently, like other courses. Yet, the students seldomly finds chance to learn the duties of the state. It seems that the state is almighty by existence.

“One of the principles of good ethics that Islam taught us is to obey, *ulu’l-emr*, the authorities of the state we are citizens of and the laws of the country we live in.

The Holy Qur'an reads,

‘O you who have believed, obey Allah and obey the Messenger and those in authority among you ...’

Similarly, the Prophet claims 'Obedience, obedience! Obedience may also be a nuisance. If the authorities do justice it is in favor of them and of you! If they do not then it is in favor of you and it is against them.

Undoubtedly, these commands and advice are aimed at the peace of the society. The contrary evaluations are extremely inconvenient not only because they contradict with the clear warnings of the verses and hadiths that we presented but also because they break the peace of the society.

If a person encounters with a law or an order that s/he dislikes, he or she should ask them to be corrected within legal ways. A contrary behavior leads to disorder. However, people living in society should not have any behavior that can cause disorder, should not go to illegal ways and disturb society's peace and trust.”²⁸⁶

²⁸⁶ “İslamiyetin bize öğrettiği güzel ahlak ilkelerinden biri de ulu'l emre yani yurttaşı olduğumuz devletin yetkililerine ve içinde yaşadığımız ülkenin yasalarına itaat etmektir.

Konu hakkında Kuran-ı Kerim'de şöyle buyrulur:

‘Ey iman edenler, Allah'a itaat edin; elçiye itaat edin ve sizden olan emir sahiplerine de...’

Peygamber de ‘İtaat, itaat! İtaatte sıkıntı da olabilir. Eğer yetkililer adaletli ve hakkaniyetli iş yaparlarsa o, onların da lehine, sizin de! Yok haksızlık ederlerse, sizin lehinize; onların aleyhinedir.’ demiştir.

Hiç kuşkusuz bu buyruk ve öğütler, toplumun huzurunu amaçlamaktadır. Bunun aksi değerlendirmeler, anlamlarını sunduğumuz ayet ve hadisin açık uyarıları ile bağdaşmadığı gibi toplumun huzurunu bozması açısından son derece sakıncalıdır.

Eğer bir kimse, kendi açısından beğenmediği bir yasa ve emirle karşılaşırsa bunların, hukuki yollardan hareket ederek düzeltilmesini istemelidir. Aksine bir davranış, kargaşaya yol açar. Oysa toplum halinde yaşayan insanlar, kargaşaya neden olabilecek hiçbir davranışta bulunmamalı, hukuk dışı yollara giderek toplumun huzur ve güvenini bozmamalıdır.”²⁸⁶ (2002 Ozgun 9. p.88)

The text opens with an intensive accent on obedience. A hadith, which we do not know the context that it was uttered, is accompanying to the poorly quoted and explained verse this time. It is controversial to claim that this verse and hadith are said to preserve ‘peace of society’, based upon this piece of information; but such interpretation becomes convenient for the second part of the text. Here, the text advises to search legal procedures to fix his/her discomfort. S/he must not behave in a way to disturb society. At a first glance, there is nothing wrong with these lines. Law as a powerful tool is presented for the individual and s/he is advised not to search for unlawful actions. However, the ambiguity in the text enables it to be interpreted as whatever needed. What are the legal procedures of expressing individual unrest? Are there cases where law fails to satisfy individual needs? What happens when these legal procedures are not enough? What are the unlawful actions? Which actions cause unrest in the society? What are the results of broken peace and security of the society and is this really major problem for society?

To discuss these questions and to grasp the meaning I want to give an example from daily use. There is phrase which we are accustomed to from media: ‘unauthorized demonstration’. A demonstration is generally held to express feelings and create public opinion about an issue of ‘unfavorable codes or commands’ as it is stated in the quoted text above. According to the 34th article of Turkish Constitution:

“Everyone has the right to hold unarmed and peaceful meetings and demonstration marches without prior permission.

The right to hold meetings and demonstration marches shall be restricted only by law on the grounds of national security, public order, prevention of commission of crime, protection of public health and public morals or the rights and freedoms of others.”²⁸⁷

Here as we can see that there is nothing like ‘unauthorized demonstration’ for citizens but rather state is bounded by law and is required to show a reasonable justification of its actions, not vice versa. Hence, while the book advises students to stay in the borders of law; by not

²⁸⁷ https://global.tbmm.gov.tr/docs/constitution_en.pdf

clearly representing the law, it causes an ambiguity which enables the state itself can behave unlawfully. This reminds the concept of ‘state of exception’. Giorgio Agamben claims that in the circumstances of which governments needs to take urgent precautions, the execution becomes the sole force to take rapid decisions. While in the first place, these circumstances are defined as civil war, insurrection and resistance; the frequency and duration of the declaration of state of exception increases and the topics of exception varies in time. The first problem here is the expansion of the executive powers to the legislative sphere; and the second is the problem of the definition of ‘danger.’ While the former destroys the separation of powers, the latter enables the rulers interpret every single action as a threat and manipulate the powers which they acquire.²⁸⁸ It is important to remind Agamben here; his concepts enables to envision probable results of drawing borders to the actions of the citizens in the name of law and asserting ‘law’ as an intimidating force, constant emphasis on obedience, presenting it as a divine order, presenting state as an almighty power and obscuring the responsibilities and constraints of it can easily lead us to the situation that Agamben indicates.

