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The relation between modern state and religion and Turkey practice

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Abstract

Modernization is perceived as a process of breaking away from religiosity. This article examines what is the modern state and religion tried to be positioned at the modern state, its connection with the state and democratic values. Review of secularism that many intellectuals revealed different from each other expansions is analyzed in social and political life of Turkey. It is tried to observe mental and its result structural process to see enlightenment and modernity emerged in Western Europe in Turkey occured in what way, consequently religion in Ottoman society how is formed with the republic and where is settled in state and society.
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1. Introduction

There isn't any society on the earth that hasn't got traditions and value measures. These traditions and values don't change in time, but tend to rooting and deepening. The society is always resistant for changes but when alteration becomes unavoidable; it binds to its social, economic, culturel and also political habits as a necessity of religion and it protects them to sanctify in a roof rof religion. Because "Religion is tradition's last sanctuary and it is the last defending castle!" (Berkes, 2012, s. 20). As Şerif Mardin's mention, this type of behavior arises from religion has a function on the people that opinions can be transfer to superhuman plan (Mardin, 2011, s. 41).

Modernisation takes the offensive aganist traditions which pose as religion values and "religionization" that was born from the view of religion is government's legality cause, it isn't aganist to religion. But, in that the most radical traditional foundation is religion, modernisation is perceived as a process of disengagement of religion. The authority of religion gets weakness by comparison of traditional societies and modern times. Although when the society modernizes and become rational, and modernisation and religiousness are perceived as opposite and opposed values, on the other side, in Turk society, tendency of religiousness is rising (Çaha, 2008, s. 13). J. K. Hadden asserts that there is a claim that a religion falls in our era, but he says there are changes in human believes and religion life and it has got many evidences about the religion in modern life is complicated for people (Hadden, 1987).

2. Modern state notıon and modern state's approach to religion

2. 1. Modern State Notion

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It is hard to make a certain notion because all descriptions are restrictions and any restriction is aganist the modern government's sprit, nevertheless, modern government is originating from human, but as a result of society dynamics, it grows and develops by itself. Even so, many political scientist, political sociologist think that there is a range of political structure, foundation and execution under modern government's domination area. These scientists' studies are very different of each other, but they have a reconciliation about main factors of modern government's structure:

 "Monopoly Control of Violence Tools, Regionalisme, Domination, Constitutionality, Potency Over People, Public Bureaucracy, Authority/Legality, Citizenship" (Pierson, 2011, ss. 21-23).

   A process of passing modernity is a long term for someones but in humanity's situation it is fast and basic change; Pierson remarks some factors about it (Pierson, 2011, s. 57):

"- Industrialisation: Passing industrial society from agricultural society,

- Demografic Transition: A change of popularity neither size nor distribution,

- Economics relationships seperates from society living functions and gradually commoditised

- Rise of Capitalism: Transition to capitalist economy from feudal economy, with broad meaning transition to capitalist production,

- Gradually works distribute in society meaning, (icluding economic and politics distributions) social and economic specialization,

- Rise of scientific consideration meaning and the practise of its results in industrial production and social living,

- Transformation in rationalism and beliefs about physical and social life's flexibility,

- In department of person, productions and information transition to communication figures,

- Urbanization: Characteristically development of industrial cities and changes between cities and countrysides,

- Democratization: Proliferation of politics participation with new politic foundations and (including the rise of interest towards socialisme and nationalisme) new types of legality".

   Modernity is seen as a product of calarification opinion, it moves rationally and suitable for belief of society's total change, it converts politics life and places human acts into social union with wise (Pierson, 2011, s. 59). The base of political modernisation in ideal basic, in general terms goes to Italian thinking Macchiavelli who defended secular system that foresees distribution between politics authority and church (Ağaoğulları, Köker, 2008). Machiavelli is a precursor of modern politics opinion, it is known that he foresaw an outhorised politics structure and he discussed whether politic modernity includes authorized or not (Çaha, 2008, 17).[*]

   Almost every country has an unique modernisation experience and each of them has differences than the others. Because modernity is accounted of westerner, if a country is under the gouvernement which adopts westerner values "export", rather than its own internal dynamics and it resists politic programmes, it is really far away from modernisation (Aktay, 2011, ss. 15-16).

