

إعادة تفسير الله السيار السيار السيار الماسيري المقدم البشري في ضوء التقدم البشري



FACULTY OF HUMANITIES
MAULANA MALIK IBRAHIM STATE ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY OF MALANG





إعادة تفسير النالا النا

في ضوء التقدم البشري



كلية العلوم الإنسانية جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم الإسلامية الحكومية مالانق

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الحمد لله الذي علم بالقلم، علم الإنسان ما لم يعلم، والصلاة والسلام علي سيدنا محمد خير الأنام وعلي آله وأصحابه ومن تبعهم بإحسان إلي يوم الزحام، أما بعد.

إن هذا الكتاب يعتبر مجموعة البحوث التي قدمها مشاركو المؤتمر الدولي، والتي تم تقييمها من قبل لجنة المؤتمر في الثقافة الإسلامية "إعادة تفسير السيرة النبوية في ضوء التقدم البشري" المنعقد تاريخ 29 – 31 أغسطس 2014 في رحاب كلية العلوم الإنسانية جامعة مولانا مالك إبراهيم الإسلامية الحكومية مالانق. ويتمحور هذا الكتاب في خمسة محاور، وهي (أ) السيرة النبوية وتكوين الشخصية في المجال التربوي (ب) تفسير التاريخ النبوي من خلال النظر الحديث (ج) السيرة النبوية من المنظور النسائي (د) بت القيم النبوية لتحويل الثقافة المحلية والعالمية (هـ) دور تآزر القيم النبوية مع العلوم الإنسانية في تقوية المجتمع.

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وأخيرا نتمني أن يكون هذا الكتاب نافعا لنا وللمهتمين بالثقافة الإسلامية وخاصة بالسيرة النبوية.

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REFLECTING PROPHETIC WAYS OF LIFE THROUGH TEMSIL IN EDUCATION OF GÜLEN SCHOOL

Akhmad Rizqon Khamami (IAIN Tulungagung)

A. Introduction

Technology and science continue to play a major role in shaping our modern world. Our life is much more closely linked by technology than any other time in history. Modern countries shaped educational systems for children. In many Muslim countries, education is undervalued, and the returns from education to society are very low. To my knowledge, Turkey is one Muslim country which trying to break this vicious cycle.

Commitment of Turkish government to education has been increasing. Awareness for the role of education in economical development has been stronger in last decade. Turkey pays great attention to education. They believe that Turkey can catch up to other developed countries through solid education. The Turkish government is aware of the importance of education for Turkey. The Ministry of National Education considers the educational requirements of the 21st century as a priority. As developing countries, Turkey pays close attention to innovations in education from developed countries so they might modernize their own education system. Turkey has been influenced by the U.S. and other modern European countries, especially those in European Union (EU), as she continues to shape and to modernize her educational system, especially in the areas of learning theories, curriculum development, and educational technology. Turkey has modeled its educational system on Europe's. (Hakan Turkmen, 2009)

B. Education in Gülen School

The afore-mentioned awareness on the importance of science also influenced many Muslim organizations in Turkey. One of them is Gülen movement which founded by Fethullah Gülen (1942–.....). Gülen movement emphasizes on the social organization. It walks through several phases. It has unique characteristics comparing to other Islamic groups in Turkey and abroad. The Movement differs from other religious communities because of its special emphasis on education and widespread education network expanding abroad. It has enlarged activities in education. The movement began its education activities during the 1960s by organizing summer camps for students on courses of the Qur'an and Islamic teachings. It also has several distinctive factors that contributed to its successful growth. The movement has grown since late the 1960s thanks to its non-confrontational attitude and an "intermediate" position in which producing syntheses of Islam and science, as well as modernity and "tradition." (Berna Arslan, 2009). The activities expanded during 1990s when the movement

opened schools in Turkey and abroad. In tandem with the expansion of education activities, Gülen embraced the concepts of tolerance and dialogue. (Özlem Kocabaş, 2006)