Although *ulu’l-emr* verse is stopped using in the textbooks, it is frequently used in daily life. While 110 academicians signed a petition in 2014 to reflect their anxiety about the ongoing developments since December 17, 2013 and declare obedience to legitimate authority is the basic principle;²⁸⁹ a khutbah was declared in February 2014 named *Din Samimiyettir* (Religion is Sincerity) which claims religion is being sincere to Allah and Prophet and to the legitimate governors of Muslims.²⁹⁰ There are columnists who directly declare President Erdoğan as *ulu’l emr*.²⁹¹ Again, in 2016, *Nevşehir Milli İrade Platformu* (Nevşehir National Will Platform) which is an umbrella constitution for 52 NGOs in Nevşehir marched to reflect

²⁸⁸ Giorgio Agamben. “The State of Exception as a Paradigm of Government” in *State of Exception*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press: 2005) pp. 1-31.

²⁸⁹ <http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/ilahiyatcilardan-ortak-bildiri-mesru-otoriteye-itaat-ana-ilkedir-1181696/>

²⁹⁰ http://www.adanamuftulugu.gov.tr/FileUpload/ds24255/File/din_samimiyettir.pdf

²⁹¹ <http://www.habermektebi.com/yazarlar/suleyman-yasin-akdeniz/cumhurbaskani-recep-tayyip-erdogan-ulul-emr-midir/557>

their unrest from the recent developments and make summon to protect President Erdoğan who is *ulu'l-emr* against some degenerates who want to divide internally and externally. Hence it may be concluded that although *ulu'l-emr* is not given place in RCM textbooks, it is a vital concept for Turkish people and the religiousness of JDP enables people to make connections. Hence, the absence of it in the books does not mean that it is abandoned as an idea and it will not be reintroduced in the books.

5.4.10. Universal Norms, Global Values

The duties of the citizen are mentioned in the last three titles. Speaking of duty the rights are also needed to be mentioned. It is important to see that how the textbooks which explains and asserts duties that much, approaches to the rights. Do the duties and rights are represented in balance or the rights are silenced for the sake of duties?

RCM textbooks addresses to rights time to time. However both the rights are not defined explicitly and their receivers are not indicated clearly; also they are torn out of their context and tried to be associated with Islamic concepts. It is problematic to juxtapose two different worldviews without mentioning their peculiarities and the historical backgrounds of them. First of all, explaining a modern concept within Islam, the distinctness of Islam from this concept is hidden; and secondly by emulating modern concepts the problematic aspects of these is covered. That is to say, no matter what the resemblances are, if two distinct concepts somehow intertwined, this harm both of them as well as students. The RCM textbooks handle human rights from inside Islam in every occasion.

Rights and Liberties is frequently met topic in RCM textbooks. While the topic was related with laicite in terms of freedom of religion and conscience and freedom of thought and opinion, before 2000s; later it turns into a general idea of human rights, in line with EU policies. I use small initials for these concepts on purpose because none of the cases have referenced the sources that these are generated. The concepts are used not with their historical

evolution and universal understanding but rather they are received with how the first meaning of the words associates. *Din ve Vicdan Özgürlüğü (Freedom of Religion and Conscience)* title was represented in a 4th grade book from 1988:

“However, we see that we are observing and thinking about the creation and order of our own creation or existence in our circle. We understand that all of this can not happen spontaneously. We believe and connect to our Allah. We pay our debt of gratitude verbally. We hold his commandments without any burden in us. We believe in Our Prophet because he tells us the principles of our religion. We love and respect him. Moreover, all these beliefs and connections are our sincere feelings. If it was not, or if someone forced us to accept it, we would not really believe them unless we had our minds and our hearts wanted. Even pressure could lead us to hatred, reaction, objection and rebellion.[../.]

[../.]

Indeed, our Allah, the Qur'an, declares, ‘There is no compulsion in religion.’ In this case, according to our religion, it is essential to believe in voluntarily and willingly without any pressure. There is no religious worth of trying to convince people by force. [../.]

