INTERNATIONAL SYMOSIUM ON THE EFFECTS OF COMMON VALUES ON EUROPEAN PEACE

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Turkey - Spain – Bulgaria – Germany – Czech Republic

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Symposium Keynote Address

Mr. Rector, Mr. Dean, session chairpersons, distinguished guests, dear students, I greet you all with respect. Praises may put people into a difficult situation. Sometimes one may feel responsible. This is the third time I came to this faculty. My physicians advise against my participation in such programs. But the fact that I have been born and raised to maturity in this faculty changes everything.

Such institutions are really needed. Even, if we delve into this topic and organize a new program, the topic we will discuss will be the importance of religious education. To what extent does our religious education and training provide information, and offer possibility of information, taking into consideration international values? This is very important. Indeed, a considerable portion of the problems we today experience around the world can be attributable to religious education. If you go to the US, you can see it in the attitudes of those Protestants around Washington. And focusing on our region and Islam-centered efforts, we can discern serious problems in religious education. This is a point I disclose to my colleagues.

Prof. Dr. Mehmet AYDIN
(Former State Minister)

As a person who taught at this faculty, I must admit that there were shortcomings at my time and there still are. Allow me note one of them. "How many professors are there at the faculty?" I asked our Dean. He said there were 60 professors. So I conclude that this faculty should produce 20-30 books a year. This is not restricted to this faculty only. It applied to all faculties in Turkey. I did my doctorate in the UK. The department had one professor and three associate professors. It would definitely publish a book every year. Sometimes, two books would be published. Despite these shortcomings of ours, the people who received religious education in Turkey do not kill other people in the name of Islam. There is no such thing in Turkey. This still indicates that we are on the right track. I say it because it was reported in the press. Our model for imam hatip schools and theology faculties has been requested by Pakistan, Afghanistan and some Middle Eastern countries. I have personally dedicated a significant portion of my life to this topic.

Turkey seeks to join the European Union. Negotiations should start. We have been part of this project since 1960s. However, we are not where we should be for some reason. Since early 2003, we have invested great efforts in this bid. The intention was to take the process to its completion. In three years, I have paid visits 170 locations. These points were located abroad. Some 50 or 60 of them were in the big and central countries like France, Germany and the Netherlands. What was our purpose? Our purpose was this: if you like it, let me tell you another reference: with our then Prime Minister and current President, we visited the Netherlands for support purposes. With then Dutch Prime Minister, the Dutch minister, our then Prime Minister, and our Ambassador, we met at a room in our Embassy. There was no one else in the room. The Minister said:

- There are visible obstacles to Turkey's being given a starting date for negotiations. There are also invisible obstacles. The issues we need to discuss are the current, strong problems.

That is, the claim is that Turkey has not gone through the Renaissance. It has not gone through the Enlightenment. It was natural that it has not gone through the Renaissance as it was related to the religion. Turkey is in Europe, but it is not European. Is Europe, then, a geography? Or is it a world of values?

If it is the geography that matters, how has Cyprus become part of Europe? It is impossible for Turks to

adopt these values. They would bring other articles. They have been here since 1960s, but they have never been like us. They want to be modern, but they offer the European personality. However, Christianity is part of the European personality. The Judeo-Christian tradition is part of it. Therefore, I kick off an activity for these values. I will organize a very high-level academic symposium. Please help us in this matter. And our Prime Minister said:

- This is our colleague who deals with these matters. He is with us. He replied politely:

- I know him personally. But the proposal should come from you in your capacity as a prime minister.

These symposiums were held in seven or eight European capitals. In one of these conferences, former French president and I delivered keynote speeches. In his speech, the former French president would frequently refer to European values. And I said to him:

- Mr. President, you repeatedly talk about European values. Can we tell me some of these values?

He was surprised. He talked about justice. Justice is a fundamental moral term. Individuals start by being fair to themselves. Individuals must be fair to themselves. "We have followed the footsteps of our carnal selves and wronged ourselves," is what Prophet Adam and Eve said in times of trouble. "Wronging oneself" is a very interesting concept. This concept is widespread mainly in our geography. Injustice is refusal to give someone his/her due. It is addressed within the context of relationships. Yet, there is the I/me inside us and there is a way inside us. As Yunus Emre put it, there is the I/me inside me, and if I did not kill it, it would question me about the talk here at night. "You didn't tell the truth," I may say. But if I refuse to listen to it over and over, the disease will stay there. Then, my personality will be different in the day and at night. This was what I said there. Then, whenever we came across to each other at other meetings, he would refer to European values, but he would change it to shared values seeing me.

Every culture has values. Europe has so far been more successful in implementing the values. If we compare the Occident and the Orient, the Occident has been more successful. The Copenhagen criteria are among these values. When we declared our intention to join the European Union, they told to us to do certain things. We have passed 14 packages in four years. Each package contained 14 articles. Our laws and practices concerning these values were behind the level they were implemented in the European Union.

We are talking about values. Let me list some of them:

1. Respect for human dignity,

2. Rule of law, state governed by rule of law,

3. Justice,

4. Accountability. You will call to account for and those in charge will answer. This is a value. This is a sine qua non element of democracy.

5. Transparency. It means that we have to see ourselves. We will be fair and will not be unfair. We do not perform well in terms of transparency. Central European countries are more advanced than us in this regard. This is because accountability has been well established in those countries; people have received the accountability training; they know how to call those in charge to account for their actions.

In Belgium, people discussed the changing of a corner for causing many traffic accidents. I was working at a university there. The discussions lasted for one or two months. That is, they refrain from doing something before persuading the community about it.

We need to see the majority. Suppose we have seen and known about it. So how will we promote the truth and rectify the wrong practices? This should be done via law and politics.

These values are what democracy relies on. Then, politics should be used to implement the obvious sociological observation. This entails tolerance. Tolerance is one of the most important values. To what extent does Europe have it? This is a completely separate issue. These values actually represent ideals. You can never claim to have achieved the highest level as regards justice so that you do not need more justice. There will always be progress you can make.

Egypt ranks the first in terms of the need for justice. We are in the lower ranks compared to it. This is

because we have more or less a democracy. Turkey has no option other than being successful in implementing democracy. If it fails, its adverse consequences will affect us all. We have never claimed to be a model for Arab countries. "We have experiences and we are ready to share it with our brothers," was the sentence I uttered. If this nation had governed other nations for seven or eight centuries, then it has to utter more humble assertions.

No country should position itself as the teacher of other countries. This is what I have persistently stressed in the West.

EU Enlargement Commissioner made a different comment:

- Let us discuss the European Union bid once again and give Turkey a date. Let us declare that if certain things are performed... The person who frequently referred to the things that must be done was part of a delegation in Belgium by the end of 2004. Our Prime Minister was there, too. They said:

- You were very successful about the packages. I think the problem is over. And I sent him a note:

There are representatives of some 120 press organizations outside. All international media outlets are there. Can you declare what decision would be taken there? He hesitated for a while. It was easy to talk inside. There are six people. "I will declare it," he said, and went outside and stated:

- All critical including the Copenhagen criteria have been fulfilled.

We have promoted ourselves very well for the world. We have promoted it very well and experienced these things. We would be held in high esteem everywhere we go. You can get your rewards if you invest efforts in anything. In this respect, we will, of course, not make Europe an idol. It should be noted that there are still groups who still believe in the original sin. That is, it has come to the agenda again. When racism has emerged as a problem, some people suggest that the original sin should be reconsidered. We do not call it the original sin. It does not befit to theology.

I am amazed by what is currently happening in the West. They have certain demands. I can listen to those demands. I can some of them as reasonable. I have been in politics for nine years. I know what politics are. But there are certain developments that scare me. They should not exist in Europe. Do you know which of them is at the front ranks? It was the Netherlands. If you ask me which Turks are happier, I will say that the Turks living in the Netherlands are happier. I hope their happiness does not decrease compared to that of others. I hope there will no decrease in their happiness.

In 1967, I got on a train. I was with İhsan Süreyya Sırma. He would stay in Paris and I would go to the UK. At that time, we would refer to Munich, the capital of Bavaria, as Turkey's 61st province. That is, we got off the train in Munich, a city having many Turkish expats. We have five or six hours before changing our trains. I realized that everyone was talking in Turkish. "O my God, we are like being in Ankara or Istanbul," I said to myself. I stood next to a person.

"What are you doing?" I asked.

"We have not gone to work today. We meet our friends here. We gather together to get the news from people like you who come from Turkey," he said.

At that time, communication facilities were limited. They took me to a place. There were 40 people staying there. They referred to it with a specific name. They had not taken their children with them. What I saw there made me very upset. They did not know the language and the culture. They had received very little training in Turkey before coming. "Why should the descendants of those who rule the world for 600 years be in such a situation?" I thought.

I should start with me. If 100 people do not love me, then I should start by asking, "What have done to make those 100 people hate me?" Self-criticism is sacred. Gallant people do it. Cowards try to cover it up, trying to cheat themselves.

Five years later, I was returning with my wife, and we came to Munich. I had briefed my wife about the situation I had observed previously. When we got off the train in Munich, I looked around and see many shops with signs reading "export." "What are sold in these shops?" I wondered and entered in. There were TV sets,

radios, everything. Our Turkish expats were no longer there looking for someone coming from Turkey. And I said to my wife:

-This integration is over.

Two years ago, the German parliament decorated me with a reward for my contributions to the integration. I told this story there.

A man who experienced those days and whose sons became engineers started to cry in an audible manner. He said:

- You have expressed our ordeal in the best way.

In my opinion, some ill-intentioned people are sowing seeds of sedition due to their concerns for the future of three generations. They have attended schools and been well educated. Some of them are members of parliament. Ayla was one of those who were successful. She does not speak well of Turkey. I have known her for years. Her parents were workers, but she now holds an office of great responsibility.

It is better to refer to the values as international values. Everyone knows what these values are at the ontological level. We have to focus on this quest in the field of education considering our efforts for the last four or five years. The world is really small. Without reliance on human dignity, rule of laws, justice, transparency accountability and tolerance, democracy cannot exist. Nothing good will come out of a place without democracy.

European countries are very sensitive about women's rights. The hijab issue has been settled during my term. But, you know the decisions courts have issued regarding the headscarf. How is this issue brought to the agenda? Someone gets angry. Is it not for human beings to get angry with each other? This is such a thing.

They should engage in self-criticism. Human rights should be promoted every part of the country. We should also internalize them. Therefore, I stress two points. First, we need to internalize them in our inner worlds. Second, we need to promote rule of law and institutionalization. Today, in Europe, in Germany in particular, there are legal texts in four or five fields. When a Muslim Turk applies in connection with a matter, the civil servant there undermines human dignity even without noticing it. This is because it has permeated that institution. That discrimination, i.e., the invisible racism, has permeated that institution. We can criticize the West. The West needs our criticisms.

We are talking with excitement, but if my physician sees me in this state, he would burst with anger. Therefore, Mr. President, I will attend the meeting until noon, after which I will have to leave. I would like to thank you very much for your invitation.

I convey my respect for everyone.

Prof. Dr. Mehmet AYDIN
(Former State Minister)

FIRST SESSION

Chair: Prof. Dr. Mehmet AKKUŞ

Prof. Dr. Erdal TOPRAKYARAN   Tübingen University/GERMANY

East-West Confrontatıon

as an Artıfıcıal Problem

Yrd.Doç.Dr. Yusuf SUİÇMEZ   Near East University/T.R.N.C

Maqāsidu's-Shari'a Thought

And it's Potential Contribution
To the Development Of Basic Human
Rights and Freedoms

Prof. Dr. Ernest Wolf GAZO   American University/EGYPT

Encountering the Other

Ulrich PAFFRATH   Ditib-Academy Cologne Tübingen/GERMANY

The Range Of Attacks On Mosques
in Germany and it's
Socıal Context. Does Rıght Wıng Populısm

Affect Antı-Mosque Attacks

Prof. Dr. Cemal TOSUN   Ankara University/TURKEY

Interfaith Learning in the Context
of Intercultural Education:

Implications of an International Erasmus+ Project

Turkey - Spain – Bulgaria – Germany – Czech Republic

EAST-WEST CONFRONTATION AS AN ARTIFICIAL PROBLEM

Prof. Dr. Erdal TOPRAKYARAN
Tübingen University Center of Islamic Theology.
Tübingen/GERMANY

INTRODUCTION

After the September 11 attacks of 2001, an intense debate has started on the dichotomy of east and west. But it can be witnessed that the bulk of the ongoing debates that are lasting even until today and that evolve physical force from time to time are not of a constructive nature, but rather of a destructive and polemic one. From a scientific point of view, we know that objects namely phenomena are changeable and fluid. Hence neither east nor west are monolithic (*univocal, in a strict sense, sharply delimited*). In addition to this, we know that meanings attributed to symbols and objects are also changeable and fluid. As we can learn from deconstructivist analyses, terms such as "east" and "west" in these debates are fictionalized in a way that is generic and simplifying beyond measure. Actually, it is possible to find the west in the east and the east in the west. One can mention as an example that European culture has not just been shaped by Indian, Greek, Roman, Christian and Jewish traditions but at the same time by Islamic traditions as well. Islamic culture alike was shaped by several different traditions. In the 7th century religious, philosophical, economic and cultural thoughts and in the same way wares were wandering from Spain to China and even back as our world was already at that time globalized.[1]

Beyond the fact of early globalism, the historical perspective is teaching us another truth: not cultures or religions but interest groups are clashing. Unfortunately to this day, we can observe these clashing interests that are clad in this kind of nationalist, religious or ethnic robes in almost all corners of our world. Groups that are in conflict with each other are moving away from generating on a common ground common values. The polarization of each side is creating their own rationality and own reality and is accusing the other side of propagating fake news. In order to describe this kind of manner a new term, *postfaktisch* (*post-factual* or *post-truth*), was coined in Germany in the last years. But is it possible to completely bypass this kind of polarization one day? To a certain extent it surely is surmountable, but for this people have to take the path of reason and knowledge (*tariq al-ilm*) as well as the path of the heart and love (*tariq al-ishq*).

If we can find and spread the balance between reason and love many crises in our world can be surmounted. In this article, I will focus more on love rather than reason, as in the relation between love and reason, love has to overweight ultimately. A loveless clever person can damage our whole world but a foolish lover can harm himself at most.

The importance of love and unity in mysticism

From the perspective of Islamic mysticism and gnosis, east and west are not merely influencing each other but are constituting an ontological unity. Sufis (also called gnostics or lovers) always observe oneness (*vahdat*) out of the abundance (*kathrat*) of the creation.[2] Today we have to stress again the importance of returning to the core values which are universal oneness, divine beauty and truth and boundless love (*ishq, hubb, mahabba, mawadda*). These values are expressed in a poem of Muhyiddin Ibn Arabi (d. 1240), also known as Shaykh al-Akbar, in his *Tarjumân al-Ashwâq*:

My heart has become capable of every form:
It is a pasture for gazelles and a convent for Christian monks,
And a temple for idols and the pilgrim´s Ka'ba,
And the tables of the Tora and the book of the Koran.
I follow the religion of love (din al-hubb),
Whatever way love´s camels take that is my religion and my faith. [3]

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1 See Peter Frankopan, The Silk Roads. A New History of the World, Bloomsbury 2016.
2 For detailed information see Beşir Ayvazoğlu, Aşk Estetiği, Ankara 1982.
3 Muhyi´ddîn Ibn Al-`Arabî, The Tarjumân al-Ashwâq. A Collection of Mystical Odes, ed. and transl. by Reynold A. Nicholson, London 1978, p. 19 and 67.

Similarly Mawlana Jalaluddin Rumi (d. 1273) tells in the second book of his Mathnawi, in verse 1770, that the religion of love is very unique:

The religion of love (millat-i ishq) is different from all other religions.
The religion and law school of the lovers is God.

The fact that Ibn Arabi and Rumi refer to the religion of love does not mean that they follow a new world religion. Moreover they emphasize on love as the very core and fundament of Islam. Thus the path of the Prophet Mohammad is the path of love and he is the beloved of God (*habib Allah*) and the master of lovers (*sayyid al-ashiqin*). Early sufis such as Ibrahim Ibn Adham (d. 782), Rabia Adawiyya (d. 801), Bayazid Bistami (d. 848 [?]), Dhun-Nun Misri (d. 861) and Abu´l-Hasan Harakani (d. 1033) called God, O my Beloved' during their prayers. Mansur Hallaj (d. 922) even accepted execution in order to be united with his divine beloved and thus became famous as the martyr of love (*shahid al-ishq*). Ahmad Ghazali (d. 1126), the brother of Abu Hamid Ghazali, is acknowledged as the founder of the school of love among the Sufis. His adept Ayn al-Qudat Hamadani was like Mansur Hallaj brutally executed in 1131 as he showed excessive notion in love and unity.

Other representatives of this love school that can be named are Najmaddin Kubra (d. 1221), Muinuddin Chishti (d. 1236), Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli (d. 1271 [?]), Lal Shahbaz Qalandar (d. 1275), Yunus Emre (d. 1320 [?]), Hafiz-i Shirazi (d. 1390 [?]), Seyyid Nesimi (executed in 1417), Hacı Bayram-ı Veli (d. 1429-30), Eşrefoğlu Rumi (d. 1469-70), Ömer Ruşeni (d. 1487), İsmail Maşuki (executed in 1528), Vizeli Kaygusuz Alaeddin (d. 1562-63), Niyazi Mısri (d. 1694), Şeyh Galib (d. 1799), Şeref Hanım (d. 1861) and Inayat Khan (d. 1927). Some of the people of love and heart (*ahl al-ishq, ahl al-dil*) could advance in the formal hierarchy of religion even to the very top; the Ottoman Shaykh al-Islams Zekeriyyazade Yahya Efendi (d. 1644) and Bahai Mehmed Efendi (d. 1654) are two examples for that.

In order to emphasize on the importance of the divine beloved the aforesaid ecstatic dervish Vizeli Kaygusuz Alaeddin wrote: "When the love of the Truth (i.e. God) comes / there is no more space for law school, religion and faith"[4]. Niyazi Mısri who was at least as ecstatic as Vizeli Kaygusuz Alaeddin declares that love is the guide of all prophets and friends of God: "O Niyazi, follow love if you are searching for a spiritual teacher on this path / Love is the master of the prophets and the friends of God.[5]" In another poem of Niyazi Mısri, as to confirm Ibn Arabi's aforesaid words, a person whose heart is full of love can show strong empathy towards the whole creation, all people and all religions and cultures. Such a person can even identify himself with them and melt in the consciousness of unity: "Sometimes I become a plant, sometimes an animal and sometimes a human being / Sometimes I´m a Nazarene, sometimes a Jew, sometimes a Christian, sometimes a Zoroastrian / Sometimes I become a Shiite and sometimes a Sunni Muslim."[6]

Up to this point all these mentioned people of love and heart try to explain to other people that true love is prior to reason, justice, law school and religion. The fundament and core of everything should be love, as true love is divine. In this sense Hilmi Ziya Ülken wrote in his book *Ethics of Love* (*Aşk Ahlâkı*) that the fundament of ethics is not constituted by reason but by love:

True ethics must base on passion and love. If we do something without expecting to receive any benefit or any satisfaction, if the act is only performed by the power of enthusiasm that is coming from our innermost, this act could be called truly ethical. Great idealists are those who reach the ethics of love.[7]

CONCLUSION

We are facing the dichotomy of east and west as an uttermost constructed problem. That this problem is constructed does not mean that it hasn't have to be taken seriously, as it can lead to perilous polarization as it happened many times in the past. The most effective method to prevent this polarization is by updating not dividing but unifying thoughts and ideals. For example the ideal of love and unity, which is the core of Islamic mysticism, should be the most precious gift we can offer to the world. A person who is obtaining true love can find unity in the abundance and can experience that the universe and all creatures in the universe are mirroring himself. For him, eastern or western is not left and as Yunus Emre said he will start loving all creatures for the sake of the Creator. Or as Niyazi Mısri states he will pervade the east and the west:

Leave the outer form, search for the inner sense.