Aslandogan (2006) described in his book that Gülen is guided by a set of principles. One of which is education. It is the key solving of all of humanity's main problems—ignorance, division of peoples, and poverty. Gülen's ideas on education are shaped by Said Nursi, a predecessor in Turkish intellectuals. The influences on Gülen include ideas on science Olympiads and the features of schools. Gülen envisages bringing up golden generations that has the knowledge of Islam and modern sciences. Education is seen as an important instrument in the bringing up this kind of generation. (Özlem Kocabaş, 2006)

It is of interest that the Gülen schools embrace both the state curricula and the teaching ethics through the good representation of teachers (temsil). Teachers' behavior is evaluated as an educational strategy. Controlling students and keeping them in the movement's own schools, which are considered as 'safe' places for these students, are the primary duties of the teachers in the schools. (Berna Arslan, 2009). In the Gülen schools, teachers do not behave like religious teachers. It means they do not inform the students about the norms of religion during the courses. They do not use an Islamic language in their discourses; rather they try to be examples for the students with their behaviors. Teachers internalize their behaviors and tolerance in parallel with Islamic values. In teachers' instruction styles, temsil has primacy over tebligh (inform by reporting). 'Temsil' is a kind of 'hidden curriculum'. It affects on the students. This hidden curriculum makes the transfer of Islamic ethical norms to the students work properly. (Özlem Kocabaş, 2006).

The most important principle set by Gülen is the reformation of self to become a better believer and practitioner of faith. Gülen focused on the teaching: serving something greater than yourself, and do not simply care for your own interests. In the Gülen's teaching, teachers are working on the duty of hizmet (service). They devote their lives to the service of the benefit of others. Whereas, their personal goal is God's merciful for life after death. The fear of judgment day after death is the source of motivation to work hard. Work has a religious connotation in Gülen's discourse. Hizmet is not limited to teachers on working hard in schools to bring up the golden generation, supporting these schools materially is also the part of hizmet. Gülen encourages his followers to support these schools economically. Therefore, working in or contributing to schools became an Islamic deed (Bekim Agai, 2002: 39). Working for the continuity of the educational activities is thought as carrying out a religious duty. (Özlem Kocabaş, 2006). Gülen redefines this-worldly practices as sacred when dedicates for the service to God. They also envision the integration of Islamic morality into their practice of public relations of the organization. The individual bodies become a tool of Islamic activism, representing and performing good Islam. It is incorporated as well into the movement's educational network and based on the notion of temsil. (Berna Arslan, 2009)

In observing this phenomenon, Elizabeth Özdalga (2000: 88) put up the similarities between the Gülen's ideas on work ethic that is working hard for salvation and Weber's in worldly asceticism. She calls this perspective based on activism controlled by pietism. Gülen emphasized that working in the service of God is endless. Man should work hard for his

salvation. In other stand point, Şen (2001: 149) saw it is quite difficult to compare the Gülen Movement to the Protestant movement. Since, the Movement's drive for economic initiative could not be seen as a contingent meeting of religious values with the spirit of capitalism; rather it could be seen as a religious group's conscious strategy to acquire economic power to construct the power. He stated that the involvement of the Movement with economic activities was a product of the complex process of reaction, adaptation and accommodation to the social, political and economic transformations in Turkey, and the Movement learned how to use religious knowledge, values and practices as a resource for economic action through this complex process. (Özlem Kocabaş, 2006).

Berna Arslan (2009) suggested that in the movement schools the teaching of science becomes a part of teaching of Islam and morality. Concurrently, science culture developed in the schools is strongly shaped with the movement's approach to Islam and modernity. In building this connection, the movement defines "being a good Muslim" in terms of conducting worldly practices in a pious way. For instance, studying natural sciences, becoming an engineer, going abroad for post-graduate education, and donating money or property for building schools of the movement can make one a "good Muslim" when s/he pursues these endeavors with a conscious piety. These "worldly practices" that contribute to the advancement of the movement and Islam are sacralized by Gülen as examples of worship.