In fact, people are all kinds. Our Allah has created them in different qualities and abilities. Pleasures, desires, expectations, thoughts, habits, traditions and beliefs are changing from one person to another, from society to society, from country to country. [../.] Therefore, according to our religion, people are free of religious beliefs and convictions. No pressure and no compulsion is suitable in this regard.

As a matter of fact, as it is fundamental for our religion, freedom of conscience and respect for human personality; the founder of our Republic, Atatürk, says, ‘Religion is a matter of conscience. Everyone is free to adhere to the commands of their conscience. We respect religion. We are not against thought and mentality.’ As a matter of fact, ‘laicism’ which is based on the foundation of conscience is one of Atatürk's principles and took place in our Constitution.”²⁹²

²⁹² “Halbuki, gördük ki bizler, kendi yaratılışımızı veya çevremizdeki varlıkların yaratılışını ve düzenini gözlüyor ve düşünüyoruz. Bütün bunların kendiliğinden olamayacağını kavıyoruz. Allahımıza inanıp bağlanıyoruz. Ona olan şükür borcumuzu söyleyerek yerine getiriyoruz. Onun buyruklarını içimizde hiçbir yük saymadan tutuyoruz. Dinimizin esaslarını bize bildirdiği için peygamberimize inanıyoruz. Ona karşı sevgi ve saygı duyuyoruz. Üstelik bütün bu inanış ve bağlaşılarımız içimizden gelerek oluyor. Öyle olmasaydı veya biri bize bunları zorla kabul ettirmek isteseydi, aklımız yatmadıkça ve gönümüz istemedikçe, onlara gerçekten inanıp bağlanamazdık. Hatta baskı bizi nefret, tepki, itiraz ve isyana götürebilirdi. [../.]

[../.]

Esasen ulu Allahımız Kuranı kerim’inde ‘Dinde zorlama yoktur’ buyuruyor. Şu halde, dinimize göre, hiçbir baskı olmaksızın vicdan hürriyeti içinde ve isteyerek inanmak esastır. İnsanları zorla dine inandırmaya çalışmanın hiçbir dini değeri yoktur. [../.]

The text begins with an unjustified, totally unnatural definition of love, respect and obedience to Allah and his prophet. Since religion is a matter of conscience, the degree of it cannot be same. However writing these one after another make children internalizes its truth: ‘We’ are naturally Muslim and ‘we’ are fond of it. The reason why ‘we’ are fond of it is that Islam’s being naturally laic. Without giving any background information, and explaining their meanings and content the author juxtapose a hadith, ‘there is no pressure in religion’ and an article in Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), ‘freedom of religion and conscience’. Doing this enables the author to fill the gap with his own point. For example, while ‘there is no pressure in religion’ is regarded as a message for Muslims which advises doing their duties willingly; later it becomes an advice about not to force non-believers to believe Islam. Among all these confusion, the author makes an intertwining move in the last paragraph. According to this paragraph, not only the freedom of religion and conscience is the grant of Islam but also our country is a place where all sorts of belief and opinion are welcomed and respected. Thus, the Muslim Turkey naturally becomes the cradle of mentioned freedom.

Although in 2000s Human Rights as a concept can find a place for itself in the books; UDHR and its development, aims, content is not mentioned any of these places. And hence the human rights can be conceptualized like ‘humans who do have some rights’. Since it is not explained properly this right is tried to be met with the Islamic concept, *kul hakki* (*rightful share*) and Prophet Muhammad’s Final Khutbah is presented as a document of human rights.

The following example is from 10th grade book from 2009:

Aslında insanlar türlü türüdür. Allahımız onları farklı özellik ve kabiliyette yaratmıştır. Zevkler, istekler, beklentiler, düşünceler, alışkanlıklar, adetler ve inançlar kişiden kişiye, toplumdaki topluma, ülkeden ülkeye bir devirden ötekine değişiyorlar. [../] Kısacası, dinimize göre, insanlar dini inançları ve kanaatlerinde hürdürler. Bu konuda hiçbir baskı ve zorlama uygun değildir.

Nitekim, dinimizde inanç ve vicdan hürriyeti ve insan kişiliğine saygı temel olduğu gibi, Cumhuriyetimizin kurucusu Büyük Atatürk de ‘Din bir vicdan meselesidir. Herkes vicdanının ermine uymakta serbesttir. Biz dine saygı gösteririz. Düşünce ve düşünüşe karşı değiliz.’ demektedir. Zaten temeli vicdan hürriyetine dayanan ‘laiklik’ Atatürk ilkelerinden biridir ve Anayasamızda yer almıştır.” (1988 MEB 4. pp. 53-54)

“People are born with some rights and freedoms. The rights and freedoms that people have as a result of their material, spiritual and economic existence are called personal rights and freedoms. These only goes hand in hand with the safety of the person.