Leave the attribute, dive into the sea of essence.

O Niyazi, pervade the East and the West.

Don´t look at the others, ask from yourself, and find in yourself.[8]

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4 Abdülbâki Gölpınarlı, *Kaygusuz Vize´li Alâeddin*, Istanbul 1932, p. 57.
5 Niyâzî Mısrî, Niyâzî Divânı, Istanbul 1963, p. 31.
6 Ibid. p. 109.
7 Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Aşk Ahlâkı*, Istanbul 2010, p. 49-50.
8 Niyâzî Mısrî, ibid. p. 106.

MAQĀSIDU'S-SHARI'A THOUGHT AND ITS POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS

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INTRODUCTION

There is no consensus on the definition and scope of the Mekasidu's-sharia (main objectives of religion). In the definitions maqāsid, protection of the benefits and prevention of the damage are taken as a basis in general [9] Thus, it is pointed out that any ruling that replaces justice with injustice, mercy with its opposite, common good with mischief, or wisdom with nonsense, is a ruling that does not belong to the Shari'ah, even if it is claimed to be so according to some interpretation.[10]

The scholars have classified the maqāsids into three categories in a descending order of importance. These are:

1. Necessities (ad-daruriyyat): These are things that mankind cannot dispense with, no matter what the circumstances. The most important of these are the five universal necessities that will be discussed shortly.

2. Needs: These are things require in order to fulfill important requirements of life, the absence of which leads to hardship and disorder, but which does not bring about an end to life itself. As for the essential needs (hajiyyat), the meaning underlying them is that they are required so as to attain facility and removal of constraints that usually lead to difficulty and hardship and are accompanied by the loss of the desired object. When these needs are not preserved, the subjects, as a whole, are affected by difficulty and hardship. Nevertheless, such hardship does not reach the level of normal destruction expected in the case of the (five) general interests.

3. Luxuries: Purposes at the level of luxuries are 'beautifying purposes' (tahsmiyyat), in the traditional expression.[11]

The necessities as a whole are five. These are the preservation of the Din, Life, Progeny, Wealth and Intellect. The jurists said that these are interests preserved and protected by each nation.[12]

In this work, we will focus on Necessities only because of its universality and importance in life. Generally, the maqāsidu's-Shari`ah is predicated on the benefits of the individual and that of the community, and its laws are designed so benefits and facilitate improvement and perfection of the conditions of human life on earth.

Generally, the Shari`ah is aimed to protect the benefits of the individual and the community, and its laws are intended so benefits and facilitate improvement and perfection of the conditions of human life on earth. Maqāsids are universal principles deducted from Quran and Sunna and have its roots in all religions. The thought of maqāsid based on commonly shared sense philosophy. This common sense is taking into consideration each other's psychology and our own shared values in this universe.[13] It is pointed out that

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9 Haçkalı, Abdurrahman, Theory of maslaha according to Izzuddin b. Abdisselam, (phd dissertation), Samsun Nineteen May University (OMÜ) Social Sciences Institute Department of Basic Islamic Sciences, Samsun, 1999, s. 6-9; Yusuf Ahmed Muhammed al-Badri, Maqāsidu's-sharia inde Ibn Taymiyyah, Daru'n-nafais, Jordan, s. 43-52; Ziyad Muhammed Ahmaydan, Maqāsidu's-sharia el-İslamiyye, Muassatu'r-risale, Beirut, 2004, 16-24.

10 Auda, Jasser, Maqāsid al-Shariah as philosophy of Islamic law: a systems approach. International Institute of Islamic Thought (IIIT), 2008, P. 20.

11 Auda, Jasser.Maqāsid al-Shariah as philosophy of Islamic law: a systems approach, p. 4.

12 Al-Shatibi, Abu Ishaq Ibrahim, al-Muwafaqat fî Usûl al-Sharî'ah, Beirut: Dar al-kutubi'l-ilmiyya, II, 8.

13 Erdoğan, Mehmet, Şâtibî'nin El-Muvâfakât'ını Yeniden Okuma ve Anlama El-Muvâfakât (Fî Usûli'ş-Şerî'a), s; 549; Boynukalın, Ertuğrul, "Makasıdu'ş-şeria", TDVİA, XXVII, 424.

the philosophers and Islamic legislators agreed on the existence of these universal common values.[14]

According to the Iz Ibn Abdissalam God has put the ability in nature of human and human beings naturally have the ability to know what is good.[15] Ibn Âshûr another Islamic scholar pointed out that human nature represents the divine system for that reason the divine law aims to protect it and restore it to its original state.[16] When we consider the maqasit from that viewpoint we can say that common values idea existed as result of common nature theory. So, Islamic scholars agreed that Islamic regulations never contradict human nature.[17] But the disputes about human nature brought up doubt about validity and applicability of this theory.[18]

The State of Nature is a term describes the natural condition of mankind and refers to philosophical assertions regarding the condition of humans before social factors are imposed, thus attempting to describe the "natural essence" of human nature. In a broader sense, the state of nature is the condition before the social factors come into being influential.[19] As social conditions come into being influential, the argument begins with a reflection on the nature of confidence in the relationship between values and human nature.

There is no agreement among scholars about the concept of human nature, so there are different philosophies based on distinguished approaches to the state of nature. The elementary question to be asked by all philosophers is, "what is the nature and ultimate significance of the man in the state of nature and how the answers influence common shared universal values philosophies". As things developed in philosophy, three camps emerged: there were those who hold that at the state of nature human is inherently good; those who hold that at the state of nature human are in a war of all against all and those who hold that there is nothing fixed at the state of nature.[20] These tree different approaches to the state of nature have different impacts on maqāsid theories.

According to those who see human nature in the state of nature good, like John Locke, al-Farabi, they accept human inherently good and capable of choosing good or evil. Therefore they try to prevent the nature of human from imposed or misleading ideas that may damage it. The empathy is a fundamental characteristic of this philosophy. Thus who attempts to get others into his absolute power, puts himself in a state of war.[21] Consequently, maqāsid philosophy requires free will and common natural and shared universal values.

Since the concept of maqāsid is going to be of ultimate importance for us, the following question should be asked: Is the world created in terms of values or is a matter of constructed imagination? Another way to put this ontological question is to ask about the relationship between the 'maqāsid and the 'nature'. The maqāsid (objectives) that are the subject of examination are of two types: The first related to the will of God; and the second related to the will of the human. From this point of view, we can say that common values arise due to the common nature of all mankind.[22] Indeed, it is stated that Islam can not bring any provision contrary to the nature of mankind . Thus we can say that general protective rules represents the will of God in his creation so a violation of God`s will result in punishment.

14 Boynukalın, Ertuğrul, "Makasıdu'ş-şeria", TDVİA, XXVII, 423.
15 Boynukalın, Ertuğrul, "Makasıdu'ş-şeria", TDVİA, XXVII, 423.
16 Boynukalın, Ertuğrul, "Makasıdu'ş-şeria", TDVİA, XXVII, 424.
17 Boynukalın, Ertuğrul, "Makasıdu'ş-şeria", TDVİA, XXVII, 424.
18 Şentürk, Recep, "Farklı Dünya Medeniyetlerinde İnsan Hakları: İnsan Hakları Bildirgelerine Dayalı Karşılaştırmalı Bir İnceleme", s. 22-26.
19 Suiçmez, Yusuf. "State of nature theories and their reflections on education policies." Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences 1.1 (2009): 1936-1938., p. 1936.
20 Suiçmez, Yusuf. "State of nature theories and their reflections on education policies." Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences 1.1 (2009): 1936-1938., p. 1936.
21 Suiçmez, Yusuf. "State of nature theories and their reflections on education policies``, p. 1937.
22 Boynukalın, Ertuğrul, "Makasıdu'ş-şeria", TDVİA, XXVII, 424.
23 'Allāl al-Fāsī, Maqāsidu's-sharia ve Makarimuhā, Dāru'l-garbi'l-Islamī, Tunusia, 1993, s. 45, 46.

It seems that these three approaches overlap only with the approach that values are in the inner world of man, and that values are directed at protecting human rights. Naturally, according to this idea, the existence of these values in human essence is also based on the idea that maqāsids are compatible with human nature and aims to protect it.

Mekasidu's-sharia is separated into two groups amm (general purposes) and hass (special purposes). The general purposes of the Islamic Shariah are to fulfill the responsibilities of protecting the interests of the earth, the preservation of the order of life, the preservation of the eternal rehabilitation of the inhabitants, the justice, and the direction.[23]

Those who first mentioned this subject are Kaffal, Cuvayni and Ghazzali. This means that the maqāsids thought is related to the discussions of kelam and philosophy.[24] As a matter of fact, it has been stated that philosophers and supporters of the maqāsid meet at the same point in terms of essential benefits.[25] In this work, we will not enter into philosophical debates we will consider only the construction of common values in the formation of religious perception.

The maqāsids became the expression of five general objectives of religion as a widespread use after Ghazali. And pointed out that these general objectives are common and agreed among all religions.[26] With this in mind, it can be argued that the issues of Shari'ah outside of these five principles are regional or personal.

Here are five common objectives(maqāsid al-Shariah). These are the preservation of:

Religion / Faith (din)

Life (nafs)

Lineage / Progeny (nasl)

Intellect ('aql)

Property / Wealth (mal)

Looking at these five objectives, it seems that they are also taken as a basis in accepted universal basic human rights. From this understanding, it is stated that religion is not to control people but to protect them.[27] The jurists said that these are interests preserved and protected by each nation.[28]

Imam Cuveyni mentioned only four universal shared objectives and his student Imam Ghazali have added the "religion" as the fifth objective.[29] Than Tusi and Subki have added protecting of human honor as the sixth objective . And I think that protection of environment and nature must be added as the seventh common shared objective.

The maqāsid has been systematized by Imam Shatibi. After Imam Shatibi this subject became as a new way of understanding for Islam and generally for religions.[30] When we look to the religions from a worldwide perspective we realize that in all religions these seven objectives are common so ways of transferring to the practice change by time. These common objectives aim to protect the quality of life by standardization of relations. Therefore, these objectives are basic human rights so included in all universal human rights declarations.

24 Yılmaz, Ömer, The emergence of the theory and the first maqāsid references, (phd dissertation), Marmara university Social Sciences Department of Divinity, İstanbul, 2010, s. 6.
25 Boynukalın, Ertuğrul, "Mekasidu'ş-şeria", TDVİA, XXVII, 423.
26 İbn Ashur, Maqāsidu's-sharia, I-III, Vezāretu'l-evkaf ve şuunil'l-İslāmiyye, Qatar, 2004, I, 12.
27 Al-Shāṭībī, Abū Ishaq Ibrāhim, al-Muwāfaqāt fī Usūl al-Sharia's, I-IV, Dāru'l-kutubi'l-ilmiyye, (INTRODUCTION) s. 3.
28 Al- Shāṭībī, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhim, al-Muwāfaqāt fī Usūl al-Sharī'ah, II, 10.
29 Ziyād Muhammed Ahmeydan, Maqāsidu's-sharia al-Islāmiyye , s. 85.
30 Erdoğan, Mehmet, Şâtıbî'nin El-Muvâfakât'ını Yeniden Okuma ve Anlama El-Muvâfakât (Fî Usûli'ş-Şerî'a), DİNÎ VE FELSEFÎ METİNLER YİRMİBİRİNCİ YÜZYILDA YENİDEN OKUMA, ANLAMA VE ALGILAMA SEMPOZYUMU, Bildiri Kitabı, Sultanbeyli Belediyesi, Kültür Yayın No: 8 , II, 548.

These are some famous human rights declarations:

1) UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)

2) International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

3) European Convention on Human Rights (1953)

3) International Covenant on Social, Economic, and Cultural Rights

4) Latin American Convention on Human Rights

6) African Charter on Human & People's Rights

7) Asian Human Rights Charter

8) Universal Islamic Declaration of Human Rights (1981)

9) The Cairo Declaration of Human Rights in İslam (1980)

10) Arab Charter on Human Rights

11) The rescript of Gülhane, Royal Edict of Reform and The Ottoman Basic Law

12) Declaration Toward a Global Ethic.[31]

When we analyze these declarations we see that the shared common universal objectives are the main motivation power for all. Here we are going to deal with these objectives one by one.

Protection of religion

As we mentioned before this objective have been added by Ghazali and in reality, aims to protect the first four objectives. Because Muslim Scholars believe that the four basic fundamental objectives can not be protected without protecting the faith. For that reason, Imam Ghazali sees the protecting of religion more important than the basic four fundamentals and it is possible to kill for faith.[32] So, there is a need to clarify whether this thought involves the protection of other religions. There are different thoughts but in Quran protection of different religions mentioned as a divine duty[33] and compulsion in religion denied.[34]

In this regard, the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights shows that freedom of religion has been dealt with in a broader context, including all religions. Article 18 of the Declaration says: "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship, and observance". In the European Human Rights Declaration, a similar provision was included, and in addition, it was stated that one could deny military service because of religious belief.[35] Article 14/3 emphasizes that everyone has the right to education in accordance with their beliefs.

When we look at the Declaration of Human Rights of Islam, it can be seen that provisions in Religion Freedom are included in Articles 12 and 13. These provisions protect the right of everyone to live according to their religious beliefs and thoughts, with the woman not being humiliated. But It is not clear whether the Shari'a concept includes other religions or not.

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31 Şentürk, Recep, "Farklı Dünya Medeniyetlerinde İnsan Hakları: İnsan Hakları Bildirgelerine Dayalı Karşılaştırmalı Bir İnceleme", s. 28, 32, 35.

32 Yılmaz, Ömer, The emergence of the theory and the first maqāsid references, s. 156; Ziyād Muhammed Ahmeydan, Maqāsidu's-shariati'l-İslāmiyye, s. 85-87.

33 Holy Quran 22/40.

34 Holy Quran 2/256.

35 Article 10/1, 2.

However, another issue discussed in the context of human rights within the scope of freedom of religion is the right of people to change religion. Judging from the rhetorical comments on religion, it is understood that to change religion has not been recognized as a right. But it has become a controversial subject in the modern era. As much as atheism and deism are becoming widespread also make this issue come to more agenda.

Interpretation of religion in a way that will justify the oppression beyond the right of invitation and notification of religion is not compatible with human rights nor with the makasidu's-sharia. However, the murder of an apostate was also assessed within the scope of religious protection.[36]

Protection of life

The protection of life is prescribed, and this is a universal that is intended by the Sharia; thereafter, retaliation is prescribed for the protection of life with the execution of a human being in retaliation and this amounts to the intended protection.[37] It is, in fact, contrary to the spirit of this article to explain the principle of the protection of life by death sentence. However, there are many warnings about the protection of human life in the Qur'an and in the hadiths.

In all beliefs and international texts, there is the principle of protecting human life. The regulations of punishment change from culture to culture. And protection of life is not limited to human life. Have included protection of the life of all beings except necessities.

Protection of mind

It seems that the protection of the mind is interpreted in the same way, in conformity with the preservation of the juridical jurisprudence, rather than the universal values. Accordingly, under this principle, the abuse of general drinks and similar drugs has been mentioned.[38] However, in the Qur'an, the mind is not limited to these. The freedom of thought and speech should be mentioned in the first place under the protection of the mind. Because the mind is the basic kind of thinking and the freedom of the thinker. The limitation of thought and freedom of opinion should be considered only in relation to the principles of protection of freedoms.

Protection of goods/property

The punishment of impunity has been evaluated within this scope. This includes the right to property, the prohibition of labor and colonialism. Tahir b. Ashur pointed out that the emphasis is on the societal aspect of the matter, in order to protect the goods, to prevent the flow of national wealth to other nations, and to protect each individual property from waste.[39] It can not be said that this explanation is sufficient, it is necessary to make a universal interpretation of this universal by taking the economy and developing international trade law into consideration.

Protection of the posterity/Lineage / Progeny

The protection of the posterity in the classical sources has been evaluated as the prevention of the adultery, the protection of the family and the increase of the population by preserving the marriage.[40] The objective of protection of posterity must be interpreted according to common sense in the form of prevention of genocide, preservation of cultural diversity. As a matter of fact, it is stated that the cultural differences are compatible with creation. It is therefore protected by religion.

Protecting of Honor

I think justice principle which expresses the common honor and honor of mankind, the right to protect

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36 Ziyād Muhammed Ahmeydan, Mekasidu'ş-şeriati'l-İslamiyye, S. 128, 129; Yusuf Ahmed Muhammed al-Badri, Meqasidu's-sharia'inde İbn Taymiyye, Dāru'n-nafāis, Jordan, 2000, S.63, 64; http://www.maqalaty.com/3109.html
37 Al-Shāṭibī, The Reconciliation of Fundamentals of Islamic Law, II. 45; Yusuf Ahmed Muhammed al-Badrī, Meqasidu's-sharia'inde İbn Taymiyye, s. 64.
38 Yusuf Ahmed Muhammed al-Badrī, Maqāsidu's-sharīa inde İbn Taymiyye, s. 65
39 Yılmaz, Ömer, The emergence of the theory and the first maqāsid references, s. 31.
40 Yusuf, Ahmed Muhammed al-Badrī, Maqāsidu's-sharia'inde İbn Taymiyye, s. 65.

and develop the spiritual personality of every human being and freedom to seek rights through law and the fact that women are not subjected to sex discrimination in fundamental rights and freedoms should be included in this objective.

Protection of Nature and Environment

Environment and nature are the common living space of mankind. They have to be involved in general protective objectives because they are linked to all these rights. One of the biggest problems that threaten humanity today is the pollution of the environment and the deterioration of the natural balance accordingly. In the case of the Qur'an and the Sunnah, it is possible to encounter many verses and events related to this subject. Human development processes and responsibilities are not only related to their genus, but also to the environment and nature. Today, of course, every belief and civilization found in universal assertions must have protective values for the environment and nature. Within Islamic belief and culture, there is a strong potential to contribute to the construction of these values.

CONCLUSION:

Muslims have tried to develop alternatives such as the Medina bill, the farewell sermon, and the return of to the first years of Prophet Mohammed, similar to the idea of the maqāsid. The farewell sermon is intended to be universally accepted at international level, but some of the messages are addressable to Muslims only. Asríaadete does not have the potential to return to the general acceptance of humanity in the same way as thought. This idea may also lead to a denial of the accumulation of civilization that Muslims have produced so far.

Furthermore, the experts of the subject are not able to achieve reality because the boundaries and values of the name are based on later texts written in later periods. It is not possible to accomplish this with the texts written in the very late period and bearing the problems of the periods written in it. It is also a different proposition that the ten commandments which are accepted by some Muslims in large measure are taken as common values of all religions. It is not appropriate to treat all these orders mentioned in the Torah as universal universals, including general moral values such as not killing, not stealing. Because some of these values are purely Jewish beliefs and cultural values. Therefore, the most appropriate approach in terms of the possibility of correct understanding of religion and contributing to the development of human history and civilization positively within these alternatives is the makasidu's-sharia approach.

This approach has the potential to contribute to the construction of more healthy relationships as it has the potential to appeal to the common wisdom and conscience of all mankind as well as bringing original characteristics to Muslims and Islam.

It should be noted that the defense of these five universals is also relevant to the existence and necessity of the universals. In our work, we did not enter into philosophical discussions of the subject, since we believe that universal values are necessary to protect the quality of life in this work. When Maslow's hierarchy of need as these objectives is examined, it is seen that they contain five maqāsids.[41] As we mentioned earlier in these six universals, the protection of the environment and nature must be added as the seventh objective.

Although these objectives are found in all beliefs, we can say that systemizing of these objectives as a universal common sense is a success of Muslim scholars and contribution to the construction of human civilization.