Graduates of Gülen movement schools have displayed strong religious attitudes. This is a result of the education of Gülen schools in which emphasized on temsil of teachers. Training within Gülen schools combined two methods, including formal curriculum and temsil. Formal curriculum makes modern teaching methods including science possible, whereas temsil aims in teaching Islamic and ethical values embodied in the behaviors of teachers. Temsil in behaviors of teachers represents character to be kind to elders, balance in behaviors, and complying to Islamic rules. The temsil would be effective in formation of their habitus, that their internalizations of external world. This effect of school on students would be because of the effects of teachers rather than formal curricula. (Özlem Kocabaş, 2006)

Berna Arslan (2009) put it into account that the movement underwent a shift into a model that work in the field of culture. The movement becomes civil society institutions, and works through everyday cultural relations. The movement pursues a cultural politics, which is realized in two connected ways, firstly by articulating the values and practices of modernism (the values of science, progress and civilization) with Islam to construct viable forms of culture within a liberal-economic framework, and secondly by shifting the way (Islamic) morality is taught to the coming generations and practiced by the movement members. Further Arslan stated that this shift takes place from a form that primarily focuses on a discursive teaching based on reciting the Quran and its teachings to explain Islam, to a form that is mainly based on learning and practicing Islamic moral values and temsil of good Islam by the members of the movement. In that, it is important to represent and perform Islam in one's everyday life practices, and thus making Islamic morality a part of one's own personality and public life.

Bayram Balci (2002) explained, through temsil, Gülen expects his followers to represent in their daily activities the proper and exemplary way of life. And through temsil, everybody

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will never profess openly the philosophy of Islam, rather they live up to it. For instances, teachers must be polite, immaculate, and respectful. With the practice of *temsil*, the movement represents Islam through the exemplary attitudes of teachers as a part of their personality. It is without an overt expression of their Islamic identity. Through *temsil*, teachers become someone where Islamic morality is represented. In this sense, temsil can be considered as a mechanism, through which the students are disciplined and teachers are continuously showing examples of pious modernity. In developing the special skills that *temsil* of Islam in everyday life requires, the teachers have previously cultivated the habitus of the movement. In other sense, through conscious and repetitive practices, they have acquired specific attitudes, postures, tastes and dispositions related to the movement's moral perspective, as part of their personalities. (Berna Arslan, 2009). Bourdieu's analysis of habitus can help us explained the phenomena.

The key to making education work for the better is to have teachers and administrators who represent the values cherished by the people as *temsil*. Some requirements for recruiting teachers are set into standards. Some teachers with conservative-pious-right-wing tendencies are employed in the schools, but they could hire even a "social democrat teacher," as long as he does not smoke or quits smoking, does not use alcohol and accepts "the schools' principles" in the education of students. This example is in accord with the movement's perspective on activism, which is not based on inviting others directly to practice Islam, but rather is based on inviting others to the movement's social activities, and there demonstrating to them what Islam is about. Through *temsil*, Islamic morality is demonstrated. (Berna Arslan, 2009). Invest in education, he tells people, motivating his audiences by telling them that if one is young, able and willing, he or she should choose teaching as his or her profession. If a business person, he advises offering financial support for a school. If a parent, encourage sound education and, to that end, help build a school in your locality. (Hasan Aydin, 2011).

The schools clearly refuse being identified with traditional educational institutions. Rather, they emphasize that they are modern schools, which value the teaching of science and use modern pedagogical approaches. The schools do not discipline kids in "traditional" ways, such as merely based on beating or a paternal style that the "Quran course" expression refers to. They rather prefer utilizing modern disciplining techniques in education in general and the teaching of Islamic morality in particular. A book titled "Karakter Egitimi" (The Education of Characters, 2004) suggests utilizing the techniques of modern pedagogy, which emphasizes a child-centered perspective based on communicating with children, but not their physical control or beating. According to the book, the education of children includes the teaching of conservative values and Islamic morality as well as cultivating some characteristics valued in contemporary Turkish society, such as being hard-working, motivated, respectful and courageous, in children in the shaping of their personality. It includes sections such as "adolescence and youth," "intellectual development in adolescence" and "how to approach sensitive children," as well as sections titled "religious values and education of religion" and "Quran, the Prophet and Youth". Building its pedagogical perspective, the book frequently refers to Gülen and Nursi and to the verses in Quran to set up the moral ground on which the child's