Personal rights and freedoms are declared by Our Prophet in the Final Khutbah as, ‘O People, how these days are a holy day, how these months are a sacred month, and how your city is a blessed city, your lives, your goods and your sins are so contagious, inviolable and protected from all kinds of harrassment.’

Life, health, worship, confidentiality of private life, education, economic rights are some of the main freedom of thought and belief. These are the rights that arise from being human. In the absence of these rights, human beings can not live humanely.

Mentioned rights are the rights given to the servants of God without any discrimination. It is enough to be a human being to have these rights. Every man needs these rights and freedoms to live a dignified, honorable and orderly life. These rights can not be taken from people and can not be transferred to another person. Because they are personal.

When the Qur'an is talking about fundamental rights and freedoms, it calls out to all mankind without making a distinction between believer and unbeliever, man and woman, black and white. It reads: ‘And do not deprive people of their due and do not commit abuse on earth, spreading corruption.’ As it is understood from this verse, the rights should not be restricted; one should not cause turmoil in the society by violating the rights of others while using his/her right.

Fundamental rights and freedoms are guaranteed by law in our society. It is ensured in our constitution as; ‘Everyone has the untouchable, irrevocable, indispensable basic rights and freedoms...’²⁹³

²⁹³ “İnsanlar bazı hak ve özgürlüklere sahip olarak doğarlar. İnsanın maddi, manevi ve ekonomik varlığı nedeniyle üzerinde sahip olduğu haklara ve özgürlüklere şahsi hak ve özgürlükler denir. Bunlar ancak kişinin güvenliği ile beraber yürür. Şahsi hak ve hürriyetleri Peygamberimiz Veda Hutbesi’nde, ‘Ey İnsanlar bu günleriniz nasıl mukaddes bir gün, bu aylarınız nasıl mukaddes bir ay ve bu şehriniz nasıl mübarek bir şehir ise canlarınız, mallarınız ve namuslarınız da öyle mukaddestir, dokunulmazdır ve her türlü tecavülden korunmuştur.’ buyurarak ilan etmiştir.

Yaşama, sağlık, ibadet, özel yaşamın gizliliği, eğitim, ekonomik haklar, düşünce ve inanç özgürlüklerinin başlıcalarıdır. Bunlar insanın insan olmasından kaynaklanan haklardır. Bu hakların olmaması durumunda insanın insanca yaşama imkanı ortadan kalkar. Adı geçen haklar, Allahın kullarına hiçbir ayırım gözetmeden verdiği haklardır. Bu haklara sahip olmak için sadece insan olmak yeterlidir. Her insan onurlu, şerefli ve düzenli bir hayat yaşayabilmek için bu hak ve özgürlüklere ihtiyaç duyar. Bu haklar kişilerin ellerinden alınamaz ve bir başkasına devredilemez. Çünkü kişiye özeldir.

Kuran-ı Kerim temel hak ve özgürlüklerden bahsederken inanan inanmayan, kadın erkek, siyah beyaz ayrımı yapmadan bütün insanlığa seslenir ve şöyle der: ‘İnsanların hakkı olan şeyleri kısmayın. Yeryüzünde bozgunculuk yaparken karışıklık çıkarmayın.’ Bu ayetten de anlaşıldığı gibi haklar kısıtlanmamalı; kişi hakkını kullanırken başkalarının hakkını ihlal ederek toplumda kargaşa çıkarmamalıdır.

Temel hak ve özgürlükler, toplumumuzda yasalarla güvence altına alınmıştır. Bu durum Anayasa’mızda da, ‘Herkes kişiliğine bağlı dokunulmaz, devredilemez, vazgeçilemez temel hak ve hürriyetlere sahiptir...’ şeklinde yerini almıştır.” (2009 MEB 10. p. 87)

Here, we witness presentation Islam with modern concepts again. The definitions here, although it is not clear where they are taken, are the modern rephrase of the relevant part of the Final Khutbah. According to this, the rights of a human being are restricted to live with dignity and possess some assets. Of course this is not what Islam offers to organize the relationship between people and protects the honorable life of the believers. The Sharia Laws are in the broader sense are all about to protect and organization. However these cannot be met with the concept 'human rights'. When we say Human Rights we are talking about 'right to seek asylum' (Article 14), 'right to have nationality' (Article 15), 'freedom of assembly and association' (Article 20) 'right to elect government members through equal suffrage' (Article 21) or 'right to freely participate cultural life of community' (Article 27)²⁹⁴ This is all to say, these two are different and none of them is superior than the other. If we carelessly juxtapose them, we would miss their conditions of birth, their reasons of existence and the people that they are addressed. Hence this would lead both either being not understood or being learned incorrectly. The word in the verse, 'right', could be the same word with 'human rights' but this does not mean they are the same concepts. Different concepts can be met with same words but the words that are not fed from the same universe of thought, even though their spelling is the same, can not mean the same.