This thought has the power to appeal to the common wisdom of humans, it is seen that the interpretations made are largely historical. As a result, although the principles are universal, it is known that practices

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41 Maheran Zakaria and Nur Ain Abdul Malek, "Effects of Human Needs Based on the Integration of Needs as Stipulated in Maqāsid Syariah and Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs on Zakah Distribution Efficiency of Asnaf Assistance Business Program", Jurnal Pengurusan 40(2014) 41 – 52, s. 44

express the feelings, thoughts, and experiences of individuals and societies. It can be said that the idea of maqāsid is based on the preservation of these seven principles, in accordance with the conditions, which are actually changing by time.

When we consider the Qur'anic verse: "To every people (was sent) a Messenger: when their Messenger(1439) comes (before them), the matter will be judged between them with justice, and they will not be wronged" we can say that all nations have organized and preserved the lives of the societies in the direction of these objectives. Of course, if the abrogation is interpreted as a new arrangement, not a cancellation, there is a need to further discuss the legal value of the old regulations.[42]

Values are also closely related to life philosophy. The maqāsid is related to the idea that the determinants of relations are universal values, not power. LEGAL MAXIMS, which developed in Christian culture and civilization, in particular, resembles all the similarities as the idea of maqāsid thought, but these are more similar to the qavaids in Islamic thought that can be universal and local.

The Organization of Islamic Cooperation has issued a new Human Rights declaration on the grounds that human rights violations in countries where Muslims live are in a very high level. The Organization for Islamic Cooperation has expressed its commitment to complement UN human rights, not as an alternative to this declaration.[43]

It is necessary to emphasize here that Muslims must contribute to human rights development. Moreover, it must be said that they need to assume even more responsibility for the development and implementation of these rights, rather than the controversy. They need to be carried out with a sense of divine and human responsibility, not as a necessity for external pressures.

There are two different philosophical interpretations of religions. One of these is the moral imperative of the existence and preservation of values; The other is that the preservation of values is not a moral imperative, but the values are part of the struggle in nature.

According to the second interpretation, religions are the means that people or communities use to reach their personal goals. So it is a kind of justifying tool. Religions are not valuable in their own right. According to the first interpretation, religion expresses the moral laws of the creation that keep life in a balance and harmony in the name of Allah. With this belief, Muslims should pay particular attention to the protection of fundamental human rights and freedoms.

This objective, if considered together with the later human rights declarations, are understood to have the potential to build a common peaceful and safe world life by building common human values.

When we think together with different human rights manifestos and meQasid studies, we can say that these efforts have the potential to built on it a World Constitution and a World Court of Human Rights, which represent the common law in the future, depending on common sense and moral development of mankind.

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INTRODUCTION

The theme of this presentation deals with the phenomenon of the OTHER. That is to say, how do we recognize and relate to the OTHER? It is high time, considering the migration crises in the early 21st century that we focus on our understanding of encountering the OTHER; understand what it means to interact with OTHERS, analyze the forms, concepts, and social interactions in which this encounter and interaction takes place. It is high time that we up-grade and refine our intellectuals tools to come to terms with this new migration, especially within the speed and rush on of massive people movements, particularly from the Middle East and Africa to Europe. What is offered to us, in general are photos, pictures, clips, of desperate people who simply want to escape certain death, torture, imprisonment, and starvation. The television and social media present this drama with highly emotionalized commentary and captions. What is needed, at this time is, to provide analytical tools, novel concepts, and approaches, that enables us to not only understand, but to handle positively, the migration phenomenon. In this presentation, in general, we call this, the encounter with the OTHER.

In this age of globalization combined with the revolutionary effect of communication technology since the end of the 20th century, TIME is of the essence. Jet travel enables anyone, at anytime, to be at another location within hours that may have taken months, and weeks, by horse, stagecoach, or camel. However, photos, clips, and documentary film do not solve practical problem, but, very often are used for contrary purpose: promoting emotions as to elicit negative reaction, such as fear of the unknown, the OTHER. What is needed is serious understanding in terms of analysis and historical analogy as well as comparative systematic assessment as to the nature of the massive movement of peoples. We can't afford to think in simple black and white categories, but must seek a more inclusive strategy as to how to encounter the Other.

The modern world, also referred to as post-modern, has become a complex organism whose economic ties, especially, are interconnected. We must create new categories in which we think, mediated by the audio-visual and computer technology, with a migration (Voelkerwanderung) that provokes our common sense understanding of what is "normal". The two world wars produced massive movements of peoples, refugees from war and destruction, and could be 'understood' from a common sense view, especially since the migration occurred within the confines of a socio-cultural boundary, in which language, ethnicity, and religion were related, certainly in Europe. However, in the present-day migration crisis, especially to Europe, we are dealing with peoples encountering other peoples with very different background, cultural traditions, if not to mention, religions. The real task, at this point, is how to encounter this encounter with other cultures that used to be described at the end of the 20th century as the clash of civilizations. 1 In addition, modern communication technology intensifies this encounter in such as way that a rapid response toward the migration of the OTHER is wanting. Simply to show a smile, or face of rejection, will not do; there must be developed a strategy and tactics that fosters the encounter with the OTHER in a civilized way. This is the story of the modern stranger, or, as we put it the modern OTHER.

Our presentation and its theme is to be understood as experimental in the sense that it wants to find a platform from which to think strategy and tactics as to approach the encounter and social interaction between strangers. To encounter a family member whom we may not have seen in many years, or a school friend, is not the same as meeting another stranger, but family member or friend. These distinctions become important and are basic to our understanding of human nature. This presentation, before it presents some systematic reflection on the topic at hand or historical examples, wants to remind us that we need

a definition of human beings, as a presupposition to that encounter. We should remind ourselves that we are dealing with human beings and not with items, or things. Thus, it is important that we have a civilized understanding of ourselves and others, as human beings.

It is well known, since recorded history that the outside group, those who don't belong to the native population or society, was referred to as barbarians. Ancient Greece and the Roman Empire referred to anyone not belonging to the city state of Athens, or the Empire, as "Barbaroi", referring to German tribes and Franks. The barbarian did not look like a typical Greek or Roman, but, with wild blond hair, especially its womens' hair was send as souvenir by Roman soldiers to their loved ones at home. The barbarian had a sort of exotic appearance that fascinated, but also was feared. This is basic human psychology, the OTHER always produces fear. Fear is basically human, that may be positive, in the sense that anyone needs to sense who is friend, who is enemy. However, fear can also be misguided and be used for evil purposes, such as brainwashing the native and bedeviling the stranger. Thus, we need to have a clear idea what is a human being, as a presupposition, in terms of handling the strategy and tactics of encountering the Other. Even a promoter of the European Enlightenment Rousseau spoke of the Noble Savage when he referred to humans who were not European, understood as the equivalent of being not civilized. Needless to say, we must remind ourselves what evil was produced in the center of a highly literate society, such as Germany, with the notion of race (Rasse) and superman (Uebermensch) that ended up in camps of annihilation and death. The radical notion of race, as category of exclusion, left its destructive path in the entire 20th century, alongside fantastic technological innovations and social organization. But, the nation-state in the form of Nazi Germany demonstrated the enormous destructive power toward the OTHER. A reminder is always necessary, without defiling a people, what can happen if a racial motif guides a state and not checked and morally denounced as being simply not human and wrong.

Our presentation is somewhat more philosophic and sociological. For the want of a better definition of the human being we adopt Aristotle's famous definition of the human (Anthropos) as rational animal (animal rationale). The decisive difference between human and animal is, exactly the rationality, the conscious thinking of knowing differences. The reason we initiate our reflection with Hegel's notion of the OTHER, in his classic work Phenomenology of Spirit, specifically the chapter on self-consciousness (Selbstbewusstsein). This Hegelian concept has had a modern history which we meet in Marxism and Feminism, but also in sociology, world history, and psychology.

From Hegel we move to a more sociological analysis in the spirit of Georg Simmel, who, alongside Max Weber, provided us with the classic description and analysis of the modern world. We delve into the various forms of social interaction with the Other in the social role as stranger, foreigner, tourist, guest, immigrant, or refugee. We will want to find an anthropological constant in the encounter with the Other in order to come to terms with the fear and hatred that the Other produces in the native, or local. What social type does the Other produce? It is important to come to grips with various social types, such as the poor, the rich, the criminal, the misfit, or the soldier, the athlete, the prostitute, the police, or the dictator. It is time that we reassess social roles and functions especially in the interaction with others.

We need to add an historical dimension in order to cope with various responses toward drastic social and economic and political change. Change is usually applauded by youth thinking of the future, however, it is also seen with misgivings by the elder generation and the settled-in and established local population. This reaction is not unusual. However, it is in times of drastic change, such as we experience in the early 21st century, that the tendency of peoples, especially in local population, moves towards extremes, or forms of reactions and thinking in the past. The English proverb: my home is my castle, is such a notion, or high fences make good neighbors. This presupposes that that a person has land and house, something, the stranger, traveler, or simply the Other, does not fit into. During the heyday of Turkish migration from Anatolia to West Germany, in the 1950s and 60s, the Swiss playwright Max Frisch put it succinctly, "They wanted labor, but humans (Menschen) showed up." Of course, by the time the third generation of Turkish families resided in Germany, the local population, not to mention official politics, started to take on a

human face. We witnessed a transformation from the Other as work machine, to the Other as compatriot. Slowly, this transformation is taking hold on the younger generation whose encounter with the Other, thanks to the German miracle economics, were able to find a more friendly face toward the Other, in the appearance of the Turkish guest worker.

This presentation, as noted, is to be understood as experimental in its reflection what can be understood and what can be done in our days of radical change and times. The challenge, no doubt is, that we remain civilized, that we uphold the rationality of what is human. No doubt, Aristotle's definition must be expanded and refined, but, time is of the essence, in order to find an adequate strategy and tactics in encountering the OTHER.

A last item should be introduced in dealing with the Other in the modern world, namely INDIFFERENCE. It is well known that urban life, which will soon, encompass half of the worlds' population, will have to deal with this phenomenon. In other words, it is well known that if we travel from northern Europe to southern Europe, then the Middle East, we find that the personal encounter among peoples is generally friendly and open. Certainly, in a country like Egypt people are interested in the problems and vows of others in the sense that personal problems of a person is registered as a personal issue that affects another. From a western point of view this is often registered as interfering with one's privacy; that is to say, northern Europe and most western countries differentiate between privacy and public. Despite the social media and modern communication technology this understanding has not changed; to put the issue in simplest terms, the interaction between persons in western societies is divided up between the private, that includes family and, perhaps very close friends, but excludes any other persons, and the public, meaning, behavior and communication is adjusted to these main spheres of interaction. The relationship to the Other, as stranger, foreigner, or not belonging to the in-group, or social club, is indifference. Instead of aversion or aversion, emotional outbursts or negative mimic expression is considered in western middle class society as lower level attitude and not refined behavior. The language that is used, to manifest indifference is to stay "cool", or to watch the "glass ceiling". This is a language of non-commitment only interests are at stake. The urban life, at least in the western and Far Eastern cities promotes indifference to anything that is not of family interest. Especially urbanization provides the social condition for formalized interaction. Any experience in public transportation, be it a metro, or airplane travel, manifests the indifference, as soon as the time of travel is concluded. It is the kind of life style Max Weber spoke of as the "iron cage" of formalized social interaction, according to schedule and time organized interaction. Time is money, and money is time, is another equation that expresses urban life in terms of personal indifference. In the urban environment everyone is the Other, and the formal expression of exchange of goods, services, and ideas, are indicated in quantitative terms. The stock market is the pivot of such a manifestation of the life of exchange of goods and services. The pecuniary world is indifferent to personal problems of issue since it operates in quantitative measure on the logic of supply and demand. The old saying, "money does not smell" is exactly the proverb that pronounces the abstract and variable nature of money: it is not personal and can change hands anytime and is not understood as a personal reward. Everyone is expected to follow traffic sign, everyone is expected a formal behavior code according to rules and regulations, or unwritten codes of conduct. In that kind of world the personal is reduced to the formal and the qualitative aspects of kindness is reduced to formal etiquette. Shaking hands at a safe distance between two peoples is the western norm, the idea is not to bet too close to another person, not to mention the encounter between male and female, with its unwritten rules and rituals in a western setting, and a more rigid and traditionally oriented enmeshment of specific behavior of the female toward the male, basically reduced to family contact, only. Modern life promotes indifference, especially in an urban setting, in which money play the key role of regulating, according to the logic of supply and demand, the social interactions of peoples. The basic question within that context what is the status of the OTHER in the modern life style? The irony and paradox seems to be, the more urbanity is promoted, exchange of goods and services increased according to the logic of supply and demand, the more the

Other becomes the standard of social interaction. The Other, becoming standard, taking on a 'normal' role, eliminates anything else that is personal, turning the Other into a formalized exchange function. In short, what happens if we are transformed into the Other? How will the encounter of that Other affect us all, in the sense, that indifference takes on a normal way of behavior! This is the reason why probe, in a nutshell, into Hegel's notion of the Other (das Andere) in order to understand the dynamic movement of social interaction between us and someone else and begin to understand the reciprocal effect of each other interaction.

HEGEL'S OTHER (Anderssein)

In order to understand the deep and critical differentiation of Hegel's notion of the Other (das Andere) we have to take into account the precise meaning of his German. The German concept of Being (Sein) is included in the notion of the Other. Being, in the existential sense is basic to Hegel's understanding of the human being. However, in the process of getting to know the Other, we must first come to terms with our own existence, our own Sein. That is to say, Hegel suggests that we do not simply exist as a singular physical entity, but, in order to comprehend ourselves inclusively as society, we must attain a level of consciousness. Again, the German term is more pronounced, namely it is Bewusstsein, simply put in English, being conscious of my existence. Yet, this being conscious of my conscious being, can't be done as a monologue but must be done in a dialogue; in short, my consciousness, our consciousness, has to be attain via a dialogue with another consciousness. In philosophical language: my consciousness must be mediated through another consciousness, to make clear to me, to make clear to the Other, that we are conscious, that I am conscious, that is to say, that I exist. This newly attained consciousness of existence, Hegel calls Self-consciousness (Selbstbewusstein), translated into English as being conscious of my own being, being conscious of another being. All this seems trivial language tricks, but, on a deeper level Hegel understood that language is the only basic communication device, our soft tool method as human beings, making it possible to express ourselves, making it possible to even come to close to express what we think we might be. Aristotle's logic, or biological classification gives us some orientation, but we know, this is only a basic platform from which to start our search. The search may be indefinite, but it is a search that keeps our inquisitiveness, that provides us, as human beings the interest in the world, the interest in us, that is necessary to develop civilized life, unless we are satisfied with animal existence. Needless to say, the quest as to how we encounter the Other, becomes a subtle and treacherous itinerary not only, how to get to know someone else, but, also how to get ourselves, no mean undertaking. In that sense Hegel provides us with a soft tool of analysis that has been, hitherto, very productive. It has not only provided powerful world historical constructs such as Marxist thought that changed the world, for better or worse, and the modern development of the consciousness of the role and function of the female of our species, women in world history. Both, Marxist thinking and the Feminist agenda since German romanticism, has benefitted from Hegel's notion of the Other and his platform.

To be more precise and to put Hegel to our service it is important to understand specifically how he fitted his analysis and understanding of the development of consciousness to self-consciousness aiming its goal toward the absolute termination, namely, personal identity. Hegel know his Aristotle well, particularly the latter's treatise De Anima (On the Soul). There Aristotle speaks of Negation, that is to say, being able to negate gives us the key to knowing the DIFFERENCE. Knowing the difference is not simply knowing black from white, it is a level of consciousness about another state of being. Hegel introduced the clever formula, negation of negation, meaning, as soon as we recognize the difference, we negate ourselves along, that by recognizing the difference the OTHER, WE RECOGNIZE OURSELF. The dynamic of such a process we call dialectic, philosophically, or social interaction in terms of sociability. The term sociability is somewhat awkward for the reason that it expresses the German concept of "Vergesellschaftung", a concept in Hegel as well as Marx, as well in the development of modern sociology from Ibn Khaldun to Max Weber.7 Again, we need to recourse to Hegel because we want to provide

conceptual tool giving us leverage toward understanding how human beings are intertwined in the very process of sociability (Vergesellschaftung). Aristotle other definition of human beings as political animal insinuates this association. In Hegel we find a grand project in which this type of species, Mensch, is cast within the framework of world history; in his projects published as The Phenomenology of Spirit (Geist) in 1806 we find the description of Mensch and its respective identity, recognizing itself as a human being, within the context of world history. In short, the Other appears as a product of a long process of conscious development, from a genealogical perspective, we term in modern times as developmental psychology.

In the famous Phenomenology of Sections A (Consciousness, Bewusstsein) and B (Self-Consciousness, Selbstbewusstsein) we find the source of Hegel's description of the cognitive process of attaining self-identity, via the dialectic of the recognition of consciousness of the Other. In short, the Other turns out to be myself, mediated via the Other, recognizing the other part of myself, otherwise I, we, would not be able to gain leverage of our own consciousness (being aware of our own existence, as OUR OWN existence). This seems almost a schizophrenic phenomenon, but, it is not, unless we deal with a real medical diagnosis. We are as Hegel puts it, our own double (Doppelgaenger), that is to say, we can only come to our true understanding if we are able to recognize the Other, not only as the Other, but also as Ourself. In other words, we are the Other and the Other is me, us. This, of course, is curious language, but it describes a developmental psychology in terms of dialectic relationship, or, in modern sociological language, we engage in social interaction. Men and woman do not simply relate to one another in order to reproduce, but, they recognize each other as the Other, and, at the same time, the Other in me, in us. Of course, there may be other variations of the same theme, but the basic psychological process of complementary is at work. No one is an island, as the saying goes, literally. That is the reason why it is an illusion to end of ourselves as independent items, as singular bodies, not related to any other body or soul. The dynamic of interrelation is always at work, however, that social interaction may take place on the basis of free will, forced, or oppressed, or struggle of life and death.

In Section B of the Phenomenology we find the famous sentence: "Das Selbstbwusstein erreicht seine Befriedigung nur in einem anderen Selbstbewusstsein" – "Self-Consciousness derives its satisfaction only in another self-Consciousness." That is to say, if I am able to negate another, I make myself an object to myself, by becoming aware of negating the Other, I negate myself, gaining a sense of self-consciousness (being conscious of my existence and the other's existence). That is the process of playing the Double (Doppelgaenger), attaining a sense that I exist, as well as the other. This is the first phase of the cognitive process of objective identity. Hegel understands this whole process as a process of the species, as species, working at finding a niche in nature, as Mensch. If the Other does the same, becoming conscious of himself, herself, in terms of myself, then, both attain a sense of Self-consciousness, and thereby satisfy the need of recognition and identity. Yet, at the same time, attaining the sense of personal identity, I and the other, still remain the Other, to each other, and the rest of human beings. This dynamic takes on double roles and states and are not always understood. There is a good chance that some knowledge from the neurological field, in dealing with schizophrenia and dipolar disorder, we may have hints as to how this process of self-recognition, in a rational state, operates. This, however, is speculative and warrants further research. Without sounding offensive toward the elderly, when the medical profession declares a patient senile or demented, means, the recognition of the Other, including family members, is not possible anymore, implies, that this person is incapacitated recognizing himself, or herself. Any sort of differentiation is void, any difference, no longer makes a difference, all is one, reduced to mere general feel and sense-impressions. This can be explained neurologically, but, in our case of how we encounter the Other, we referred to philosophical language.