   Western modernity, after industrialiastion in society, from economics to sociologic, from education to politics extend is a new development; market economy's sociologic parts, superiority of law and basic rights and liberties axis, it consists of democratic politics part. Politic modernisation which comes from westerner values of nation state, secularisme and rationalisme, nowadays identifies with foundations, structures and values with democratic thinking. Although western modernisation is as a result of this geographic history's and culturel experiences; as Çaha's mention "Democracy seperates from being western, because it gradually from cultues, social and historical conditions change to a structure axis in human rights." (Çaha, 2008, ss. 21-22).

   Modern government was born in West Europe in New Era. There are devolepments called as modern, out of traditional patterns; with west Esurope's colonist relationships to capitalist development; on the other side, in consideration and in science. This change effects to religion and arts. In new politics process, Christianisme and church are disabled. New solution and politics are developed by secular/civil people, except clergy. So, secularisme wasn't born in scientific and thinking development, it was born of Middle Era's clergies changing attitudes and their lost of attitudes (Coşkun, 1997, ss. 134-165).

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[*] Çaha, 2008, s. 17; This authoritarianism of the modern state to intervene in the field of religion and the modern world can mean the increase of demand in the state's interest in listening Given the principle of secularism in modern states to contain and whether the host is in doubt.

2. 2. Modern State's Approach To Religion

It conflicts between religion and state that demanding to meet human's social and individual needs. So, as state claims to organize human relationships, so does the religion. Because state demonstrates that its presence gives people serenity and organized in the world. Religion aims the same thing and additional to it, it aims to have a serenity life after death (Ay, 2011).

Glenn Vemon, in his book called "religion sociology" says that in industralised and modern countries, it can be seen three dimensiol seperation of religion and state relationship: a) a tstae supports a religion; b) a state supports a religion in general, but not specialised; c) in general state rejects the religion and try to erase its speciliasions on the people (Bodur, 2007, s. 179).

In modern times, state interested in every kind acts of human from his born to die and religion has the same mission and they didn't feel themselves in security so thet avoided to do the same mission, state and religion always have a quarrel about superiority so they always fight. A relationship between on the one hand, as a big politics instrument state, and on the other hand a big effect on humanity, as a religion; it is a process of union, articulation and includes quarrels. Mahatma Gandi has mentioned that " whoever claims that state hasn't any relationship with religion, they don't know anything about what religion is" about state- religion relationship (Parkinson, 1984, s. 179). Rousseau points to this obligation relationship in his book Contract Social that he claims there haven't been any states except the base of religion (Ağaoğulları, 2006, s. 158).

In modern states a line between citizens and state is a juridical line bases on not solemn or congregational, securisme which is an essencial of clarification thinking and modern state, owned by citizens of religion or disbelief relationship between the state and citizens allows positive or negative affect (Akad, Dinçkol, 2011, ss. 370-371). Modern dominance opinion has a key role in securisme and neither religion or nor metaphysic base politic dominate or control. Before modernity, spiritual characters and a law whose control is unique, turn to be a humane. So with the religious prejudices overcome the politics prejudices (Akad vd., 2011, s. 363) and political powers get rid of attach religion rules, rituels or practises. But stil, a relationship between state and religious is a matter of debate.

When we deal a problem between religion and modernity, and a securisme, essential part of modernity, we face to global homogenization, juridice, executive and economic relationships to be one hand (Abel, Arkoun, Mardin, 1995, s. 41)[†] and Modernity produce standartilisation, and at the base when people don't interfere their beliefs, is it agnist to securisme problem has arosen. By the way, modern state's demand to domination like every part of human life is controlled must be regarded.