The second problem here is the interpretation of the verse. Although the verse (26/183) is about keeping the scales right and giving the exact amount of product to the customer in the market, the author has interested in just with the words 'right' and 'defeatism' for the explanation and deduced that the human rights should not be limited and people should carefully use their rights. We are familiar with creating trouble in the society from an example above. Similar to that example, the author expresses the constitution and warn people not to cause trouble with extra demands, or so. And one last remark is on the duality in the text.

²⁹⁴ <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/>

According to the author the human rights are declared by Prophet Muhammad but secured by our constitution.

In the *Haklar, Özgürlükler ve Din (Rights, Freedoms and Religion)* chapter of the 10th grade from 2015, after a similar explanation of rights and they are being intrinsic to Islam. Especially under the subtitle *Bazı Özgürlükler, Haklar ve Din (Some Liberties, Rights and Religion)* the rightful share is mentioned among certain liberties such as Right to Live, Right to Believe or Economical Rights. The chapter is concluded with a final subtitle: *Kul Hakkı Yemek Büyük Günahdır (It is Sin to Trespass Rightful Share)*:

“The rightful share is the right that arises from the relations between people. According to Islam, rights are generally divided into two. The first is Allah’s right and the other is the rights of people. Allah’s right, in general, concerns the hereafter. It is accounted only to Allah and it ends only with His forgiveness. Allah has informed that he can forgive his rights, except *shirk*. Allah either punishes or forgives a sinner.

[../.]

No one has the authority to limit anyone's rights and freedoms. The violation of these rights has been counted as a great sin. In the Farewell Sermon, our Prophet appeals all Muslims and underlines the importance of rights.

[../.]

It is also a violation of the rightful share of deceiving people, cheating, not doing the job properly, especially abusing the duty of public servants or not taking the business seriously, and not paying the debt on time. The damage that pupils give to the school building, classes, desks, libraries and laboratories is also a violation of community rights. Because, every student who studies and will study in the school has a right at this place. In addition, hospitals, public transportation vehicles, parks; briefly, harming the places where people benefits from is an intervention of the rightful share. [../.]

We also have some duties against the state. Some of these duties are to give taxes, go to the military, participate in elections and comply with the laws. These tasks are also covered by public rights.

Tax is the money which levied by real or legal persons in accordance with the law to cover expenses of the state or local governments.

The State is responsible for preparing the conditions necessary for the development of the material and spiritual existence of its citizens.

It is only possible for the state to fulfill these duties (to make places such as schools, roads, bridges, hospitals, communications etc.) with taxes collected from the citizens. Not paying the taxes or tax evasion is a crime by law, a sin (in terms of rightful share), and morally disrespectful to the people of the country.

One of our duties against the state is to go to the military. Military is a national service. Every Turkish citizen who comes to the age of military service must fulfill this sacred duty. This is the most sacred task that our ancestors entrusted to us, and that we will entrust the future generations.

One of our duties against the state is to participate in the elections. Since our country is ruled by democracy, the people determine the ones who will govern it on their behalf. In this respect, participation in elections, joining the state work is an important duty to our nation and to ourselves. [../.]

People have to live together in community. There are certain rules of living together. State has enacted laws in order to make sure that things are conducted regularly and citizens' being respectful to each other's rights. The law is general and imperative rules that are issued by the competent organs of the state and which protect the fundamental rights and freedoms of citizens.²⁹⁵

²⁹⁵ “Kul hakkı, insanlar arası münasebetlerden doğan haklardır. İslam’a göre haklar, genel olarak ikiye ayrılır. Birincisi Allah, diğeri ise kul hakkıdır. Allah hakkı, genelde ahireti ilgilendiren ve sadece Allah’a karşı hesap verilen, onun affetmesiyle sona eren haklardır. Allah, şirk hariç kendisi ile ilgili hakları dilerse bağışlayabileceğini bildirmiştir. Allah kendine karşı günah işleyen bir kulunu isterse cezalandırır isterse affeder. [../.]

İnsanın hak ve özgürlüğünü kimsenin almaya yetkisi yoktur. Bu hakkın ihlali büyük günahlardan sayılmıştır. Veda Haccı’nda Peygamberimiz bütün Müslümanlara hitaben yaptığı konuşmada kul hakkının önemine dikkat çekmiştir.

[../.]