A last word on the importance of the Hegelian Other: once we recognize the Other in us, and identify the Other as being a mediation to come to grasp ourselves, the sociology, the sociability (Vergesellschaftung) is initiated. We start comparing each other, we compete with each other, we co-operated with each other, we reproduce with each other, yet, at the same time there is a struggle of self-

preservation at work. If we put the process of sociability within the context of the historical context, as Hegel does, then we find various forms of encountering the Other, based on the conditions, economic, social, political, at a specific century, or epoch, in which this encounter with the Other takes place. In Hegel's time, the great event was the French Revolution and its aftermath. Hegel was the thinker who grasp not only the consequences of the French Revolution, but also the onset of the Industrial Revolution in England and Germany, and understood immediately the world historical significance of America, the North that was colonized, the South was that conquered, the rest, turned out world history. Sociability in Hegel understanding of the modern age, was the concept of labor (Arbeit) that would define the status, role, function of the Other. He sensed the consequence of the division of labor, the INTRODUCTION of the railway, telegraph, and the new sources of energy, steam and coal.

Within the context of recognizing the Other Hegel introduces his famous world historical model of the struggle of life and death between the Master and the Slave (Herr und Knecht). Marx was to make use of this paradigm and describes the world historical process in terms of the Slave: The moment the slave recognizes the Master as master, he, the Slave gains consciousness of his existence and starts to revolt against his status as a Thing (legally Slave); the Master starts to recognize the slave's relevant labor the sustenance of his land, that he owns, but the slave tills and provides the necessary labor. The high noon, the time of revolution has arrived when Master and Slave, realize, via Self-Consciousness that their respective status is not sustainable: the struggle for life and death begins. We have seen, in real world history, how the American Civil War was fought exactly on the issue of the Hegelian issue of life and death, slavery and freedom. This historical paradigm has entered into modern history and is repeated many times, in various countries, and nations. Except, instead using the terms master and slave, we use the terms emancipation from oppression, or the struggle for human rights, for the dignity of all human beings, not only for the elect. Needless to say, the Hegelian theme and issues are still with us, formulated in more modern terminology and language, but the encounter of the Other, looms large, suddenly in our times. The contemporary migration crises can be understood, at large, as the encounter with the Other. It seems that we must re-learn lessons from world history. The clashes of civilizations is not far off, and we must learn and understand how to deal and manage a new world order that recognizes the Other, as equal to ourselves, recognizing that the demons we chase and inherent in our own Self, as the Other.

ON FORMS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION WITH THE OTHER

In the early 21st century, considering the revolutionary development in communication technology, relationships between human beings seems not to have taken the leap towards peaceful co-existence. On the contrary, at times, it seems that social interaction has not progressed beyond the Stone Age. Especially the encounter with the Other in the form of the stranger has taken on atavistic forms of egocentrism. That this gap, an open secret, between our technical capabilities to communicate at any time from and to anywhere is astounding, yet, the handling of relationships particularly in the form of mass demonstrations in whatever form is shocking. It seems everyone wants to built walls and fences in order to feel "secure" from the unknown. Ironically, the more the sophistication of technology the more fear is generated. And, as is well known, fear is a very bad guide toward finding solutions in human affairs. There is nothing wrong with a healthy sense of being afraid, to be cautious, to be careful, parents tell that their children all the time when they leave the home. However, excessive fear is also the source of prejudice towards anyone who does not belong to the immediate environment of a person household or extended family. Again, let us return to Aristotle's famous definition of being human: a rational animal. We have dealt with this by applying the Hegelian concept of the Other to historical forms of encountering the Other. However, we also find in Aristotle an equivalent definition of the individual human, namely, that human beings are also, social animals. Based on careful observation, historical comparison such as the various constitutions of Greek city-states, he works out his much admired project in his Politics, dealing with the interactions between men and women, households, and communities (politeia), in order to offer an analysis of life of

the human being (Anthropos) in the city (Polis) that constitutes politics. That is only one side of the coin, we find in Aristotle also sharp observations in his works on Ethics, the forms of moral life that is necessary for the human being, to develop into a mature human being. He speaks of various forms of friendships (philia) that constitutes the bottom line for human association. However, from a modern vantage point there are some misgivings: ancient Greece and many other societies considered it to be a matter of nature how a human being is born, a free man or slave. Slave labor was considered "normal" and humans are not born equal. Aristotle realizes that this discrepancy between nature and society could be bridged by proper association in forms of friendships. Again, women, children, and foreigners, did not qualify to be citizens of the polis. This was considered quite "natural", as the text has it, "according to nature".

Human beings have a tendency to prefer their own kind: in appearance, in habits, in language, coming from the same environment, region, city, or country. There is a basic need to be attached to someone like parents, friends, and neighbors. This attachment is basic to human social and psychological life: any lose of this bond has severe repercussion for the person's healthy make-up, not to mention serious psychological dysfunction in childhood. This is the reason why the birth of a child, new life is celebrated, and the loss of life, passing away, needs to be handled with utmost care in the proper form of farewell in the proper form of condolences to the immediate deceased family members. It also has the function of renewing family bonds, the reason why communities follow tradition, specific ways of mourning, or in many parts of Europe, "celebrate" after the funeral, life again by meeting at a communal dinner. All of these activities are done in order to reinforce the social and psychological bonds of the in-group, people who are related by blood, or by marriage. The in-group develops rituals that serve as bench markers for the group and its behavior towards each other and moral maxims that are to be adhered by. Needless to say, anyone who does not belong to the in-group is considered the Other, the stranger, the outsider. The Other, at this point serves an important marker or boundary between in-group and out-group: the insider and the outsider. Thus, social interaction take the forms of ethnic identity (in-group) in order to reinforce, especially during religious and national holidays, the traditions of the in-group, celebrating annually special days that remind everyone, considering belonging to the group (even on an international level), to whom they belong and who they are. The Other, the stranger, the foreigner, the tourist, even the guest is not part of this ritual. The guest may be invited by the in-group, but will always be reminded that he is a guest and not a full member of the in-group.

So far we have been dealing with anthropology basic that seems to make up the nature of the human being, anywhere. It is important to remind ourselves of the basics, at time, since we seem to forget, despite the communication technology and sophistication of technique association, in the form of virtual reality, the fundamentals of human nature and its required interaction with other humans. This requirement of humans dealing and interacting with other humans we can call "sociability"; we find its original concept in the German, "Geselligkeit", that has a two edged meaning, referring to a social gathering, yet, depending on the situation and condition of the social encounter, it can also mean a sort of play-form of association. This contains elements of necessity, Aristotle social animal, yet, at the same time could mean play-acting, like in sports, or the more subtle forms of erotic play, coquetry, a sociological play form between male and female. The stranger, however, takes on a special status, role, and function within the framework of sociability. He or she is assigned a role which must be acted out, just as in the film, according to rules and norms. Sociability defines very carefully who is eligible and who is not eligible to "play the game". However, as in anything, there are two sides to the coin: in a football match, we have two teams as opponents, not enemies, and we have a special location, a stadium, either of the home team or guest team, and we have the spectators. This match manifests the modern form of sociability, in which, we encounter the strangers (the team as guest), and the locals (the home team), and we find the spectators divided up into the local fans, and those who cheer on the guest team. Not to forget the referees who interpret the rules of the game. In fact, we find ourselves in a modern situation in which everyone is a sort of stranger to each other, yet, at the same time, is so near. In order to make things clear to anyone, players and spectators, the

referees enforce the rules of encounter between the strangers as guests, and the in-group as host. It is of interest that the term "hospitality" derived from Latin, refers to the" hospes", the caretaker, but also we deal with the root term "hostis", deriving the concept of hostility. Needless to say, anyone who has ever watched a football match has witnessed how a game can start on friendly terms, and turn into hostile modes of anger, or even physical attack. The lesson is clear, as a guest one must follow rules of engagement, as does the caretaker, otherwise, the role of the guest will be interpreted as an unwelcome intruder.

The basic encounter in social interaction lies in the double nature of sociation (Vergesellschaftung). This term was used by classic sociology from Marx, Simmel, to Max Weber. Kant already noticed that humans have a problem in the encounter with one another: on the one hand they seek and need sociation, or social bonding, on the other hand, they fear the sociation of those, who do not belong to their group. The stranger is born, as the Other. The dialectic between myself and the other self, is always present, yet, how do we interact with the Other, without physical violence, or hostility. Again, in that social scene nothing is natural, every aspect is prescribed. The reason is clear: security. Humans have basic need for feeling secure, first with their own kind, their in-group to which they belong, then their family and home: everything else is the Other. This is the reason why rules of engagement and encounter have been worked out, over the generations, within various traditions, how to conduct social interaction within the framework of human affair. The wish is peace, but, in order not to promote misunderstanding, rules and regulations, institutions that provide social foundation, are necessary.

It is no surprise that in modern megacities, such as Cairo, or Istanbul, or Mumbai, gated communities of the elite of the respective societies have sprung up; this is the more advanced version of the old "golden ghetto". The millet system of Ottoman society had the same purpose: each religion, ethnic minority, could conduct their own affairs, dealing with legal questions pertaining to the in-group, as long as that in-group, would align its loyalty with the Sultan. In the Ottoman system of rule, the outsider could also turn out to be an insider, as we follow the development of the Janissary. This was also true in the Weimar Republic within the cultural context, as the late American-German historian Peter Gay demonstrated in his well known work, respective to the topic at hand.

Another aspect important to sense social interaction is the prevalent condition of the society. That is to say, in what sort of situation does a society find itself, contemporary, or in a historical context? This is an important question as to come to terms with the general encounter of the Other. In relatively homogenous societies the phenomenon prejudice and intolerance is usually low since there are not reference points of strangeness or the Other. Prejudice appears more prevalent, as soon as a society expands into a more heterogeneous fabric; ethno centric reference becomes the guideline for the majority in terms of their delineation towards the Other, the stranger, the foreigner, the guest, the migrant, the refugee, the exile. The fear of strangeness, known by its Greek root, xenophobia, is all about. This fear is of a double nature, to reinforce the in-group or majority of its superior ways of value and doing things, and, at the same time, the Other provides the marker, or boundary, as to which is native, local, or not. This again, is a double game of identity. The stranger provides the native with one half of his or her ethnic identity, the very reason why the stranger, has to play the role of the Other. Again, the Other provides the native his or her identity, so that the native can recognize his or her nativity. This curious situation seems quite logical because the native, depending on where he or she finds herself, in another country, environment, is always a potential stranger. In short, the native and the stranger, the local and the Other, always find themselves in a dialectic sociability game, because each is potentially the Other.

In terms of rapid social change, as we witness in early 20th century, as well as the early 21st century, the danger of ethno centrism is never far. The ethno centric orientation toward the Other manifests itself in avoidance, exclusion, verbal rejection, hostility, segregation, in rumor and gossip. The social reflex is to build fences and walls. Thus, it is not surprising why some, despite the enormous development in communication technology, want to build walls and promote security for the in-group. Needless to say, in order to come to terms with various forms of social interaction, especially in the context of encountering

the stranger, the Other, we must focus on the early personality and character formation of a person. General education, from early on in childhood, needs to be focused upon in order to rectify the ignorance and fear of the stranger. This, of course, needs a much more elaborate project and program extrapolated by formal institutions, such as kindergartens, schools, universities, and government; yet, even more important, the home.14 The feeling of beings secure, the feeling of attachment, must be taken serious, and handled with care and empathy, by everyone, and this takes, perhaps, a few generations to come. The most difficult issue dealing with the social nature of humans is their habits. No doubt, habits have grown over the centuries and generations, for the practical purpose so as the in-group survives. Ibn Khaldun understood this very well when he explicated his notion of "asabiya", being the kit and cement that keeps the attachment and loyalty of the in-group. This, of course, is based on a tribal society, and still relevant in many communities, yet, modernity knocks on everyone's door, in reality, as Europe had to find out the hard way in 2015, or in virtual reality, globally. The fact that over half of the world's population is living in urban areas, and the future may well see, global mega-cities, like Cairo, being common place, "asabiya" is not enough. In Urban areas in which all encounter each other as the Other, rules and regulations, traffic signs, unwritten laws, etiquette, designed for an urban environment is wanting. It is exactly this kind of "life-style" that everyone needs to learn in order to encounter the Other, including him or herself. 15

ON NEARNESS AND DISTANCE IN THE ENCOUNTER WITH THE OTHER

This specific theme is especially pertinent considering that the global world is moving into a global urban environment. A century ago, even in the United States and Europe the majority of peoples lived in village, and small towns, the minority of the population in cities. The demographic development in the western world has moved into urbanity and along with it a new form of social interaction and encounter with the Other. At this point we do not have the spatial luxury go dwell on the European colonization of large parts of the world in the 18th and 19th century. However, considering the historical background of many empires, such as the Ottoman, Habsburg of the Austria-Hungarian Empire, the Russia of the Romanovs, after the disastrous First World War, the notion of nation state and nationalism of every color took on ethnocentric tunes. With the Industrial Revolution and the development toward urban life, for example, Paris, London, New York City, Berlin, the sense of nearness and distance toward peoples, especially the Other becomes paramount. Istanbul, for instance, had less than one million inhabitants in 1960, with a beautiful portrait presented to us by the Nobel Prize Winner in Literature 2006, Orhan Pamuk. The older generation remembers the memories of Istanbul life, the local districts and its peoples, told with great affection by Pamuk. Not to mention Ankara, a village in the 1920s with serious environmental problems, including the horrible smog, still in the late 1980s, as we remember it. In the meantime Ankara has grown into a mature modern city with a sort of modern life style, still with some pockets, holding on to traditional ways of life. But, considering everything else, modernity has gotten hold on Istanbul and Ankara, and many other Turkish cities, despite the vast underdevelopment of the eastern part of Turkey. Modernity does not wait time is on its side. In short, a new sociological model of encounter is necessary, in which everyone is, at one point the Other, sometimes a stranger in one's own hometown.

At one point at the beginning of the early modern age, up to the French Revolution, a German saying had it, "Stadtluft macht frei" (City air makes free). Of course, it was a metaphorical expression that said, if you can make it to the city and establish yourself you are a free person in comparison to the rural country. Indeed, the development of the city in modern European history played an important part in the establishment of freedom of the individual. The individual had not yet been born; slowly, after the French Revolution, and the Industrial Revolution, not to forget Martin Luther's Reformation, and the opening of the American Continents, provided space and new opportunities for social interaction. Around 1900 the city of Berlin was on its way to become the most modern social environment in the world. The local professor and sociologist Georg Simmel understood immediately the significance of the consequences of the rapid demographic development of Berlin and its forms of new social interaction. The theme

of nearness and distance was paramount to his thinking, also to newly emerging academic field called sociology. It was Simmel and Max Weber who grasped the significance of the new forms of social life of urban modern life style.

For want of space and time we concentrate on two interesting quotes from Simmel's work: "The individual is contained in sociation (Geselligkeit) and, at the same time, finds himself confronted by it." This is the kernel and the gist of the social paradox of the encounter with the Other; we need sociation, but we also fear sociation in the form of the Other. Social life, in short, is a contradiction in terms and reminds us of our parents, whom we love, but, hope that they understand when it is time to let go. The child, too, is confronted with the dynamics and contradiction of love and fear. In European literature, such as Thomas Mann, or Virginia Woolf, depict the revolt of the young man against his father, and the dutiful daughter seeking to emancipate herself as a young woman. In a contemporary situation of migration around the globe, Simmel dictum is highly relevant: "… in the relationship to him (the stranger), distance means that he, who is close by, is far, and strangeness means that he, who is also far, is actually near." 17 To be a stranger means to be confronted with the welcome sign, and at the same time, to meet hostility and rejection. The stranger and the local meet, but, seem not to understand that they meet "each other". The dialectic relationship between the two is hidden to them, perhaps, and they do not seem to understand that they find themselves in a situation of win-win, if only they understood their encounter. Historically the stranger appeared as the trader, like the Arab seafarer who traveled from the Arabian Peninsula to India, onward to Aceh, present-day northern tip of Indonesia. Trade and business enterprise promoted nearness and distance, exactly as is the case in urban life. The basic interaction in urban life is exchange in the form of trade and business. Supply and demand dictates the social forms of the encounter among local, natives, and strangers. It is this urban dialectic and paradox, of being near and, yet, distant, that is promoted by money economy. What Simmel observed in 1900 Berlin has become a fact in all urban environments: money dictates the rhythm of life style of all inhabitants of Metropolis, as the famous film of 1929 portrays the scenery. Emotional life is intensified, quick reactions are expected, and conflict increase. Economic patterns emerge: exchange value dictates practical life, scarcity and want operate side by side, the desire for pleasure, mediated by labor as salary, or profits from stock market investments, promote the reign of capital. The city and urban life support the abstract, the calculation, exactness, punctuality. There are limits, but they can't be seen with the naked eyes, since they are called "glass ceilings", transparent, but unseen. Sociability (Vergesellschaftung) is total: there is no individual privacy, contrary public advertisement. Although urban life makes individuality possible, the question is, what is its price? The division of labor in the city shows its extremity, yet, people follow the age old medieval song: whose bread I eat, whose song I sing ("Wes' Brot ich ess', des Lied ich sing").

The city produces agonistic games in which money operates as a mediation, cold, calculable, non-emphatic, and does not smell. Especially, the atmosphere of indifference is paramount, as a glass shield to protect against unwelcome encounters. Indifference turns out to be a tactic of the city dweller against anyone he or she does not wish to meet or encounter, even by accident. In an atmosphere of indifference everyone turns stranger, or the Other, in that sense there is nearness and distance at the same time. It is an INDIFFERENT LIFE-STYLE, as money is, non-emotional, quantitative expression of cash value, depending on supply and demand, or naked need. Simmel understood the philosophical theme being an acute sociological observer of Metropolis that the central struggle of the city is between nature and culture. This is the life and death struggle to express that contradiction that is always accompanies humans, namely the contradiction between impulse and art, nature and culture. The migrant is driven by the impulse of life, to be and stay alive, and strife for a better life for his children. This is the experience of the early 21st Century, even walls and fences can't inhibit the migrant. It is life or death, nothing in-between. No doubt, the city with its money culture, pure, seems very far from this life and death struggle, but, in fact, it is the city air, that the migrant hopes to reach, like his predecessor in early modern European history, the city and money, means individual freedom. That individual freedom has its limits, is dictated by the

money economy. The irony of the situation is, that there is an analogy between the nature of money and the encounter with the Other: both affairs, money and encounter, exhibit indifference, exhibit quantitative value, and provide nearness and/or distance, depending on the price of encounter.

ON THE OTHERNESS OF THE SELF: THE MIRROR IMAGE

To conclude this presentation for want of space and time we can come to a preliminary CONCLUSION. It is an irony of real life that adults will have never known their parents as young people. They rely on old photos and stories by older family members or school friends of the parents. Likewise, humans are never able to see themselves as others seem them. That is to say, I can see myself in a mirror, but I know it only a mirror image of myself, a mirror copy, but not my real face. This may be the reason why we are in need of social interaction in order to experience our real self; yet, in order to experience ourselves as real and develop a feeling of who we are a strong bonding is necessary, usually with initiated with our immediate environment, parents, and extended family.

In short, the social interaction with others and the OTHER is nothing else than the interaction, and at times, the confrontation with ourselves. Real life means, to be confronted with ourselves, with our contradictions, dialectical finesse, and encountering the OTHER, the otherness of our SELF. Modernity produces museums, tourists, and strangers. We have to deal with it otherwise modernity will negate our self turning us into a non-existent entity. The wisdom of Max Weber told us that we will find ourselves in an "iron cage", it is not that he was looking forward to this type of modern life style, yet, we must make an effort to find a new key unlocking this iron cage so as to find a new type of life, without the cage, but with a meaning that makes life worth living. This enterprise will need much effort and work so as to find a way to encounter the Other in a more human mode since it is ourselves that we deal with, at the end.

NOTES

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Cf. Georg Simmel, On Individuality and Social Forms. Edited and with an INTRODUCTION by Donald N. Levine. University of Chicago Press 1971; complementary volume on Weber, H.H. Gerth and C.Wright Mills, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. London: Routledge 1991.