Religion unquestionable supreme power is due one or this world that exceeds the truth in the contain and does not host certainly questioning (Ağaoğulları vd., 2008, s. 204) him purely sociological and social unifying role as a phenomenon sees Machiavelli, religion, loyalty to the state and its guided by the requirements and religion subject to the state, making them so that social cohesion is a be brought into the vehicle and the protection of the idea of sovereign power is superior (Akad vd. 2011, ss. 113-114). Again, having a sense of religious tolerance in Machiavelli Bodin force of faith, for example, manages to be replaced by a settled belief or removed from the people of the state of the disposal is of the opinion would lead to the collapse. At this point of religious tolerance policy ceases to be political tool and in that the religious in this direction the state is the basis of the opinion Take the religion based on state-provided order is rational will have to accept (Akad vd., 2011, s. 100). Religion is based

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[†] Also Ali Bulac of modernity personality breaks down, citing in union multiplicity, ie genuine pluralism destroyed, saying, "God, church, metaphysics, king, absolutist administration against people, individual liberating modernity and the fact that enlightenment has built secularism closed system against we have to liberate people, "he created with the belief that secularism is a closed system.

on the structure of the state, a state compatible with the understanding of the religion of the majority, demonstrating that the majority of the minority's religious preferences stipulating not to impose a liberal and pluralistic secularism, which is in conflict with nature.

3. Secularism And Religion İn The Axis Of Turkey With The Historıcal Background

3.1. Secularism As A Notion

In Turkey, all issues concerning religion had been discussed in connection with secularization. Implied with secularization in rough discription is a period that the modern worldview takes the place of religious precept in parallel with passing from traditional society to industrial society that we can define secular, as for that secularism as known is a political organizational form based on the principle that religion and state must be split. In this political organizational form essentiality is that political administration based on legality ground becomes indipendant of religion (Mert, 1994, s. 17). In this context, it can be mentioned about secularism of state, secularity of society. As for that in Turkey, we can start secularization with westernization and following, laic state structure created by establishing the republic. Establishing laic state in secularization period is a milestone and that secularism is an organizational form incident to secular/modern society and also because of that secularism and secularization are parallel notions, these can be evaluated in the same frame.

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In Turkey we see that contentious secularism squashed under the pressure of laicism and was converted to a matter in dispute. Laicism differently from secularism is not a political principle, it is an ideology ve involves that reflections of positivism which is in political-social life. This view includes a compulsivity in terms of social and political, interference to religious field through rejection and conviction. Making secularism principle an constitutional principle contains laicism in the background. In spite of the number of western countries giving place to secularism principle in their constitution is very few, there are many western countries which have official state religion. We can not describe these countries non-secular. Universal seclarism description which provides to describe all these countries as secular is legal secularism. According to this it is: "Before the law, people who believe different religions are subjected to the equal procedure and recognizing freedom of thought and faith without any limitation", shortly juridical secularism is equality principle. (Türköne, 1994, ss. 3-4).

3.2. The Modernization and Secularization Period of Turkey

If we discuss secularism in juridical meaning, equalizing members of different religions was founded by 1856 Edict of Reform. The equality priciple in the Edict of Reform which makes non-moslems citizen taking out "dhimmi" status was contrarian to ecclesiastics law. Justification of shaykh al-islam to this principle was "necessity state". For Ottomans import of western thinking and institutions is was inevitable so as to stop fall of the empire and get rid of feeling lowly toward west and in theperiod of westernization, the first trend was to get techniques about military to put an end defeats. Economical, administrative, political and social ones followed the martial and technique reforms, because Ottomans in time to cease the fall began to deal with the frame of thinking that produced institutions and technologies imported. Therefore in thinking life of Ottoman western notions and thinkings gradually gained wider area. (Mert, 1994, 56). But while this new notions and thinkings gradually became "a political system of values to change radically existing reality" (Mert, 1994, s. 39) gap between public and intelligentsia became clear. This difference between popular culture and intelligentsia culture was also maintained in republican Turkey. About the elitist aspect of Turkish political culture originated historically from Ottoman Empire administrated with a bureaucracy growth and inspected by central government, one of the strong observers of Turkish political culture, Frederick Frey says that: "Lasting and keeping up-to-date one of the major problems of

Turkish political life is elitism. With this statement I mean that demand of domination on society of a privileged minority and suggesting culturel and intellectual insufficiency of non-elitists consciously or unconsciously demanding dominance and legitimating trend". (Turan, 2000, s. 378). As indicated by Şerif Hulusi, even the writer dealing with public, tried to show its ignorance (Mardin, 2011). According to Mete Tunçay, as an elite policy, secularism policy applied suddennessly alienated masses to regime and therefore failed (Tunçay, 1981, s. 209).