psychology should build. This book is an expression of the pedagogical perspective of the movement, which utilizes modern pedagogy in the teaching of Islamic morality and targets forming a personality which is able to adapt to the conditions of modernity and simultaneously is rooted in the conservative values of the movement's Islamic beliefs. (Berna Arslan, 2009).

Though Gülen Movement schools are equipped with the tools of modern education system, these schools are criticized because of their conservative and authoritarian nature of education system. The gender segregation, the centrality of obedience understanding in education, the strict disciplinary manner, the intense moralism, and the high level of nationalist idealism compose the target of critiques. (Özlem Kocabaş: 2006). The practice of continuous surveillance is also made possible by enclosing students into spaces operated and organized by the movement. In these spaces, such as schools, private tutoring facilities, and movement dormitories, where everybody around the students is someone affiliated with the movement, the self-control of the student is maintained. (Berna Arslan, 2009).

Cultivating self-control for the moderate expressions of being is an important aspect of the movement's disciplinary approach. Developing mechanisms for teaching students how to maintain self-control in order to stand firm against the influences of modern life which challenges Islamic morality is important for the movement as much as having control over their everyday practices. The brotherhood system, which is based both on continuous surveillance of the subjects (students) and the disclosure of their feelings, experiences and the questions to the "brothers/sisters," is one of the most effective strategies used for the cultivation of self-control. Hearing the same experience reported from the perspective of students - how the teachers would listen to their "problems" and help them to go through these periods, and, in short, would share their "moments of joy and sadness" - strengthened my previous hunches on the role of this practice as a central strategy in disciplining students. Teachers and brothers/sisters (abla/abi) would tell them the right way to follow and wrong direction that they should not go. Furthermore, this would be not in an authoritarian way, but in a friendly manner. Brothers/sisters stay with students in dormitories (and help them in their studies) and organize free time activities with them, such as playing soccer and going to picnics, and students are under the surveillance of teachers at schools during daytime. Schools also collaborate directly with parents via regular visits with the teachers (this is in the work definition of the teachers in the schools). (Berna Arslan, 2009).

These highly authoritarian and conservative postures of the Movement schools are seen as a danger for critical thinking and for free and pluralist generations of future. The movement spirit of the Movement, and the highly emphasis upon discipline, morality and nationalist idealism are the weak points of the Gülen's education understanding aiming to bring up future's generation equipped with both modern tools and religious knowledge, and successful in synthesizing them. (Özlem Kocabaş: 2006)

In a fashion very similar to Foucault's analysis of the modern institutions of psychiatry, medicine and prisons, for the movement schools, surveillance by brothers/sisters and teachers play an important role in the disciplining of students. Another practice of the schools in

collaborating with parents is that when a student does not come to the school, teachers send a text-message to the parents. (Berna Arslan, 2009). Gülen Movement has evaluated education as an instrument of reproduction of Subjects having knowledge of Islam and modern sciences. It aims to integrate its education method and worldview into the education system and designate the meaning of legitimacy and desirable society within the field of education. (Özlem Kocabaş: 2006)

In the schools of the movement, which are also boarding schools, the students are surrounded by elders motivated to represent Islamic morality to students and train them in these matters. Above, while elder students and teachers are available around the students sharing their experiences and ideas and giving suggestions, the staff is around to help realize this process by collaborating with the school administration in the surveillance and disciplining of students. This makes it very difficult for students to meet someone representing a different perspective than the one represented by the movement. (Berna Arslan, 2009).