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Ibid., Allport, p. 372 ff. see Chapter 25: "The Prejudiced Personality".

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THE RANGE OF ATTACKS ON MOSQUES IN GERMANY AND IT´S SOCIAL CONTEXT. DOES RIGHT WING POPULISM AFFECT ANTI-MOSQUE ATTACKS?

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INTRODUCTION

Threatening letters, swastika graffiti´s, and arson attacks. Repeatedly mosques will be target of (mostly racist motivated) aggressive acts. 251 attacks on mosques were counted in Germany within the period of 2014 to 2016. The dark figures are suspected to be significantly higher. [44]

These attacks as a part of the Xenophobia/Islamophobia problem have consequences and involve messages to the addressed people, in this case people with Islamic belief. They are not just bad jokes ore monkeyshines, but rather part of a phenomenon that damages the social peace of a society and threatens fundamental social values of coexistence and democracy. Mosque attacks send messages like *"You don´t belong here, you are not a part of our society, you and your religion will be seen as a foreign danger"*. In consequence, Mosque communities feel discriminated and rejected. The most common motive is hostility against minority groups that will be looked upon as foreigners, whether or not these people are born in Germany. Here the former enemy image of the Turkish foreign worker became substituted by the Muslim Image.

Within mosque attacks, we observe a "We" against "The Other" dichotomy. This dichotomy in turn finds itself in different discourses about integration, immigration, Islam in Germany and so on (it´s important to mention that you find discourses about Islam in Germany without right wing populism and hostility). Different right wing groups and parties try to influence these discourses with right wing populist topics und try to gain profit from it.

As we see, mosque attacks must be considered in different contexts on different analytical levels. We have a phenomenon "Othering" on a macro level, right wing populist demonstrations and parties on a meso level and mosque attacks on a micro level. Therefore, we cannot analyze the phenomenon without it´s social contexts.

This article addresses some relevant causes and influencing factors regarding mosque attacks without a guaranty of completeness. The phenomenon is complex, so we focus only some factors and mechanisms here. Especially the question of a possible correlation between right wing populist discourses and mosque attacks.

This article has the following structure.

First, we describe important transformation processes and the mechanisms of (re-)building group identity. This is important because the topic of this article "mosque attacks" is part of an essential sociological phenomenon.

Second, on a meso level, we give some examples of right wing populism in Germany that focusses Islam and Muslims. So we describe very shortly the Pegida demonstrations in Dresden (Okt. 2014-Jan. 2015), the demonstration and rampages of HoGeSa in Cologne, the rampages between PKK/YPG sympathizers and Salafists for example in Hamburg (both in Oktober 2014) and the so-called "Refugee debate" starting from May 2015.

Third, we focus consequences on a micro level, describe the phenomenon mosque attacks in Germany and present data of a period from 2014 to 2016.

Fourth, we try to find indicators of a correlation between right wing populism and it´s discourses and mosque attacks.

Macro Level: Transformation processes, group identities and Islamophobia

What is the cause of fears for Islam and Muslims in western societies and mosque attacks as a consequence of

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44 Paffrath, Ulrich (2016): Moscheeübergriffe als Teil von Diskriminierung in Deutschland. Darstellung erfasster Übergriffe 2014-2015. Köln: Ditib ZSU GmbH

it?There are many scientific explanations and researches, so we provide only one cutout perspective among others. We focus on transformation processes and their influence on group's und perception of minority groups.

Since the 1990ies we study a lot of transformation processes in western societies. The Reunion of Eastern and Western Germany, the End of the Cold War, the Globalization of Trade and Communication, transformation of the meaning of religiosity in western societies and so on. Another important event was the workers immigration since the 1960ies especially the immigration of Turkish Muslims to Germany. Over the years, Islamic Live became more and more visible.

All these transformation processes and its consequences mostly come along with fears, because the well-known Status Quo seems to be terminated and benefits of resources imagined to be in danger. Moreover, people cannot identify a responsible Group, Person, and Development for the processes that change their lives and their interpretations of the society. The Processes are too complex to identify one Responsibility.

Before 2001, the constructed and oppressed social minority group was "The foreigners". With terrible consequences, right up to killings and arson attacks at the beginning of the 1990ies.[45]

After the Terror attacks in 2001 in New York, we study a change in the perception/construction of minority groups. People – Especially Turkish people – who came from Islamic countries, would no longer be seen as foreigners. They became Muslims.

The listed transformations lead to a change of the self-perception of individuals and groups. As already mentioned well-known orientations resolve itself, changes become faster and faster, the complexity grows up. In short: The well-known self-identity becomes confused. Some social scientists call this "damaged Identity".[46] Damaged Identity is a dissonant status and individuals and social groups try to resolve it. As we could see one way of resolving is to force the boundaries between minority and majority groups. Parts of the majority group try to construct a "we-Group" in boundary to a minority "Other-Group". The goal is to reinsure own well-known Identity concepts. The consequences are frightfully up to hostile perceptions of the "Other-Group", avoiding, discrimination and hostility.

Effects of group boundaries in "We-" and "Other-Groups" are called "Othering". We describe Othering as in consequence of globalization, workers migration and fear for terrorism.

However, another very important reason for othering effects is to ensure benefits of the majority group members. That means oppression of minority group members will be interpreted as a power struggle for the limited resources within the society.[47]

What are the social mechanisms of Othering? How will "Others" be constructed?

First: A minority group will be imagined as a <u>uniform social group</u>, like "THE foreigners" in the 1990ies. This is an important point. The Minority group will be unified, that means heterogeneity within the group will be faded out completely. For example: All Muslims are the same and have all the same characteristics.

Second: Parts of the majority group try to strength the self-perception by ascribing bad characteristics to the minority group/the other-group. Prejudices, Stereotypes and frightfully perceptions will be projected onto the "Other-Group".

Third: Processes of Othering need visible or imagined Characteristics or Symbols. So people can be identified as Other-group members. For example: the color of skin, different language, specific (religious or traditional) pieces of clothing, mosques and so on. The more Differences are visible the more easily is the process of Othering.

Fourth: At least, group perceptions can change. Please remind the change Foreigners'Muslims. Therefore, the <u>Process of Othering can be quite flexible</u>.

45 Han, Petrus (2010): Soziologie der Migration. Stuttgart: UTB Verlag. pages 286-287
46 Goffman, Erwing (2010): Stigma: Über Techniken der Bewältigung beschädigter Identität. Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag
47 Abels, Heinz (2004): Einführung in die Soziologie. Band 2: Die Individuen in der Gesellschaft. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag. Page 300

Turkey - Spain – Bulgaria – Germany – Czech Republic

In case of Muslims in western societies, we observe a visibility (Headscarfs, Mosques and so on). Furthermore, you have a lot of very old historical Prejudices, Stereotypes and Fears regarding Islam within Western Societies. As we have seen. The general fear for terrorism as part of 9/11 connected itself with the old fears for Islam and Muslims, because the Terrorists were perceived as Muslims.

These conditions promote Muslims to be victims of Othering processes.

The view on a macro level is very important to understand right wing populism against Islam and Muslims and mosque attacks for example in Germany. We tried to illustrate Islamophobia and mosque attacks as a part of a global sociological phenomenon.

Within the next chapter, we give some short examples of right wing populist groups and actions in Germany, thatespecially target Islam and Muslims. One event is exceptional here.[48]

Meso Level: Right wing populism using the example of Pegida, AfD, HoGeSa and the „refugee debate"

What is right wing populism? The phenomenon is characterized by a set of hostile, aggressive-authoritarian and anti-democratic attitudes. The difference between right wing populism and right wing extremism is the acceptance of violence, but we see an increasing acceptance of violence within right wing populism.[49]

For right wing populism two Dimensions are typical. The narrative of "The big nobs" and "we down here" and the narrative of "We" against "The Others".[50] This underpins the importance of the previous analysis of the "Othering" phenomenon.

Right wing populism tries to give easy answers to the described transformation processes and its consequences by propagate re-nationalization, anti-EU and anti-political-Elites propaganda, building enemy images against Muslims and other minority groups. This will combined with the claim for a return to conservative values.

The islamophobic perception of Islamand Muslims, you can study within right wing populismalso, locates Muslims in regions with low economic power and high criminality. It`s proven statistical that this is not right. This fact has been proven for all the following listed prejudices regarding Islam and Muslims:

Islam is a (political) ideology, not a religion; Muslims have a higher fertility and try to infiltrate western societies with a higher birth rate ("Islamization"); Muslims have a lower education; Muslims try to misuse the health and welfare system;Muslims don`t want to integrate themselves in the western societies because of their different culture and religion; Muslims try to disguise their real (anti-western and anti-christian) goals (taqiyya blame); Islam incompatible to western ideas of democracy and freedom; Scharia is a brutal punishment system (hacking off hands etc.) and Muslim males are violent.[51]

There are different right wing populist Groups and parties that try to gain profit by using these widespread prejudices in their islamophobic campaigns.

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48 The rampages between PKK/YPG sympathizers and Salafists for example in Hamburg cannot be seen as an event of right wing populism in Germany. However, it´s an important event that influenced right wing groups, for example Pegida

49 Zick, Andreas / Küpper, Beate / Krause, Daniel (2016): Gespaltene Mitte – Feindselige Zustände. Rechtsextreme Einstellungen in Deutschland 2016. Bonn: J.H.W. Dietz Verlag. pages 121-122

50 Zick et al. 2016. page 114.

51 Foroutan, Naika (2012): Muslimbilder in Deutschland. Wahrnehmungen und Ausgrenzungen in der Integrationsdebatte. Bonn: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. pages 23 ff.; Shooman, Yasemin (2014): >>…weil ihre Kultur so ist<< Narrative des antimuslimischen Rassismus. Bielefeld: transcript Verlag. page 54 ff.; Attia Iman (2014): Antimuslimische Argumentationsweisen, in: Attia, Iman / Häusler, Alexander / Shooman, Yasemin (2014): Antimuslimischer Rassismus am rechten Rand. Münster: Unrast Verlag. page 14-29

52 Decker, Frank (2015): Veränderung der Parteienlandschaft durch das Aufkommen der AfD – ein dauerhaftes Phänomen?, in: Zick, Andreas / Küpper, Beate (2015): Wut. Verachtung. Abwertung. Rechtspopulismus in Deutschland. Bonn: J.H.W. Dietz. Page 110

First, we mention the Party "Alternative for Germany (AfD)", founded in April 2013.[52] The development history goes back until the 1990´s.[53]

Bebnowski identifies three ideological components within the AfD. Conservatism, market liberalism and populism. These three components cover a wide spectrum of topics. The party became successful in Germany in the context of the so-called "Euro Crisis" and the political solutions of Chancellor Angela Merkel. The AfD could establish itself as an Alternative to Angela Merkel´s "Euro Crisis"-Politics, which was claimed as without an alternative by CDU/CSU. Within this period, prominent economists like Bernd Lucke and Hans-Olaf Henkel led the party. As typical for right wing parties, we observe many power struggles. The most important struggle was between Bernd Lucke and Frauke Petry who represent more right wing populist topics like anti-Islam and anti-Immigration topics.

Petry won this struggle and the AfD changed itself from an (populist) economist focus to a right wing populist focus, which especially deals with islamophobic agitations. Protagonists of this course are Frauke Petry, Björn Höcke, Alexander Gauland and Beatrix von Storch.[54] The self-concept of the party is a conservative alternative to the right of the CDU/CSU, but we can clearly observe a right wing populist strategy, which contains agitations against the political elites (so called "old-parties"), dissidents and minority groups (especially Muslims).

The AfD is attractive for people that agree to conservative values. These values, traditionally represented by the CDU/CSU, they claim endangered by Angela Merkel´s politics. So you find many disappointed conservative CDU/CSU voters among AfD voters. In addition, a relevant size of non-voters groups could be mobilized by the AfD. This party is also attractive for people that agree to right wing populist attitudes. Political scientist predict the AfD to reach about 10-15 % by the federal election in September 2017. Undoubtedly, the AfD has a relevant influence on the political agenda and successfully places right wing populist topics within political discourses.

The AfD and Pegida have an ideological overlap especially regarding anti-Islam and anti-immigration topics.

Pegida means „Patriotic european against the islamization of the occident". This protest movement – dominated by right wing attitudes, especially xenophobia and islamophobia- started first demonstrations in October 2014. Climax of these demonstrations was on 12th of January 2015 with about 25.000 participants in Dresden. It´s interesting that Pegida seems to be a local phenomenon in Dresden (Saxony).

The participants of Pegida are middle-aged males who are not very religious. They have a higher education and have an employment.[55] Within the Pegida demonstrations, there is a widespread spectrum of topics. From conspiracy theories like "Islamization" (and other) to anti-immigration and anti-Angela Merkel claims. As in the title, "Islamization" and anti-Islamic topics and claims are constituent for Pegida. The agitations reach up to hostile placards in which Islam is equated with cancer.

Lutz Bachmann, one of the Pegida founders, said one event was vital for der founding of Pegida. He said the rampages between PKK/YPG sympathizers and Salafists for example in Hamburg in October 2014 were a kind of a shock for him and the other founders. These rampages gained attention nationwide and the reactions were very upset within the majority of the population. It´s important to mention this event, although it´s not a right wing populist event, because of the nationwide negative reactions. Furthermore, it is the founding myth of the Pegida Movement.

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53 Bebnowski, David (2015): Die Alternative für Deutschland. Aufstieg und gesellschaftliche Repräsentanz einer rechten populistischen Partei. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag. page 30
54 Bednowski 2015. pages 19-25
55 Geiges, Lars / Marg, Stine / Walter, Franz (2015): Pegida. Die schmutzige Seite der Zivilgesellschaft. Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung. Pages 63-64

The Pegida movement weakens over the last Year. However, it´s topics and the attitudes are not gone as we observe in different researches.[56] The majority of Pegida Participants will vote the AfD party that underlines the ideological overlap.[57]

We also observe an overlap to the HoGeSa demonstrations in cologne. HoGeSa is the abbreviation of „ Hooligans against Salafists". This was a loosely coalition of different Football Hooligan groups and right wing extremists who mobilized themselves within social media platforms like Facebook. On 26th of October 2014, about 4000 people of HoGeSa demonstrated in Cologne. Different rampages came about and the participants claimed anti-Islamic, anti-immigration and other xenophobic paroles.

The last "event" is the so-called "refugee debate" which came up in May 2015. This discourse was essentially influenced by right wing populist topics and AfD, Pegida and other groups seemed to have great influence on the topics. Skillfully they exploited fears in society triggered by refugee migration. Within the "refugee debate" we find xenophobic agitations as well as islamophobic agitations. For example right wing populist asked the question why most of the refugees were young Muslim people and claimed this as an indication of an "Islamization" of European societies.

All these right wing populists try to shift the boundaries of xenophobic and islamophobic statements and attitudes right to the middle of the society. Thereby they claim themselves as the only authentic representatives of conservatism and it´s values. This strategy has consequences as we see in agreements to xenophobic and islamophobic statements in the middle of the society.[58] Zick also measured a strong link between xenophobia and islamophobia.[59] However, attitudes don´t stand-alone. A xenophobic and anti-Islam climate within the society can encourage some people to hostile actions. Here we can mention the attacks against refugee accommodations that climaxed in 2016 with 921 attacks.[60] The police did not know many offenders previously.

As we have shown the right wing populist discourses are not only xenophobic, they mostly contain islamophobic topics. So, we conclude to our thesis islamophobic discourses on a meso level lead on to hate crimes against Muslims and/or Symbols of Islam like mosques on a micro level.

Micro Level: Effects of right wing populism – mosque attacks in Germany 2014-2016

Right wing populist discourses affect the rate of mosque attacks. This is our thesis. First of all it´s important to give an overview.

The Ditib Antiracism and Antidiscrimination Office is gathering mosque attacks since 2013.

What is our definition of mosque attacks?

Every incident or attack against the mosque building, prayer rooms and/or buildings aground the mosque complex we gather as a mosque attack. An act against the mosque as a symbol of Islam is important to be gathered as a mosque attack. We gather all forms of attacks, from arson attacks to threatening letters. Criminally relevant (offenses) or not. For an example: A threatening letter within caricatures of Mohamed pictured is not necessarily punishable. Nevertheless, it has an impact on the mosque community (massively insulting), so we gather such incidents too.

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56 Zick et al. 2016; Bertelsmann Stiftung (Religionsmonitor) 2015
57 Zick et al. 2016. Page 146
58 Zick et al. 2016. Pages 44-45
59 Zick et al. 2016. Page 163
60 http://www.tagesschau.de/inland/bka-fluechtlingsunterkuenfte-statistik-101.html

The presented data compilation combines our own gathering with the data of the Federal Criminal Police Office. What are the results?

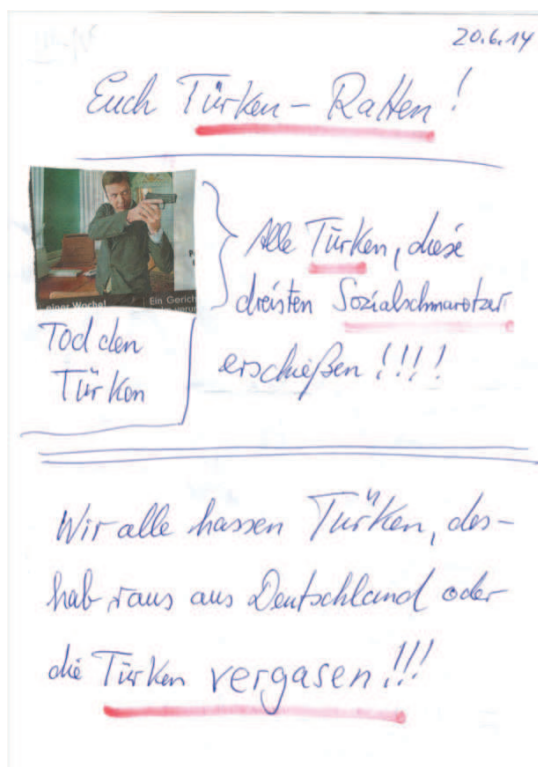Within the period of 2014 to 2016, we gathered 268 mosque attacks in Germany.

Type of incident/attack	2014	2015	2016	Result
insult / threat / provocation	33	47	48	128
tresspass / burglary / criminal damage	34	38	38	110
violence / attacks using violence	6	14	9	29
unknown			1	1
Overall result	73	99	96	268

Source: Ditib Antiracism and Antidiscrimination office, updated Feb. 2017

As we see, most of the attacks are provocations, threats or insults. This reaches from threatening letters to pig´s head in front of mosques or swastika graffiti. This type of incidents increases since 2014 continuously.

Examples:

Threatening letter from 20.06.2014, Cologne

Swastika graffiti from 09.07.2015, Welzheim

Source: Ditib Antiracism and Antidiscrimination office, updated Feb. 2017

<u>Arson attacks dominate the category</u> "violence / attacks using violence". 17 of the 29 Attacks using violence directly were arson attacks.

Example arson attack:

Arson attack from 14.12.2015, Stuttgart-Feuerbach

The rate of mosque attacks persists on a high level since 2015 (2015: 99/2016: 96). If we focus the offenses (punishable acts) within our gathered mosque attacks (remember we gather not punishable acts too) there is a clearly increase. Official data from the Federal Criminal Police Office approve this. The Office gathered 91 offenses against mosques in 2016 (2014: 60 / 2014: 75), an increase of 30 percent compared to 2015.[61] We cannot approve a steadily increase of mosque attacks since 2014, but an increase of offenses within anti-mosque actions. The offenses climaxed in 2016.

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61 http://www.express.de/news/politik-und-wirtschaft/anstieg-um-30-prozent-deutlich-mehr-angriffe-auf-moscheen-in-deutschland-25202520
http://www.zeit.de/news/2017-02/10/deutschland-bericht-neuer-hoechststand-bei-angriffen-auf-moscheen-in-2016-10164603

What are the motives of crimes against mosques? It´s important to know we only classify motives if it is absolutely clearly. This explains the high rate of not clarified motives of crimes against mosques.