The republican Turkey to be able to root and live, had to reject the Ottoman, come up with new identity. To consititute this new tradition had to demolish old tradition and reduce similarities to minimum. The most strategical tool of the republic for that purpose was laicism. Ignoring popular culture and in the words of Şerif Mardin folk religion and even offering battle to traditions except religion laic-positivist elite coterie, found a mass in the face of it begining to defend the traditions under cover of religion. Inspection function of religion in Turkey, we can count as one of the social phenomenons reflecting to political structure, came to the fore in 1946 after passing to democratic regime. Mentioned inspection can be commented as directing policy of potency on specific issues. (Toprak, 2000, s. 310). By recuding the control power of religion, one party term politics which was tried to be reinforced secularism and nationalist identity, apart from integrating society, increased religious reflexes of them. That Islam contains a political doctrine and in the words of Bulaç, comparing many other religions this religion includes rules about social and political life caused to seen dangerous by Kemalist ideology. Sensibility of administrators of this period about religion and like authoritarian Franko regime playing role of allowing a limited multiplism structure (Toprak, 2000, s. 312) arised from that they see Islam an opposite ideology. Translating into Turkish of the azan, forbidding reading koran in radios, recognizing latin letters, establishing Turkish History Institute and Turkish Language Institute, suggesting Sun Language Theory, all are for the purpose of creating a new national conscious and a modern society. But westernization notion draw the borders of this purpose. So much so that even nationality notion understood in western position instead of a national position, closely "Turkish nation regarded as people community that will share a common future with modern western nations, not people community that has a common history". (Toprak, 2000, s. 311)

With transition to a multi-party system conservative and religious currents began to intervene. Put into power of Demokrat Parti by the great masses and kept power long time is such as to react society to the previous regime. Many intelligentsia think that Demokrat Parti was put into power and suceeded to keep power 10 years arised from that it compensate religious power too much and because of passion of potency made an instrument the religion to politics. The article 19 of the constitution of 1961 and Political Parties Law[‡] was regulated in 1965 is the product of intelligentsia sharing this idea. According to Binnaz Toprak, although in the background of voting out of Demokrat Parti in 1950 religion factor was effective, the main reason of success of it can be explain by searching its base constituted which parts of society (Toprak, 2000, s. 315). So indeed up tp the 1950's in the hands of Kemalists with transition to a multi-party system against secularism that of the most powerful weapon of changing society ideal, resisting social part started to reach its own opposition to politics floor. Because of its modernization approach representing elitist behaviours Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi realized a political reality, starting the end of the 1960's left that behaviour and turned to a pragmatic policy understanding more inclined to egalitarianism. Moving away of İsmet İnönü from party leadership is an important progress that symbolizes the transition to based on mass policy from political elitism of party. This change transmitted to citizens who have high educational level basic condition to come into power is to get support of masses (Turan, 2000, s. 380). Before the 1950 election with the corncern of making unsuccessful the attack which religious opposition will create giving orders, in 1949 putting optional religion lesson to 4th and 5th grade of elementary schools, again in the same year establishing religious studies in Ankara University and in 1950, 19 of mausoleums which have closed since 1925 was opened to public (Kara, ss. 155-156) can be considered as an effort to control a current which is possible to get out of control.

4. The Place of the Religion in Turkish Society

[‡] It is forbidden that usage of individuals or parties for religious political aims.