İnsanları aldatmak, hile yapmak, işini gereği gibi yapmamak, özellikle kamu görevi yapanların görevini kötüye kullanması veya işi ağırdan alması, borcu olanın imkânı olduğu hâlde borcunu zamanında ödememesi gibi tavır ve davranışlar da kul hakkı ihlalidir. Öğrencilerin okul binasına, sınıflara, sıralara, kütüphanelere ve laboratuvarlara verdikleri zarar da toplumun haklarının ihlalidir. Çünkü okulda, okuyan ve okuyacak her öğrencinin bu yerlerde hakkı vardır. Ayrıca hastanelere, toplu taşıma araçlarına, parklara kısaca kamunun yararlandığı her yere zarar vermek kul hakkına müdahaledir. [../.]

Devlete karşı da birtakım görevlerimiz vardır. Bu görevlerimizden bazıları vergi vermek, askere gitmek, seçimlere katılmak ve kanunlara uymaktır. Bu görevler de kamu hakları kapsamındadır.

Vergi, devletin veya yerel yönetimlerin giderlerini karşılamak üzere gerçek ve tüzel kişilerden kanunlara uygun olarak topladığı paradır.

Devlet, vatandaşının maddi ve manevi varlığının gelişmesi için gerekli şartları hazırlamakla görevlidir.

Devletin bu görevleri yerine getirebilmesi, (okul, yol, köprü, hastane, haberleşme vb. yerleri yapabilmesi) ancak vatandaşından topladığı vergilerle mümkündür. Vergi vermemek veya vergi kaçırmak hukuken suç, dinen günah (kul hakkı), ahlaken de ülke insanlarına saygısızlıktır.

Devlete karşı görevlerimizden biri de askere gitmektir. Askerlik bir vatan borcudur. Askerlik çağına gelen her Türk vatandaşının bu kutsal görevi yerine getirmesi gerekir. Bu, atalarımızın bize, bizim de gelecek nesillere emanet edeceğimiz en kutsal görevdir.

Devlete karşı görevlerimizden biri de seçimlere katılmaktır. Ülkemiz demokrasiyle yönetildiği için halk, kendisini yönetecek insanları kendi oyları ile belirler. Bu bakımdan seçimlere katılmak; devlete katılmak, millete ve kendimize karşı önemli bir görevdir. [../.]

İnsanlar topluluk hâlinde, bir arada yaşamak zorundadırlar. Bir arada yaşamının belli kuralları vardır. Devlet, işlerin düzenli yürümesi ve vatandaşların birbirinin hakkına saygı göstermesi amacıyla kanunlar düzenlemiştir.

Here while the unique Islamic concept, rightful share, is torn apart from its religious content and becomes a handy tool between the concepts of Human Rights and civil duties. There are three outcomes of this juxtaposition. First one is the de-contextualisation of a religious concept in order to support the narrative. Secondly, although duty is used almost everything the rights are torn apart from its modern meaning and melted in Islam and tied to morality rather than being a legal issue. This may lead to abandoning the concept of rights to consciences. That is to say, people do not reach to certain rights just because of they are entitled to but rather as a result of benevolence of the others. Related to this, the most important right of a citizen, voting, is mentioned as a duty towards state. It is not a definition of a citizen who expects service in return, but rather it is an understanding of a stable state to which citizens perform duty by voting, like fulfilling a formality. And finally, responsibilities are constantly accentuated that it is underlined that without responsibility there won't be rights. Hence it is implied that there is an end or limit for the freedoms and rights.

Kanun, devletin yetkili organlarınca düzenlenerek ilan edilen, vatandaşların temel hak ve özgürlüklerini koruyan, genel ve emredici kurallardır.” (2015 MEB 10. pp. 106-109)

6. CONCLUSION

Although nationalism and nation state is an outcome of modernity; Turkish nation state has not been established as a result of modern developments, namely advanced capitalism, industrialism and the formation of the central states, urbanization and secularism. Yet, it was a product of modernization and hence it has a close relationship with modern Europe. Not only because Europe's superiority on numerous fields was admitted, but European self-representation was also effective on this tendency. Hence the "Kemalist modernization project is an adaptation of classical Orientalism based on self-colonization."²⁹⁶ That is, the West was regarded as a horizon and modernizing elites behave like a colonizer to the rest of the society.