Motive of crime	2014	2015	2016	result
xenophobic/right wing extremism	26	38	37	101
islamophobic	18	13	20	51
Fundamentalistic (Salafists)		1	1	2
No islamophobic motive	7		1	8
Not clarified yet	9	35	11	55
PKK conflict		9	10	19
Politically motivated (foreign Back-ground)	4	1	3	8
Politically motivated (left wing extrem-ism)	2		1	3
Politically motivated (other)	7	2	12	21
Overall result	73	99	96	268

Source: Ditib Antiracism and Antidiscrimination office, updated Feb. 2017

More than half of the attacks were motivated xenophobic or islamophobic.

"Hotspots" of mosque attacks ordered by federal states are NorthRhine-Westphalia(88 incidents 2014-2016), Lower Sachsony (37 incidents 2014-2016), Baden-Wuerttemberg(27 incidents 2014-2016) and Bavaria (24 incidents 2014-2016).

Federal state	2014	2015	2016	result
Baden-Württemberg	3	17	7	27
Bavaria	10	9	5	24
Berlin	5	3	2	10
Brandenburg			4	4
Hamburg	6	5		11
Hessia	3	5	7	15
Mecklenburg-Hither Pomerania			2	2
Lower Sachsony	8	9	20	37
NorthRhine-Westphalia	25	38	25	88
Rhineland-Palatinate	6	3	3	12
Saarland		3	2	5
Sachsony	3	4	10	17
Sachsony-Anhalt		2		2
Schleswig-Holstein	3	1	7	11
Thuringia	1		2	3
Overall result	73	99	96	268

Source: Ditib Antiracism and Antidiscrimination office, updated Feb. 2017

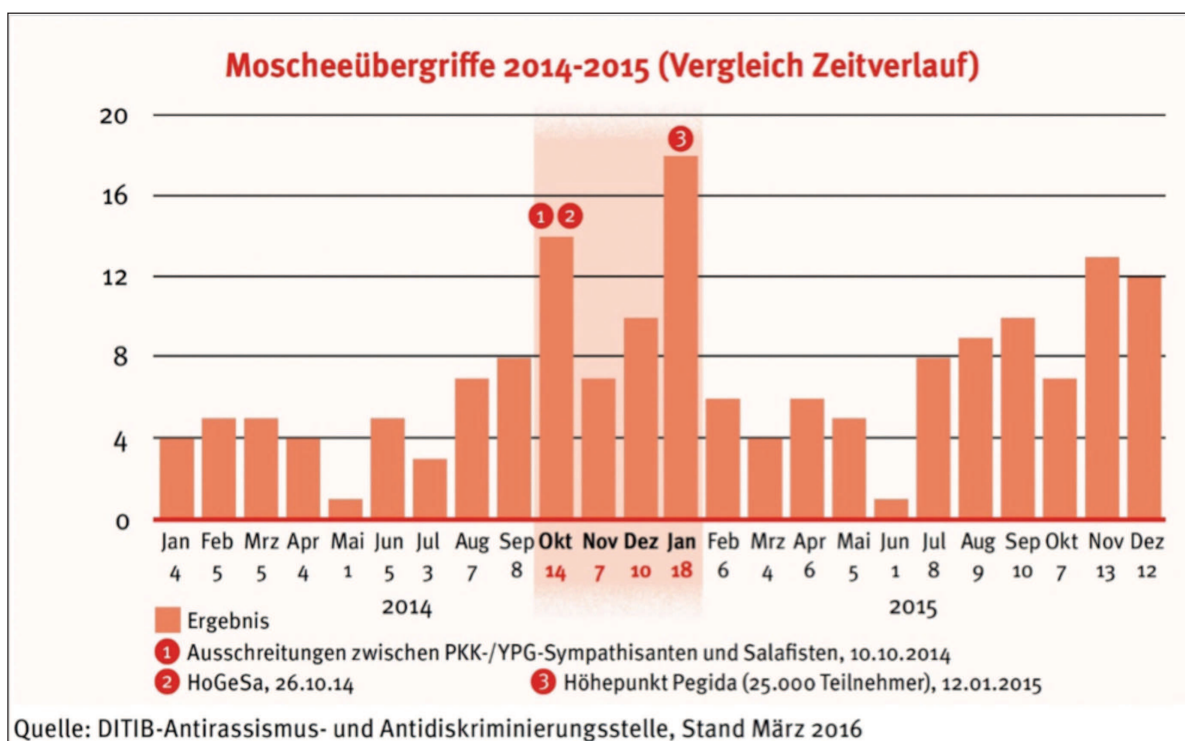Source: Ditib Antiracism and Antidiscrimination office, updated Feb. 2017

It might be interesting to look at the rate of incidents in Sachsony. In total, we have 17 incidents from 2014 to 2016, but the development is interesting. 3 incidents in 2014, 4 incidents in 2015 and 10 incidents in 2016. The rate of mosque attacks rises increasingly in 2016. This underlines our thesis right wing populist discourses and events (in this case Pegida especially) animate people to attack people or imagined symbols of Islam (like mosques).

Can we find furthermore indications for the influence of right wing populist discourses and events on mosque attacks?

Comparison of right wing populist discourses/events and mosque attacks in Germany 2014-2015

We did this comparison for the period of 2014 to 2015. The comparison for 2016 is not finished yet so we concentrate on 2014-2015.

We have to relevant graphics for our thesis. First let´s have a look at the mosque attacks 2014-2015 ordered in months.
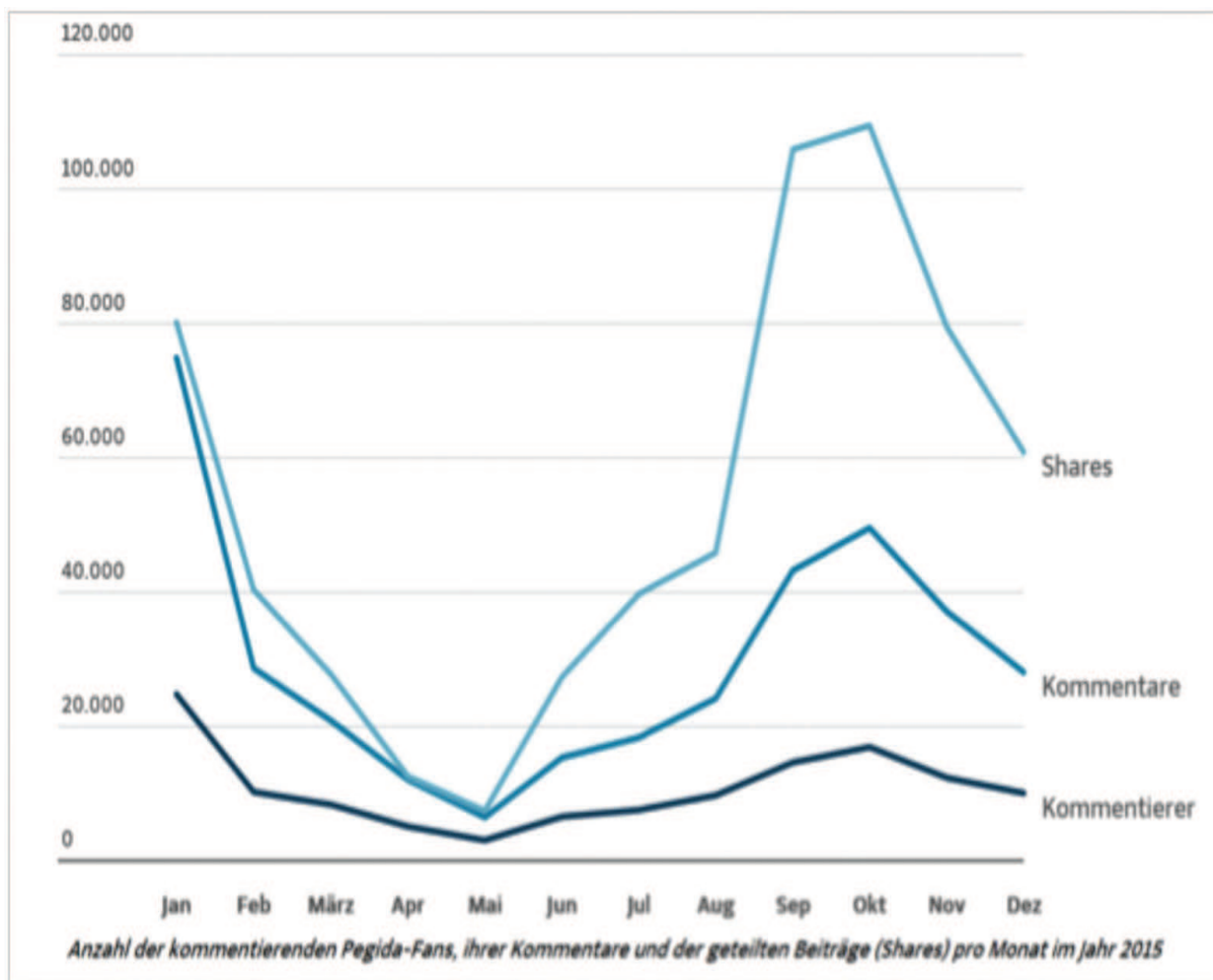

Moscheeübergriffe 2014-2015 (Vergleich Zeitverlauf)

Quelle: DITIB-Antirassismus- und Antidiskriminierungsstelle, Stand März 2016

We observe a concentration of mosque attacks within the months Oct 2014 (14 attacks) and Jan 2015 (18 attacks).

Now let´s look at right wing populist events within this period. First, we had the rampages between PKK/YPG-sympathizers and Salafists on 10TH of October 2014. We mentioned this was the founding myth of the Pegida movement. So Pegida started demonstrations from October 2014 to it´s climax in January 2015. Second we had demonstrations and rampages of HoGeSa, especially on 26TH of October 2014 in Cologne. The absolute climax of mosque attacks we observe in January 2015. This coincides with the climax of Pegida demonstrations on 12TH of January 2015 where round about 25.000 participants were counted. These connections between the listed events and climaxes of mosque attacks can be an

accident. However, in our view they indicate the influence of right wing populist incidents on mosque attacks. In other words: hate speech leads to hate crimes, sooner or later.

We found another indicator for our assumption. This concerns the "refugee debate" beginning in May 2015. The newspaper "Süddeutsche Zeitung" made a researchanalyzing the "traffic" on the Pegida facebook side. The "refugee debate" within the Pegida facebook network was dominated by xenophic and islamophobic statements and topics. [62]
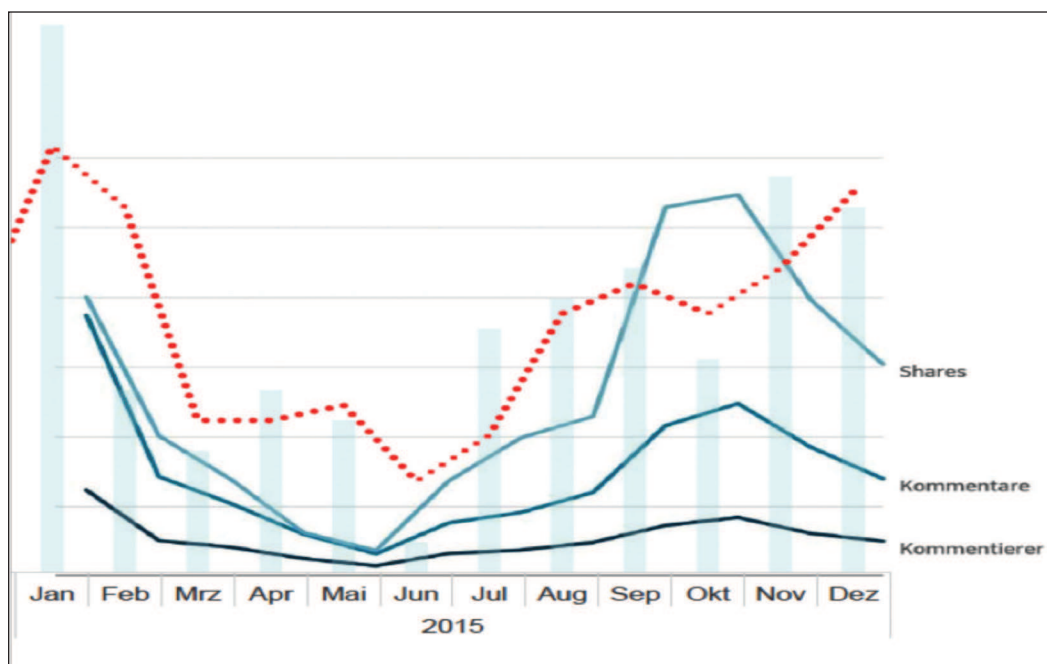
The reporters analyzed the rate of comments, the rate of shares and the rate of commentators. They published the following graph for the period of 2015:

Anzahl der kommentierenden Pegida-Fans, ihrer Kommentare und der geteilten Beiträge (Shares) pro Monat im Jahr 2015

Source:http://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/ein-jahr-pegida-pegida-auf-facebook-hetze-im-sekundentakt-1.2806271

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62 We feel sorry this grahic is only available in german language

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What we did is to put the rate of mosque attacks on top of this graph to analyze hints of similarities.

Source: Own assortment

The red graph shows the curve shape of mosque attacks within 2015. Up to two exceptions (April and October), we observe a similar curve shape between Pegida facebook traffic (which represents right wing populist online discourses) and mosque attacks.

We interpret the results of the presented comparisons as indicators for the connection between the level of attitudes and discourses and the level of actions (especially hate crimes against mosques).

The data situation is too weak to claim a correlation or a causal connection. But the results are noticeable. It is important to do more researches to prove our results.

CONCLUSION

Right wing populist discourses and demonstrations affect mosque attacks as an act of discrimination instantly. This thesis is a result of our researches. Mosque attacks and right wing populism we contextualized with phenomenon of group perceptions, group identity constructions (othering) and processes of social and technical transformations. On this analytical macro level it´s a global phenomenon. Indeed, we observe a strengthening of populist movements in many countries in reaction to fundamental changes within societies and their values.

Othering in context of global transformations is a problem if it is combined with (racist) perceptions of non-equality between "cultural" or "ethnic" constructed groups.

Sometimes we get the impression, right wing populism and islamophobia increases constantly. However, this is not approved clearly by scientific researches.[63] The situation is more complicated. For example right wing extremists became more radicalized and they will become louder within the public (Pegida demonstrations for example). This would explain our impression of increasing right wing populism. In addition, we observe a strategy right wing activist try to shift the boundaries of permitted attitudes and topics, so misanthropic contents intrude more and more the discourses. Furthermore, an important phenomenon, which is still neglected yet, is the advance of conspiracy-beliefs into the middle

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63 Compare among others Zick et al. 2016

of the society. This we interpret as a kind of launcher system for right wing populism, extremism and islamophobia. Within a World of globalized communication and counter-publics in the internet, this phenomenon seems to increase truly.

All these influence factors (among others) encourage some people to acts of hate crime. Attacks against mosques is only one example for it.

However, İslamophobia, right wing populism and mosque attacks is not a mass phenomenon. Perhaps we can argue optimistic: These phenomenon's are temporary, caused by transformation processes and will solve itself in a couple of years. Nevertheless, this view is too optimistic. We must be attentive.

The majority of people in Germany share free and democratic values. Right wing populism and islamophobia are minority attitudes, but they are a danger for society. The whole society has to guarantee anequal participation of all members of the society. Anti-minorities attitudes and acts of discrimination we identify as an obstacle.

Among others, we have to face the problem by strengthening the values of equality, respect and fairness within democratic discourses. This is only one strategy among a crowd, in the same way, we observe many scientific (and sometimes different) approaches to explain phenomenon like right wing populism and islamophobia. Therefore, we presented only a cutout of the phenomenon.

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INTERFAITH LEARNING IN THE CONTEXT OF INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION: IMPLICATIONS OF AN INTERNATIONAL ERASMUS+ PROJECT

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INTRODUCTION

The world has turned into a place where people with more diverse religions and cultures interact with each today. This in turn urges people to know better the people whom encounter and live with. It is believed that the solution is to create environments where people with different cultures can engage in the act of learning about each other and, preferably doing it together, and introduce people with diverse cultures and religions to each other in these settings. Various national and international projects are conducted to foster the culture of peace and nurture the consciousness of tolerating those who are different from us. One of them is the Erasmus+ project titled "Religious Education and Intercultural Learning," launched in 2014 with the involvement of two schools and two faculties from three countries. [64] [65]

Seven meetings were organized with the participation of teachers and academics from four educational institutions under the scope of the project. In these meetings and workshops, experts from the host country transferred their knowledge and experience on religious education and intercultural religious education to the participants and discussions were held. Activities were undertaken to bolster the intercultural learning environment such as the exchange of student groups between schools.

This presentation aims to assess the cultural encounters experienced within the scope of the project on religious education and intercultural learning from the perspective of a religious education scholar.

The experiences obtained in the context of the project revealed that intercultural encounters, it is not enough to bring people together; it is equally important to manage the process correctly. In addition, certain experiences showing that real politics dominate educational developments are instructive in that they call for the need for mutual goodwill and sincerity in cultural encounters. Likewise, it was observed that there might be diverse factors that affect cultural encounter settings. It is believed that these observations will prove beneficial in developing certain principles in encounters between diverse cultures and managing the process.

"RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AND INTERCULTURAL LEARNING PROJECT"

The details on the title, purpose, realpolitik justifications and implementation process of the project will facilitate the interpretation of the experiences.

Project and Purpose

The title of the project is "Religiöse Bildung und Interkulturelles Lernen / Religious Education and Intercultural Learning." The project started on September 1, 2014 and is planned to be completed on August 31, 2017.

64 See Mualla Selçuk, "Birlikte Yaşamaya Kur'ani bir yaklaşım Tearuf" (A Qur'an-centered approach to coexistence: taarruf), in Kültürel Çeşitlilik ve Din (Cultural Diversity and Religion) (ed. Remziye Yılmaz), Sinemis Yayınları, Ankara, 2005, pp. 229-242.
65 See Nurullah Altaş, Çokkültürlülük ve Din Eğitimi (Multiculturalism and Religious Education), Nobel Yayınları, Ankara, 2003.

The purpose of the project is to bring together schools and universities, i.e., practitioners and theoreticians, together to ensure exchange of experience and knowledge on religion and education as matters which have been received much attention in recent years. The target is to come up with one or two theoretical and practical works on the religious education and intercultural education as a result of three years of exchange and joint work. The original plan was to publish the academic one of these works in two languages, namely German and Turkish. However, due to financial constraints, it was published only in German.

Participants and Realpolitik Justifications of the Project

Providing information on the project partners will help to identify not only them, but also the realpolitik justifications of the project.

The project's partners are from Germany, Liechtenstein and Turkey. The project is owned by Liechtenstein-based "Europäisches Institut für interkulturelle und interreligiöse Forschung / European Intercultural and Interfaith Research Institute," led by a Protestant priest.

One of the two participating schools is Oberschule Eschen, located in Eschen, Liechtenstein. This school is a secondary school providing the lowest level basic secondary education after Gymnasium and Realschule. This school focuses on preparing its students for vocational education in a four-year program and its graduates can attend a vocational education institution or a higher secondary education school.

The school has 36 teachers and 160 students (2016). Students are from more than 10 nationalities and one-third of students are not Liechtensteiners. Likewise, one-third of students are Muslims. There are students from other religions as well. Due to this rich mixture of nationalities, cultures and religions, the tolerance and coexistence training is prioritized at the school. This training is planned and implemented also as a personality development training.