Every person of the movement were closely connected to each other and are also dedicated to reproducing the values of the movement and strengthening the bonds between members through their everyday relations. While continuous surveillance is maintained in the schools, the students are kept in the spaces of the movement in their extra-curricular times. By leading and encouraging them to attend private tutoring facilities of the movement, and organizing social activities for the students of these schools only, students are not left with any other option but befriending their school-mates and spending time only in spaces which are organized, shaped and controlled by the movement. In this way, the students spend most of their time under the surveillance of their teachers or brothers and away from the circumstances where they could mix, confront and be influenced by the culture of «outsiders». Furthermore, the schools can keep students in single-sex groups. (Berna Arslan, 2009)

In cultivating self control, the control of the gaze is important in the schools, disciplining of students. The control of the gaze should be considered as a mechanism of controlling girls and boys in mixed-sex environments in order for them not to socialize together. In other words, this practice serves the movement's purpose of maintaining gender segregation in situations where students cannot avoid sharing the same space with opposite sex students (such as classrooms and common areas of the schools). This example is significant in showing the scope of the disciplining in the movement schools: they target limiting not only the social interactions between female and male students, but also the exchange of the gaze between them. Berna Arslan (2009) suggested that this is one of the ways in which students learn how to enter into the spaces of modern society, where encounter with the opposite sex is avoidable. The movement solves this question of maintaining the pious/moral stance in public spaces, through these kinds of practices that minimize the interactions between men and women and cultivate self-control on this issue. This practice became even more important for the schools after 2000 when co-education was reinforced by the Ministry of Education. As related to the movement's "non-confrontational" attitude toward the state, then the schools of the movement shifted to co-education. However, they kept the students of opposite sex at a minimum. This is a subtle subversion of the state's policy; although they

pursue formal enforcement, they informally undermine the law. However, although the movement demonstrates eagerness in participating in modern life (by preserving their piety) their emphasis on gender segregation and related practices (such as no hand-shake between men and women, avoiding any interaction between someone of the opposite sex) would result in miscommunication between men and women in public spaces. Therefore, while the schools represent the practices related to maintaining gender segregation as a part of one's high moral qualities and respectful stance, these practices are areas of tension for the movement, especially in asserting modernity. (Berna Arslan, 2009).

C. Conclusion

Gülen school disciplinary methods are based on building consent among students through disciplining them and shaping their habitus via repetitive activity and unconscious internalization of the values of the movement. These practices involve cultivating self-control in students via continuous surveillance and representation of "good morality" by teachers (temsil) as well as the control of the students via enclosure in the spaces of the movement and their correction by teachers, brothers/sisters and even other staff at the school. However, these practices are not free from coercion via use of physical violence. Physical punishment was more common against male students than it is for female students, especially against the ones who demonstrate difficulty in internalizing the moral values of the movement. Boys are seen as more difficult to discipline and therefore more physical force is utilized in disciplining them. As for girls, subtle use of physical punishment utilized by the female teachers. This includes pinching a female student's arm like a joke as she was wearing a t-shirt and her arms were not covered, and warning the student if they see a female student talking to a male student in the girls' school. (Berna Arslan, 2009).

So, by observing their teachers' attitudes, students learn the Islamic morality. The Gülen's principle relates to such things as outreach, inclusiveness, looking outward and integrationist action (Aslandogan, 2009). Gülen advises people to accept some aspects of his teachings: (1) the emphasis on altruism and the absence of any self-interest; (2) The movement acts in a trustworthy manner and maintains its independence; (3) the movement abides by the law; (4) is respectful of the state and has no ambitions to harm the state and is dedicated to the preservation of democracy (Aslandogan, 2009). Another important principle of the Gülen Movement is non-partisanship. (Hakan Yavuz & John Esposito, 2003). The movement has always had a comprehensive perspective in which every citizen is seen as a potential future participant through interaction with Gülen's follower as temsil of Islamic teachings. (Hasan Aydin, 2011).

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