Since the process was not developed in the natural march of events but rather initiated as a result of a necessity, state elites played active role in every step of the modernization. It was positivism which heralded them the bright future which will be reached eventually if the necessary steps were taken. Islam has already seen as the main reason of the underdevelopment and being 'backward' and hence the republican elites tried to overcome the obstructing impacts of Islam and by establishing laicism in the society. Laicism, unlike secularism, enables state to intervene religious matters while it confines religion to private lives of people. Hence Islam becomes an important tool for the state elites. First, Islam provides the necessary traditions, symbols and values for the newborn republic in a Hobsbawmian sense. Secondly, the non-Muslim and non-Sunni population was seen as unreliable to be presumed as 'pure Turk' due to their potential for separation. Still, as Talal Asad asserts²⁹⁷ in order to be heard in public or as in our case in order to be considered as the 'pure Turk', they should be completely obedient and compatible with state ideology. Kemalism is presented in the study as the official ideology, or mentality, of Turkish Republic.

²⁹⁶ Ahmet Yıldız. *Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyene*. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2013) p. 296

²⁹⁷ Talal Asad. "Secularism, Nation-State, Religion" in *Nation and Religion: Perspectives on Europe and Asia*. Peter van der Veer and Hartmut Lehmann (eds.) (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999) pp. 181-187.

As Asım Karaömerlioğlu puts it Kemalism is a mentality which covers different worldviews and he frames this mentality as; nationalism with an overemphasis to the unity and solidarity, living constantly within the atmosphere of being surrounded by enemies, blessing of the state and state's interests being preferred to individual's interests, difference is not welcomed in any level and social differentiation is despised and elitism.²⁹⁸ This definition has been a frame for this study and it depicts not only the state-citizen relations but also the facilitator of understanding the main arguments of the Turkish education. Since one of the main problematic of this study is to see whether the content of the courses change due to the global and universal tendencies as well as the conservative religious policies of the fourteen years old single handed government of JDP or preserve the existing understanding of citizenship as it was defined and conceptualized in the foundational years of the republic; this framework becomes practical.

Education is seen as the most crucial aspect of the citizenship. Since it is compulsory, universal and centralized it is the most efficient way to disseminate the necessary values and norms of the nation. The standardized nature of the education guarantees every single citizen receives same information and hence imagines that s/he belongs to a society. Education and education materials draw the borders of the legitimate knowledge that one can utter within the borders of a certain society. They manifest the “dominant and ‘normal’ discourse, and that determine which topics can be discussed and which are taboo in public life.”²⁹⁹ Religious education is not independent from this ‘dominant and ‘normal’ discourse’ although it may seem a self-contained area which has its own doctrines and rituals. Nevertheless, it is a part of the national education and it cannot be indifferent to the education in general. Religious Education has already started to be given one way or another in late 1940s in Turkey but it was the 1982 constitution which brings a standard to the course by making it compulsory.

²⁹⁸ Asım Karaömerlioğlu (2001). p. 296

²⁹⁹ Kenan Çayır. (2014) p. 1.

After its initiation in 1982, five new programmes have been announced in TD. The content and the understanding of programme development have changed within these years, especially with 2005 programme reform.

With 2005 programme reform a new curriculum was prepared with a new perspective of intelligent schools, multiple intelligence approach, student centered education, flexible and questioning education, evaluation of performance etc. instead of straight forwarded, linear, monistic and vulgar reductionist old curriculum and hence textbooks.³⁰⁰ 2005 reform not only indicates a major rupture in the programme changes, it is also the beginning of an education system which is going to be associated with the policies of JDP. Although the state bureaucrats keeps defending the course as being pluralistic but emphasize Islam in accordance with its weight in the society, the course has been exposed several domestic and international law cases. This study reveals that the course still dominantly preaches Sunni Islam and in this sense the course seems as educative rather than instructive and as well as being confessional. In this sense, the RCM textbooks preserve their ‘theological understanding’³⁰¹. The inclusion of Alevism, in this sense, is important yet insufficient. While the Alevism content is given mostly in the reading materials, the combination of Alevism with Bektashism and the Turkification of Alevi rituals are also remarkable. Thus the Alevism related topics cannot be interpreted as a step forward to a pluralistic understanding of the society but rather these topics led to an inclusive discrimination. In other words, while Alevis are tried to be pulled in the legitimate boundaries of the accepted citizen, their peculiarities and demands are still ignored. Similarly while the content is still blind to the non-Islamic beliefs and disbeliefs in the post-2005 reform textbooks, each time that they can find a place for themselves either consistencies or inconsistencies with Islam are mentioned. Hence presentation of the non-Islamic beliefs also serves consolidation of Islam. Besides, the knowledge conveyed about

³⁰⁰ Kemal İnal. “AKP’nin Neoliberal ve Muhafazakar Eğitim Anlayışı” in İlhan Uzgel and Bülent Duru (eds.) *AKP Kitabı: Bir Dönüşümün Bilançosu*. (Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi, 2010) pp. 699-700.