At the school, a course titled "Religion and Culture" is taught within the framework of religious education and intercultural learning and attendance by all students is compulsory. This course adopts an anthropological approach and seeks to provide information to students. Thus, the aim is to ensure that all students are informed about all religions, particularly including the religions of each other. In addition, elective sectarian / doctrinal religion courses are taught. In addition to courses, various social and educational activities are organized to boost intercultural interaction and cohesion. Some of these activities are listed as follows: Holocaust Commemoration Day (January 27), held to raise awareness about human rights, freedom and democracy; "intercultural lunchtime activities" in which students share meals, music and games, etc.; the activity projects titled "the school shows its compassion" that seeks to facilitate social encounters outside the school; "good friends" projects and "drama" activities where older schools provide guidance for younger ones. (Information provided by Principal Mrs. Carolin Meier)

Another participant school is Schillerschule Karlsruhe from Karlsruhe, Germany. This school consists of a primary and secondary school / Werkrealschule. It has 320 students --150 in primary school-- in the academic year 2016-2017. Its students come from 60 countries and the rate of non-Christian students is quite high. The students are practitioners of diverse religions and the rate of Muslims among primary school students is 34%. The Islamic religion course has been being taught at the primary school for 6 years. The principal believes that teaching the Islamic religion course at the school has helped Muslim students feel themselves part of the school and community. Thanks to this course, she notes, Muslim students feel that they are welcomed with their religion at the school. This school, too, attaches great importance to the training on tolerance, respect and refraining from using brute force and making these qualities part of students' personalities. To this end, a number of well-established educational activities

are organized. These activities and projects include "music as a common language," "world journey" (exhibiting diverse activities at the school from diverse cultures), "colors of my homeland," and "calendar of religious festivals."

One of the participants at the faculty level was the Islamic Theology and Religious Education Institute, Pedagogic School, University of Karlsruhe, Germany. Although it was recently established, this institute has played a major role in preparing and implementing the trial model for the Islamic religion course to be taught at the schools in the State of Baden-Württemberg, giving volunteers from existing Muslim teachers in other branches the in-service training for teaching the Islamic religion course and finally in proceeding from the trial model to the actual model and preparing syllabuses. The Islamic religion course has gone through its model phrase to maturity at this institute and its establishment was completed in parallel to this course's acquiring its primary status. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the institute is still in its infancy in terms of personnel and education. It is one of the institutions which educate the Islamic religion course teachers and it is located in the State of BW.

The program's partner from Turkey is Ankara University. I, Prof. Dr. Cemal Tosun, a lecturer at the Faculty of Theology, assumed as the addressee and implementer role on behalf of the rector's office. Several colleagues of mine also participated in the project and made contributions. At the workshops we held at our faculty, we had the chance to discuss and promote the religious education in our country and the education and instruction program at our faculty. Meanwhile, we shared our experiences, products, ideas and achievements in education and instruction in the context of religious education and intercultural education. We contributed to the book, which would be published at the end of the project, with four articles.

Looking at the status of the project partners regarding religious pluralism, we find that they are faced with real needs and cases related to religious education and intercultural learning. We know that the Council of Europe, the European Union and, therefore, the Member Countries, particularly including Germany, target, develop and support policies of pluralism in religious and cultural education. In addition, we can discern that the project has certain realpolitik foundations in terms of its subject matter and purposes. In this regard, Turkey has a special position as a party. There is no such a religious and cultural diversity program at the Faculty of Theology, Ankara University, or in Turkey. However, the high proportion of Muslim Turks in the cultural and religious diversity programs at school or in social life in Germany or Liechtenstein creates the need for Turkey's experience in religious education. Our faculty's general theological expertise as well as its academic knowledge in the field of religious education can contribute to Europe's quest and efforts for religious education and intercultural learning.

Functioning of the Project

The following can be said about the activities conducted within the scope of the project: Transnational gatherings and meetings were held in order to attain the project's purposes. These gatherings were in two different formats in terms of their participants. Academics, school managers and teachers attended the first-type gatherings which were held seven times while the second-type gatherings were held in the form of student exchanges between schools. Teachers and a researcher accompanied the student exchange programs.

In addition, a meeting was also held with the participation of only academics in Karlsruhe. Of the meetings with general participation, three were held in Germany, one in Liechtenstein, one in Austria and one in Turkey. Actually, there is no project partner from Austria. However, a meeting was held in Vienna to ensure exchange of information with the institutions related to Islam and Islamic education in Austria given the vast experience in the country in terms of legal institutionalization of Muslims and the advanced progress made in Islamic religion courses. Within the framework of enrichment of experience, a visit

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was paid to Zurich Protestant Faculty of Theology as well in connection with the gathering in Balzers, Liechtenstein. During this visit, we found opportunity to obtain information about the "Religion and Culture" course taught mandatorily at the schools in the Zurich canton as well as the faculty's perspectives and work regarding the "Religion and Culture" course and the religious education and intercultural learning. It is interesting to note that the general course of "Religion and Culture," planned after 2004, replaced the optional sectarian religion course and no one raised objection --such as by launching a lawsuit against it-- including the churches.

Transnational Gatherings

Transnational gatherings were held in the form of two- or three-day sessions, trips and visits. In the meetings, experiences, problems and solutions regarding religious education and intercultural education from participating countries in general and the schools and faculties in particular were discussed. Academic research requirements were identified and the participants with academic expertise as well as some other academics were ensured to pen down articles in these areas. The subject matters of these articles were shared and discussed at workshops first on their abstracts and then on their full texts and they were compiled into a book.

Student Exchange Activities

Student exchange activities were held between the two participating schools within the scope of the project. Accompanied with their teachers, students from Karlsruhe Schillerschule paid a visit to Oberschule Eschen in Liechtenstein in late October 2015, and a counter-visit was paid in December 2015. The visits were completely filmed and they were edited to produce a short film which was presented and published on YouTube. In the workshop held regarding this film, it was argued that insufficient data was collected and it was not possible to identify types of learning performed by students in the context of religious and cultural education, and therefore, a third gathering was organized in a neutral place (Lindau, early July 2016). In this gathering, the goal of obtaining outcomes that would be in line with the project by working in a more planned manner was adopted.

In the student exchange, both groups consisted of 14 people. Fifty percent of the groups were of immigrant origins. They had diverse ethnic and religious affiliations. In terms of the language spoken at home, there were Turkish, Arab, Polish, British, Somalian, Spanish, Croatian, Russian and Albanian students. In terms of religion, 53.6% were Christians, 39.3% Muslims and 3.6% practitioners of other religions. However, virtually all the students had been born in German and/or Liechtenstein and citizens of these countries.

Intercultural Encounters and Findings

In the assessments made in connection with the student exchange activities as well as in the cultural encounters that occurred during the project, two noteworthy points should be noted:

Prominent Factors in Intercultural Encounters

The initial reaction by students during the student exchange activities was to get to know each other with curiosity. At this point, it was observed, the origin, religion or sect did not play any role. It is interesting to note that the young people with very similar interests can socialize easily with the help of a sort of youth-specific language. But soon they started to make comparisons between the environments they were raised and living. For instance, Liechtenstein perceived as more rural despite higher income level while Karlsruhe was seen as more urban despite lower income level. It was observed that the students discussed matters like the job or career opportunities in their respective environments. In these encounters,

however, differences resulting from the countries of origin of their parents were not brought to the agenda. All students saw themselves as belonging to the cities where they were born and spoke German. In this process of encounter where any religious encounter was not specifically planned, religious or sectarian differences were not brought into the agenda and did not play any role in the encounter process. The fact that Muslims do not eat pork was well-known and did not make any effect on the encounters. Likewise, a female student's wearing headscarf did not affect the agenda as this was considered as normal.

In CONCLUSION, it can be noted that in short-term gatherings of secondary school students, comparisons were made primarily among schools, countries and cities, i.e., what was possessed and what was not, rather than among ethnic, religious or cultural differences. One reason why the students did not make comparisons among religious and cultural differences of each other might be the long-term living experience they attained by attending the same class. It may also be argued that informal education may be more effective than formal education in ensuring peaceful coexistence of diverse religions and cultures. Indeed, a master's thesis conducted on this matter in Hatay, which I supervised, found that the effect of, and expectations about, the religion course taught at school regarding coexistence is minimal while the family and neighborly relations are more influential. New research should be conducted to find out what factors may come to the fore in case of age differentiation and in longer encounters and whether the religion may play any role in these encounters. [66]

Impact of Policy in Religious Education and Intercultural Learning

Finally, I would like to note that the two factors that are decisive in intercultural aspects in religious education and intercultural relations are policy and social reality that determines realpolitik. Social reality may be effective in terms of need recognition, but political attitudes and development may exert pressures on it. A case of this was observed during the project. For instance, the effects of the tension between German Chancellor Angela Merkel and Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan on citizens had adverse effects on the project although it was about intercultural learning. The second gathering planned to be held in Turkey was canceled due to this political tension, coupled with the fears of possible terrorist attacks in the country. Certain project partners indicated that they did not want to travel to Turkey due to fears and concerns. As a result, the gathering was held in Liechtenstein with participation of one person from Turkey.

In sum, it can be argued that as a result of real social life situations, intercultural learning as well as religious education emerge as a need and countries feel compelled to develop policies to deal with this need. However, general political relations may prove more dominant in this process.

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SECOND SESSION

Chair: Prof. Dr. Şaban Ali DÜZGÜN

Dr. Şevket ÖZCAN   Kırıkkale University/TURKEY

The Contribution of Religion of Phenomenology

in the Sense of Other: Ninian Smart Example

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Muhammed Ali YAZIBAŞI   Kırıkkale University/TURKEY

Religious Educational Approaches in the Multiple Societie

Fama ÇAPCIOĞLU,   Ankara University/TURKEY

Doç. Dr. Yıldız KIZILABDULLAH   Ankara University/TURKEY

Contribution Of Religious Education To Coexistence:

Rcmk Programs and the Case of Intercultural Religious

and Moral Teaching Course

Vahdettin ŞİMŞEK   Kırıkkale University/TURKEY

An Approach In Relıgıous Education

for the Preventıon of Religious

Conflıcts: Phenomenologıcal Approach in Religious Education,

The Case Of England

Cem UNCU   Necmettin Erbakan University/
                                                TURKEY

Historical Origins of Xenophobıa in Europe

THE CONTRIBUTION OF RELIGION OF PHENOMENOLOGY IN THE SENSE OF OTHER: NINIAN SMART EXAMPLE

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INTRODUCTION

In today's world it is obvious that people from various races, nations, religions and colors live together or have to live together. However, negative behaviors such as racism and xenophobia also get involved in this coexistence. It can be said that the different forms of perception of the "other" and the distinctions and discriminations between "I" and "He/She" or "Us" and "Them" lie down at the bottom of such negativities. It is therefore possible to say that one of the most important factors that triggers such negativities is false and incomplete understandings or prejudices about religion or religious identities, and therefore sometimes the conflicts between people are carried out through religion. At this point it is obvious that people are needed to understand each other or try to understand each other in order to live peacefully in the same house, neighborhood, village, district, city and country or briefly in the same world. Since religion is an important aspect/dimension of man, a multidimensional/multi aspect entity, understanding devout's religious belief and consequently approaching him with respect and tolerance are also an important task for building peaceful societies.[67] Phenomenology of Religion, which moves in the direction of these aims and which Ninian Smart imposes on him the duty of understanding the other /devout (believing in any religion) has the qualification of a discipline, the review topic of which is other/pious, and aiming to understand it.[68] At this point firstly it will be appropriate to touch on the general characteristics of the phenomenology of religion.

The General Characteristics of Phenomenology of Religion

Phenomenology of Religion refers to a discipline that by putting his/her prejudices in brackets and focusing on believer's point of view, a researcher aims to understand the believer's religous practice and experience and goes on accordingly.[69]

Recently, Phenomenology of Religion is understood as an independent and original discipline from the History of Religionsand is perceived as a discipline that categorizes all the phenomena that emerged in religion in a systematic and comparative manner, tries to "understand" and "interpret" them.[70] However, it is difficult to establish thebasic features ofthe phenomenology of religion. Because the general belief is accepted by religious scholars that from its eemergence up to today there have been understandings of phenomenology of religion as much as the phenomenologists of religion. However, it can be said that there are some features of Phenomenologyof Religion, such as the use of epoche and empathy methods, which the religious scholars have largely allied with.

While the phenomenologist of religion recognizes revealing the meaning of religious phenomena for his basic task, he does not take into account the reference points on which religious beliefs are based and does not concern whether religious provisions have objective reality or not, because they fall within the jurisdiction of

the Philosophy of Religion ortheology.[71] Therefore, epoche and empathy come to the forefront from the main methods used in the Phenomenology of Religion in order to better understand the other/religious.

The concept of the epoche used by Husserl to express all the prejudices, ideas and beliefs of a person in order to gain access to the meaning of the phenomena is derived from the epecho in Greek meaning "I am standing back" to express the meaning of suspension or bracketing.[72] In this line, the epoche can be described as "suspending all prejudices about phenomena to allow phenomena to speak on their behalf".[73]

The phenomenologist of religion that embraces this method should allow religious phenomena to talk by taking the previous ideas, thoughts, convictions and beliefs in suspension/bracket. For example, if he is a Christian who believes that Jesus Christ is the true and complete revelation of God, he should take the prejudice that he possesses in brackets and allow religious phenomena to speak on their behalf without resorting to Christian prejudices.[74] In this respect, for example, while evaluating the headscarf used by Muslim women thephenomenologist of religion that uses the epoche method, , is expected to focus on the meaning of this order or practice for "the Muslim who uses the headscarf", by bracketing the prejudices of the religious judge, that is, whether this practice is really ordered by religion.Also he is expected to evaluate the case of headscarf from the point of believer (Muslim). Likewise, the reality of religious experience, such as the revelation to Muhammad or the Buddha's enlightenment, is a matter to be taken in bracket. The Dutch scholar William Brede Kristensen (1867-1953) summarized this situation, saying "the believer is always right."[75] Using this method in religious studies is aimed to prevent the believer's beliefs and practices from being characterized as innovation, vanity and superstition on the one hand, and to prevent believer from being exposed to negative adjectives such as irreligious, unbelieving or heretic on the other hand. Because it is thought that being able to achieve this will help people to develop a cult of coexistence, and thus to form peaceful and tolerant societies, by understanding the other/devoutfully or by understanding him better than before.

In Phenomenology of Religion, the second method used to understand other/devout or to achieve the meaning of religious phenomena is empathy. In this context, empathy, also expressed as fellowship, is defined as researcher's understanding devout's emotions and inner face by putting himself in his place in order to fully understand the religious experience of the devout person.[76] Because, according to the Phenomenology of Religion, a religious understanding of a phenomenon will be possible by empathizing with the believer's religious experience, thoughts, feelings, ideas, etc.. [77]

This method is obviously needed, because devout's religous beliefs and practices are not just forms. For this reason, it is evident that various criticisms have been directed towards not using the empathy method in religious studies. In this context, Canadian religious scientist Wilfred Cantwell Smith (1916-2000), for example, likens researchers who do not use this method to a fly circulating on an aquarium, observing about the fish in the aquarium accurately and completely (providing much information on the subject), but never asking what it is like to be an aquarium fish. In this direction, he points out the indispensability of the method of empathy by putting forward the principle of "any statement about a religion is valid unless it can be acknowledged by that religion's believers". [78]

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71 Ursula King, "Din İncelemesinde Tarihsel ve Fenomenolojik Yaklaşımlar", *Dinler Tarihi İncelemelerinde Çağdaş Yaklaşımlar (1945'ten Günümüze)*, Trans. Fuat Aydın, Ankara: Eskiyeni Yay., 2013, p. 27.

72 Alıcı, "Kutsala Giden Yol", p. 77; Thomas Ryba, "Phenomenology of Religion", *The Blackwell Companion to the Study of Religion*, Ed. Robert E. Segal, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2006, p. 103; Douglas Allen, "Din Fenomenolojisi", Trans. Mehmet Katar, *AÜİFD*, C. XXXV, p. 442; Cox, *A Guide to the Phenomenology of Religion*, p. 31.

73 Mariasusai Dhavamony, Phenomenology of Religion, Gregorian University Press: Rome- 1973, p. 17.

74 Cox, *Kutsalı İfade Etmek: Din Fenomenolojisine Giriş* Trans. Fuat Aydın, İstanbul: İz Yay., 2004, p. 50.

75 William Brede Kristensen, *The Meaning of Religion: Lectures in the Phenomenology of Religion*, Trans. John B. Jarman, Netherlands: The Hague, 1960, p. 14.

76 Unal, *Din Fenomenolojisi*, p. 78.

77 Dhavamony, *Phenomenology of Religion*, p. 18- 19.

78 Wilfred Cantwell Smith, "The Comparative Study of Religion", *Inaugural Lectures*, Monreal: McGill University, 1950, p. 42.

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For the believer, the empathy method for expressing the meaning expressed by religious beliefs and practices contributes to understanding the other's world of meaning. With this method, for example, it can be grasped thoroughly or at least more than before what the prayer means for a Muslim, the yoga for a Hindu, the Eucharist for a Christian, or the Passover for a Jew. For a researcher who regards a Muslim as the other in the same way, this method can make it possible to see that the pilgrimage is not a kind of travel fort he believer and to realize that it has deeper meanings for him. In this way, a more tolerant attitude towards believers misunderstood because of their religious beliefs and practices can be developed in both individual and societal terms.

In the general sense, in Phenomenology of Religion, liberating from the prejudices and in empathic style, the full understanding of the devout / other comes to the fore as a general principle. The main differences in the understandings of phenomenology of religion can also be expressed to have appeared in order to better understand the religious / other. In this direction, the slogan "Everything is for understanding the religious / other better" can be used as a general feature of the Phenomenology of Religion. At this point, understanding of the phenomenology of religion revealed by Ninian Smart's in order to understand the other and thus to serve the formation of a peaceful world will be discussed.

Phenomenology of Religion According to Ninian Smart

Ninian Smart (1927-2001), considered to be one of the most important and influential religious scholars of the second half of the 20th century, was an academician at California (Santa Barbara) and Lancaster Universities and pioneered in the establishment of departments for religious studies at various universities. History of Religion, Phenomenology of Religion and Philosophy of Religion are the most important fields of study for him. Among his most important works can be counted the works of "The Religious Experience of Mankind (1969)", "The Phenomenon of Religion" (1973), "The Dimensions of the Sacred (1996)" and "The World's Religions (1998)".[79] In addition, since the 1970s his Phenomenology of Religion has been very effective in the spread of interreligious religious education in the UK schools.[80]

Smart thinks that in order to better understand the other/devout it is imperative to recognize the religion that he belongs to. Smart, indicating that religion is a very rich and complex phenomenon, points out that religion must be studied both internally and externally. Smart, who thinks that this task can be achieved by portraying believers' religious experience with an empathetic understanding which is far from all prejudices, suggests that it requires a sensitive and artistic method. He believes that this method canbe put forward by Phenomenology of Religion in the most appropriate way.[81] In this context, Smart who generally define phenomenology of religion as "attempt to make value-free describes concerning religion/religious"[82], his basic methods using to understand the other and their contributions to understand the other will be contacted.