Ignoring sociological reality superstructurel qualified vertiginous (Bulaç, 1976, s. 223) modernization and secularization period in Turkey, society searching a strong position against complicated relations of modern life dragged into searching a community life which will provide individual safety and security feeling. In back of the religious refreshment of Turkish society which lived lately underlied this loss of meaning created by modern life and for this reason necessity to religion increased heavily. With fast urbanization lost and missed community life, from religious orders to ideoligical Islam has been regenerated in wide range. This is the sociological power of the religion and this power has described itself against secularism (Türköne, 1994, ss. 11-36). Religious structurings which their effects spread almost every term of republic like Nurculuk and Süleymancılık have reflected traditional reflexes against change desire of modern Turkey (Subaşı, 2005, s. 58).

5. Analysis of Turkish Secularization Model

Unlike West was not allowed free religious organization apart from the state in the Turkish secularization model, in case of release of religious services to communities, Religious Affairs Administration was established with the worry of coming up destructive and wearing outcome. Here, apart from the issue whether the religion is counted as public service, we meet the problem whether the state intervene to the religion (Akad vd., 2011, s. 369).

Birtakım koşulların zorlaması sonucu olarak gerekçelendirilen Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı, devletin dini kontrol ve yönlendirme aygıtı olma işlevini yüklenmiş, böylece din resmi ideolojinin bir parçası haline getirilmiştir. Bu durum Cumhuriyet'le beraber ortaya çıkan bir durum olmayıp, din egemen bir devlet olan Osmanlı yönetim geleneğinin devamı söz konusudur. Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı olarak düzenlenen kurum aslında Osmanlı'daki Şeyhülislamlığın öneminin ve etkinliğinin azaltılmış, "modernize" edilmiş bir şeklidir (Mertcan, 2012, s. 191). Indeed it is needed to say the function of Religious Affairs Administration was more different in the first years of the republic; the trend which represented secularist idea in the term of republic, was detemined by the idea of adopted all western civilizations and functional discription of the religion in the frame of individual private life. With the prominence of nationalism, the role of creating social identity of religion naturally was losing its significance and ths state was trying to adopt to public the simplified and popular form of the secularist idea in the frame of religious texts like newspapers, school books and khutbah. In this sense, Religious Affairs Administration was explaining how necessary is the separation of religious affairs and state affairs with examples from the prophet's life[§]. By way of this institute Islam both will be purged sediments on it and religious culture of the public will be built again and will be restored a new form (Subaşı, 2005, s. 61). Nowadays a missin was loaded to the Religious Affairs Administration which took responsibility of Islamic doctrine on the purpose of inner acceptance of official ideology of the republic by the public in those years.

6. Conclusion

It is obvious that the religion is an important element in Turkish culture. Indeed today in Turkey, the religion still constitutes one of the strongest political separation axises and one of the central issues of policy. On the one hand it is clarity of value gap of Turkey, on the other hand it is tried to resolve this gap by clinging on İslamic faiths which are turned into traditions. This condition is evaluated as an increase of superstition by intellectuals. However, this way of behaviour is transformed into a social and political behaviour. It should say that Turkish state tradition has carried out policy in context of the distinction betweeon orthodoxy and heterodoxy. It has been approached in a realistic way to this difference since the Ottoman empire and it has been carried out appropriate religious policies to each segment.

As indicated by Fikret Başkaya, "Western countries never wanted to be established secular, laic, democratic, libertarian regimes in Islam societies (...) because existence of secular-laic regimes means that regimes which are viable, as for such that thing has a potential of making trouble in terms of colonialist-imperialist interests', for this

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[§] One of the dialogues; **Religion and World**, Cumhuriyet, 6th July 1925.

reason secularism which is an indispensable element of democratic regimes and freedom does not exist in Islam, also it is not necessary and they spreaded the belief that the secularism is incident to christianity" (Mertcan, 2012, s. 13). Whenas socialize and intrumentalize in the hands of administrators, therefore losing its essence in hands of some powers, like all religions that are available to become nearly a 'play dough' to direct the society, secularism is an indispensable element in states which dominated by Islam religion. In Western Europe, Secularism was succeeded by war against church, not because of that christianity is suitable for that (Ozankaya, 1990, s. 7). At the same time, this means that beliefs of members of other religions are secured by the state. Because there are two functions of secularism as individual and social; it provides freedom for individuals and peace for society; which provides to live in peace for members of different religious communities (Abel vd. 1995, s. 54).

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