³⁰¹ İştâr Gözaydın (2007) p. 171.

non-Islamic beliefs and disbeliefs fuels the prejudices and stereotypes about these groups. In some cases even the name of the addressed group is not given and the stereotyping becomes more convenient for multiple cases. By this way the textbooks constructs the identity of the students not only by giving the information about which they are but also about who they are not. Like it was mentioned above, people construct their identities in relation with the others. While the positive qualities are embraced by the in-group members the negative ones are attributed to the out-groups and one can enjoy possessing these positive characteristics by belonging to that particular group. “The aim of differentiation is to maintain or achieve superiority over an out-group on some dimensions.”³⁰² That is, the textbooks are not only present the superior qualities of the Turks but also underline the negative qualities of the others which are inconsistent with Turkishness. RCM course, and hence the textbooks, are criticized in terms of being confessional by plenty of shareholders. Some of these criticisms are tried to be reflected above. The attitude towards different sects, beliefs or disbeliefs of the current books confirms the confessional structure of the books.

It can be noticed easily that the religious narrative has increased in the RCM textbooks after 2005 reform. The daily issues, faith and prays are given inside the religion. The number and extent of the verses and hadiths have increased. Although being confessional and despite the increased Islamic nature of the books are still silent about the controversial issues. That is to say, the books do not address to the issues which religion contradicts with national agenda. While sometimes the books overtly take a stand of national constitution, such as they promote civil wedding instead of imam wedding; sometimes they retreat into complete silence, for example they do not even mention the issue of interest which is *haram* according to Islam. These points of silence are interesting in the fourteenth year of JDP government which solely holds the power of changing the curriculum and declared clearly to raise *dindar ve kindar*

³⁰² Henri Tajfel, John Turner. (2001) p.102.

nesil. The analysis on RCM textbooks reveals that despite the increased level of religiosity in terms of faith and worshipping issues, the Islam which is represented in the textbooks is still the state approved religion. The main argument of this thesis is that the religion is instrumentalized in order to contribute to the upbringing of citizen and whether or not the perception of citizenship has changed during the JDP government.

The analysis shows that the RCM textbooks have been and still is contribute the construction of the citizen by instrumentalization of the religion. The duties and responsibilities of the citizen are represented among Islam's tenets. The duties and responsibilities of the citizens are frequently underlined in the textbooks. These are voting, paying taxes, joining to army and being obedient. While the former two are only mentioned and explained within the relevant topic the latter two pop up more often. Being obedient is the most important quality of the citizen. The students who are not equipped with the idea of rights are demanded to obey their governors even in the minutest operations. Besides the books never underlines the principle of social state, which is clearly indicated in the second article of the Turkish constitution, whenever they reluctantly mentions the duties of the state. The state is presented as provider and shelterer. It provides infrastructure services but more importantly it protects the life, property and chastity of the subjects hence it is worth to be obeyed. *Ulu'l-Emr* is the key concept of this issue. It provides a divine support to the national republican governors.

The content of RCM textbooks are militaristic as well as other subjects: "The idea that citizenship can not be considered apart from patriotism, and that patriotism should be understood on the axis of 'life giving and bloodshed' is dominant in all textbooks."³⁰³ Yet, the analyzed data shows that even the recent RCM books preserves similar attitude. As a result of this attitude the international and inter-social relations are perceived with enmity and the idea

³⁰³ Ayşe Gül Altınay. (2007) p. 158.

that being ready for internal and external threats is kept warm. The patriotism is equalized with bloodshed and the homeland is described as a territory where people willingly die for. Dying is the most crucial tie among members from past to future. To consolidate the national ideals, the concepts of Islam are instrumentalized. Martyrdom is such a concept that it is used completely out of its original meanings and its divine power provides a support for the national ideals. Dying for the sake of homeland maybe a crucial topic for every single course of the curriculum but it finds its gist in RCM textbooks.

To sum up, the textbooks may have changed in several terms, such as layout, language and approach. However, the perception of citizenship, the state-citizen relationship remains the same similar to the other subjects of the curriculum. RCM course provides an important national morality with Islamic notions. Islam's characteristic which provides idea of unity and solidarity, obedience, duty and altruism is congruent with national ideals. The RCM textbooks, not only complete the national discourse which is disseminated via other subjects of the curriculum but also by being bended the concepts of Islam become adapted into national ideology. Although Kemalist Islam was a project of the republican elites in the foundational years of the Turkish Republic, it is reconfigured in 80s with Turkish-Islamic Synthesis and represented by Kenan Evren and 1982 constitution and today it finds its manifestations within JDP's approaches to the subject. This study clearly reveals that despite the increase or decrease of the religiosity or worldview of the governments the Kemalist ideal of citizen and the state-citizen relationship is still in force independent of who is in charge. And Islam has always been, and still is, a practical tool which provides the necessary tradition to invent the society as a nation again and again.

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