Methodological Agnosticism Method

The most prominent feature of Smart's Phenomenology of Religion can be said to be "agnostic attitude". Because, opposed to the initiation of an atheistic or theological / metaphysical rhetoric of religious studies, Smart

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79 Ursula King, "Smart, Ninian", *The Encyclopedia of Religion, Lindsay Jones (Editor in Chief)*, Second Edition, USA: Macmillan Reference, Vol. XII, 2005, p. 8442- 8445; Ozcan, *Ninian Smart ve Din Fenomenolojisi*, p. 87- 88.
80 Recep Kaymakcan, Günümüz İngiltere'sinde Din Eğitimi, DEM Yay., İstanbul- 2004, p. 78; For comprehensive information on the impact of Smart's phenomenological understanding on religious education in UK schools see. Vahdeddin Simsek, İngiltere'de Devlet Okullarında Okutulan Din Eğitimi (Re) Dersi ile Türkiye'de Devlet Okullarında Okutulan Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi Dersinin (4-8) Öğretim Programlarının Karşılaştırılması, Ankara University Institute of Social Sciences(Unpublished Master Thesis),Ankara, 2014.
81 Smart, "Din ve İnsan Tecrübesi", Trans. Ali İhsan Yitik, *Dokuz Eylül İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi,* İzmir, 1992, N.7, p. 424; *The Religious Experience of Mankind*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969, p. 11- 12.
82 a Smart, *The Science of Religion & the Sociology of Knowledge: Some Metodological Questions*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1973, p. 21

suggests the adoption of an agnostic attitude in these studies, calling this attitude "methodological agnosticism" and emphasizing the need for methodological neutrality in phenomenological studies.[83]

Smart revealed the concept, put forward by Husserl and the phenomenologists of religion who benefited from him referred to as the epoche, in the context of the methodological agnosticism concept. He explained this concept by saying, "we do not deny or accept the existence of the gods."[84] For this reason, the religious scholar should not always be trying to prove something, he must always be agnostic. Smart's agnostic approach is based on reconciliation of understanding that "all religious phenomenons must be assessed in terms of western and Christian criteria" and "we must start to study religious phenomena from the point of secular and atheistic view."[85]

Smart uses the concepts of "the real" in the phenomenological sense and "the existent" ontologically to achieve the application of methodological agnosticism and fully reveal the nature of the phenomenological object of religion. For example, in the context of this distinction, God is a real for Christians whether he exists or not. The methodological agnosticism used here is agnostism about the entity or focus in any belief system depicted. So, whether or not the real one exists is a matter that needs to be taken in bracket.[86] It can be said that this method has a characteristic that prevents people from being differentiated in various forms by allowing them freedom of belief. Because, in this method, the reality of what the person believes or practices is taken in bracket and so removed from the discussion. Forexample, taking in bracket for a Hindu sanctityof cow and for a Muslim sanctity of the al-hajar al-aswad stone or that the bread and wine used in the Eucharist ceremony for a Christian whether they turn into the flesh and blood of Jesus believer is tried to be understood as " heis", far from debates of reality. As a matter of fact, this approach in the Phenomenology of Religion has become a slogan "Back to Things Themselves".

Informed Empathy Method

Smart prefers to use the concept of "informed empathy" instead of the concept of empathy used in Phenomenology of Religion. This method is described by him as the emotional aspect of entering attempt of phenomenologist into other religious culture worlds, or even to enter into different worlds in their own culture. In this context, he states while sympathy does not include the epoche method, "informed empathy" strongly implies the epoche method.[87]

Indicating that it is imperative to participate in the values, feelings and perspectives of the believer in order to better or fully understand a system of belief, Smart thinks that there is a need for knowledge, empathy and imagination to achieve that. Thinking that this situation is neglected in the education systems, Smart expresses through informed empathy including knowledge and imagination that a man can reach a certain sense of what it is like to be a girl or a short person can reach a certain sense of what it is like to be tall.[88]

Thinking that the pluralistic nature of the modern world is an important opportunity to implement the "informed empathy" method, Smart says that wherever he lives, he could be friend with many devouts like Buddhists, Hindus, Jews and Muslims. For this reason, he thinks that accompanying devouts to religious sites such as temples, synagogues, or mosques will develop people'simaginations and lead them to "informed empathy". For example, he states that when he traveled to Africa companionship with local people, whom he did not know their language and sometimes he did not understand what they said, meant that he earned himself a lot in recognition of their religion and religiousattitudes.

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83 Smart, *The Science of Religion& the Sociology of Knowledge*, p. 158.
84 Smart, *The Phenomenon of Religion*, London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1978, p. 53.
85 Ozcan, *Ninian Smart ve Din Fenomenolojisi*, p. 285.
86 Smart, *The Science of Religion& the Sociology of Knowledge*, p. 54.
87 Smart, *The Phenomenon of Religion*, p. 74- 75.
88 Smart, *Buddhism and Christianity: Rivals and Allies,* London: The Macmillan Press, Ltd., 1993, p. 4.

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Stating that today's the age of tourism, Smart thinks that other religious cultures will be observed on the spot as a result of travel to different places, which will encourage "informed empathy". In this context, he means that written and visual materials such as novels and films will serve this purpose.[89]

Smart,who summarizes the "informed empathy" method by a saying of the Indians such as "never judge a person without walking a mile with his shoe", suggests that it is also important to understand the things that build up the mental background of someone as much as the empathy of the believer to penetrate the world of faith.For example; asking the question "What should we do in Sri Lanka to understand a Buddhist offering a flower for Buddha sculpture?, Smart , expresses that to understand him it is a must to comprehend his general philosophy of life and the complex structures that shape it.[90]

It can be said that by Smart's informed empathy method it may have the possibility to recognizing other partially or fully or at least to have the intention to recognize it. Indeed, it is irreplaceable that the empathic attitude of a white towards feelings and attitudes of a black or towards what religious beliefs and practices mean for believer, will contribute to the tolerance climate between human beings regardless of race or religion.

Smart, offering various suggestions for applying knowledge empathy method, points out that nevertheless because people look at the world with glasses colored by their own prejudices and cultural features various problems arise in applying the informed empathy method. He proposes to use a meaningful evocative method for these problems.

Evocative Epoche Method

Smart, pointing out on the one hand the importance of "empathic" approach on the other hand "value-free" approach in religious studies, indicates that stresses sometimes arise between these two approaches. So he uses the method that he calls "evocative epoche" to overcome the emerging tensions.

According to Smart, in accordance with the "evocative epoche" phenomenologist attempts to describe phenomenon in the way that the believer's feelings, attitudes and other ideas and convictions are always kept in mind. Namely, phenomenologist tries to figure out what the phenomenon in question looks like without submitting to his own feelings. Thus, the phenomenologist can also understand what believer looks like by feeling like him.

Smart depicts Muslims' understanding of prayer in the direction of both informed empathy and "evocative epoche" as follows:

"A good example of the logic of prayer is found in Islam. The Muslim who unrolls his prayer mat and bows down in the direction of Mecca is expressing quite a number of things. Have you noticed how Persian and other rugs from the Islamic world often have flowers and birs in their design? The reason is that a prayer rug is like a garden. Paradise is a garden too (the garden of Eden was Adam's paradise). Much of the Muslim world has sought to create a paradise on earth in gardens and courtyards. As the little poem has it, 'You are closer to God in a garden/ Than anywhere else on earth.' So symbolically the Muslim makes a little oasis, a little heavenly place where can pray. He unrolls his rug, marking off his sacred space from the profane space around him- be it street, field, or office floor. The pious Muslim gives himself a certain sacredness: he is slightly purified (at the mosque his preparations are more elaborate, and he washes himself to get himself in the proper state for communicating with Allah). He makes himself attracrive to Allah, so as not to be repelled. When he bows down and touches his forehead on the ground he expresses in this bodily action his profound humility or "lowness" before God, thereby indicating Allah's vast, infinite superiority. Bowing in the direction of Mecca, he is directing himself in thought and by arientation toward the sacred stone there, whis is the holiest place of contact between Allah and

89 Smart, *The World's Religions*, USA: Cambridge University Press, 2002, p. 590- 591.
90 Smart, "Methods and Disciplines in the Study of Religion", *Concept and Empathy: Essays in the Study of Religion*, Ed. Donald Wiebe, New York: New York University Press, 1986, p. 211- 212.
91 See Smart, *Worldviews: Crosscultural Explorations of Human Beliefs*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983, p. 135.

this earth. For him Mecca is the center of the cosmos and place most charged with power and holiness. The city on Mecca is where Allah revealed himself primarily to the Prophet, so the contact between heaven and earth had its most dynamic expression there." [91]

In the context of Smith's principle "any statement about a religion is valid unless it can be acknowledged by that religion's believers", it can be said that this depiction of Smart's prayer is acceptable to Muslims and it can be argued that this illustration is an important example of the religious beliefs and practices of the believer /others far from prejudices and in empathic manner. In addition, Smart suggests some guiding methods, rules, and recommendations to better understand other/devout:

The best way to learn a belief is to live among those who practice it. There is no obligation to believe in the activities of the believer to participate as a "participant observer" as anthropologists do. For example, those who want to know about Catholics should join the Euharist ceremony. In this ceremony, various friendships can be established and information about the rules of religion can be obtained.

Those who think that being a participant observer in a Muslim or Buddhist society is difficult or impossible for them can learn about their religion by communicating with people of different religions in their societies. In this sense, there are important possibilities in the modern world. In this case, friendships can be used to make cultural trips, rather than travel by plane.

Care must be taken to ensure that the questions directed to achieving the other / devout understanding are appropriate to the structure of his religious or cultural system. For example, it is not appropriate to ask a Buddhist or Jainist a question about God because they do not place God in their beliefs.

Religion should not be considered more important than it is in human life. It should not be forgotten that the believed religion has deep doctrines, but it is also the daily concerns of people. Indeed, few are saints or mahatma.

In order to understand religion, it is necessary to deal with religious art.

It is a useful way to learn about religions from history books, encyclopaedias and autobiographies. However, the investigator should be careful about whether the writings about religion are objective and whether the author is competent in his field.

It is always a golden rule to keep in mind that religions are organic and have dimensions with various connections between them.

It is necessary to avoid attitudes that prevent empathy. [92]

Smart aims at preventing religion-referenced misunderstanding among people with the methods used in religious studies. Because, in a sense, he thinks that every human being is a universe or a world in himself. For this reason, he expresses that each person deserves respect for being special and that faith helps each person to see his eternal glory.[93] Smart also sisdes with the legal liberty of religious beliefs and practices as a prerequisite for this respect. For example, he thinks that Muslim women should be allowed to use headscarves in official institutions, and that many practices can be resolved within legal boundaries, thus preventing conflicts between people.[94]

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92 Smart, *Backround to the Long Search*, London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1977, p. 14.
93 Smart, *Worldviews*, p. 128. In this context, it can be said that religions such as Judaism, Christianity and Islam have pointed to its dignity and value by protecting man's mind, goods, life, honor and religion through various orders, prohibitions and practices. For a comparative review of the subject see Ozcan, *Dinlerin İnsana Verdiği Değer (Yahudilik, Hıristiyanlık ve İslam Örneği)*, İlahiyat Yayınları: Ankara, 2017.
94 Smart, *Worldview*s, p. 119- 120.

CONCLUSION

It is obvious that in the global world where people from different languages, religions and cultures live together, various solutions are needed in order to prevent the various negativities in the issues such as conflicts between people, racism and xenophobia. In this respect, Phenomenology of Religion, which aims to better understand the other, or better than before, suggests that it must be respected for all aspects of devout's race, gender, language, culture and religion, accepting him as he is in an unprejudiced and empathic attitude.

Ninian Smart, one of the most important religious scholars of the 20th century, has used the phenomenology of religion to understand the other and serve the formation of peaceful societies, and has tried to serve it by updated and original methods. The methods he used and proposed to use have increased awareness towards importance of value-free and empathy in understanding and respecting the other. In this respect, his Phenomenology of Religion has earned a point of departure to the formation of such systems by pointing out that the essential feature of educational systems should be empathy.

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RELIGIOUS EDUCATIONAL APPROACHES IN THE MULTIPLE SOCIETIE

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INTRODUCTION

Societies have witnessed rapid change not experienced in any period of history with the impact of globalization since the second quarter of the twentieth century. This change felt itself in every aspect of life. Particularly in the context of the rapid development of communication, individuals have come across new values, different worldviews, experiences and institutions. In this context, changes in the structure of the society have become. The open society has begun to take the closed society's place in. In this society, pluralism has come to the forefront in all areas of life and all the differences and contrasts live together.

Human nature tends to categorize the entity as "I" and "other". If the individual regards the others as "the other", it can reach the dimension of perceiving the other as an evil and an enemy. Individuals can turn differences into problems. Especially when religion is used as an alternative tool, the situation becomes even worse. When looked at the history of humanity from day to day, it appears that it is nourished by war, conflict, separation and alienation. Even individuals who belong to the same religion and who have different ideas and ideas can distinguish each other. Religion, on the other hand, advises people develop themselves, have a good life in peace with itself and its environment, which will raise the level of existence.

The quality of religious education and religious education to be given in pluralistic societies where individuals with different ideas, ideas, ideologies and beliefs being lived together is very important. In this context, there are religious education approaches and practices that enable individuals to become self-fulfilling, as they are, and to create a happy society life by removing them from the means of religion, conflict, fighting and othering.

Religious Education Approaches in Pluralist Communities

Religious education activities are generally seen to be conducted in two categories, religion-centered and non-belief-centered. In religion-centered education, the center contains certain religious and sectarian topics. In the non-religious centered approach, no religion or sectarian subjects are centralized. Due to reasons such as education, economy, migration, people with different beliefs have to live together. It requires that religious education to be given to individuals with different cultures and beliefs in the same society which is capable of meeting all needs. In this context, there are tendencies towards different religious education approaches in the pluralistic societies, especially in Western countries.

1. Phenomenological Religious Education Approach

In 1950, England began to receive immigration from foreign countries. This has led to debates about the need for religious beliefs in the country to meet the need for religious education. Since 1970, concepts such as "non confessional", "objective", "phenomenological" have begun to appear on the approach of religious education. Phenomenological religious education began to be taught at UK schools under the leadership of Professor Ninian Smart and his friends. This model was later developed by the English religious scholars John Hull, John Ster and John Shepherd.[95]

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[95] Mustafa Köylü, *"Çağdaş Bir Din Eğitimi Teorisi Olarak Çoğulcu Din Eğitimi Modeli: Batı Örneği"*, Dini Araştırmlar, c. 6, sayı: 14, s. 247.

Fenomonology is the source of the approach and applications of the education of phenomonological religion. Because it is moderating the 'universal essence' or 'ideal types' assumed to be in different religious, cultural phenomena and events. In other words, Phenomenology is based on interpretation by grouping closely related religious and cultural contents around certain groups of phenomena. The phenomenological religion education approach also tries to apply the principle of approaching events and phenomena, from theories and from preliminary admissions to religious education. Particulary, it aims at developing an understanding of the religious material that attempts to present it within the context of the living, by bracketing the assumptions of the student or researcher.[96]

"Parentheses Taking" and "Empathy" are concepts that come to the forefront in the approach of Phenomenological religious education. The intention of bracketing is to delay one's own beliefs, religious feelings and thoughts as much as possible, so that these beliefs do not adversely affect one's viewpoint towards other religions, they should not prevent correcting teaching-understanding and correcting teaching. At this point, Christianity will no longer prefer to use the Old Testament, which is a degrading Christian title for Jewish scriptures, but to use the Hebrew Bible or Tanah, the Jewish. They will try to learn Judaism from the Jewish perspective to avoid Christian prejudices. Likewise, Hz. Muhammad automatically they will try to learn and teach from the Muslim perspective of this central place of Islamic religion rather than portraying it as lower than Jesus. The same applies to a number of other religions. One's own beliefs and opinions are neutralized in order to increase the likelihood that the beliefs of others are understood and taught correctly." [97]

The second important element of phenomenological religious education approach is empathetic. It is aimed that the students who are in the education of the phenomenology of religion differ not only at the cognitive level, but also respect to individuals who believe in those religions. The conscious approach in this context is not only the doctrines, rituals, etc. of other religions. It cannot be explained in a neutral way. The aim is to acquire and communicate with the students the feelings of visiting the Hacca as a Muslim or praying on the Western Wall in Jerusalem as a Jewish and visiting Rome or other sacred centers as Roman Catholics.[98]

The phenomenological approach to religion education seeks to create solutions to remove the problems of the co-existence reality of individuals with different religions, beliefs, cultures and ideologies. In addition, all the differences side by side, how to live in peace is being taught how to live.

2. Interpretative Religious Education Approach

The other common approach in pluralistic societies is the approach of interpreting religious education. The approach first appeared for use in religious education being taught in public schools in England and Wales. The practical basis of the interpreting religious education approach is based on the results of different surveys of immigrants in the UK.[99]

The aims of interpreting religion education are to "better understand the religious worldviews, religious languages and symbols, feelings and attitudes of others and bring good relations among those

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96 Beyza Bilgin, *"Mezhepler ve Dinlerarası Eğitim ve İş Birliği", Kültürel Çeşitlilik ve Din"*, Edt. Remziye Yılmaz, Sinemis Yayınları, Ankara 2005, s. 133; Robert Jackson, *Din Eğitimi: Yorumlayıcı Bir Yaklaşım*, çv. Üzeyir Ok-M. Ali Özkan, Dem Yayınları, İstanbul 2005, s. 21.

97 J. Shepherd, *"Fenomenolojik Bakış Açısı: Eleştirel Anlamda Sorgulayıcı Din Eğitimi"*, Din Öğretiminde Yeni Yöntem Arayışları Uluslararası Sempozyum Bildiri ve Tartışmalar, haz. Komisyon, çev. Didem Nasman, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, Ankara 2003, s. 324.

98 Shepherd, s. 324.

99 Muhammed Şevki Aydın, Cemil Osmanoğlu, *Kültürlerarası Din Eğitimi,* Nobel Yayınları, Ankara 2015, s. 167.

who have different religious and cultural backgrounds; To contribute to students' thinking about reading and studying about different lifestyles of their lives; To mature in the mind and the moral direction by recognizing others and deepening them by observing their thoughts about themselves."[100]

Interpretative religious education considers religion and culture as dynamic, living, differentiated, and discussed structures that are influenced by each other. While religious education is being given, the idea that religion-related information, textbooks and other educational materials cannot be changed in any way. Interpretative religious education is not aimed at sharing the same ideas and beliefs from all believers of a religion and doing some of the same things in the same way. On the contrary, it aims at interpreting the relationship between the religious-cultural environment and the general principles of religion by taking into consideration the culture in which the individual has lived.[101]

Another feature of interpreting religious education is that it attaches importance to the principle of impartiality. The approach aims at teaching religion, not imposition but analytical, explanatory and understandable. It aims at developing more individuals in all aspects than religious education. It contributes to the process of self-expression in the context where the learners live together with individuals of different cultures, beliefs and ideologies. In this context, the interpretive approach aims at heling build a peaceful society in a pluralistic society. [102]

3. Dialogic Religious Education Approach

Dialogic approach is a religion education approach that establishes good communication and good relations in the educational process that can be formed between different religions, beliefs, cultures and nations. In this context, there are three forms of communication in primary and secondary and tertiary forms in learning and teaching environments.

In primary communication, the diversity of experiences, different ideas and beliefs, perspectives are approved for use as a resource in classroom negotiations. But a positive class environment in secondary communication is created. This allows the student to be open to ideas and beliefs outside of him and to be curious to learn from a different point of view. In the third stage, communication developed in the classroom environment is disseminated to the school through different methods, techniques and applications.

In the dialogue of religious instruction, students are encouraged to communicate continuously, ask questions and respond to questions asked. Thus they are encouraged to communicate with different people and have the opportunity to listen to their own experiences differently. However, prejudices against those who have different ideas, ideas and beliefs are avoided and a peaceful society structure is formed. The dialogological religious education approach respects the multitude of religious traditions and behaves them as dynamic structures that are changing.[103]

4. Contextual Religious Education Approach

Religion is a phenomenon that has been permanent and deeply influential in the historical and cultural fabric that is at every stage of human life and affects their everyday lives. Therefore religion needs to be understood in its historical and cultural context. Religious and cultural conditions in a region are examined by using anthropology, history and contextual theology in religious education processes in contextual

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100 Robert Jackson, *Din Eğitimi: Yorumlayıcı Bir Yaklaşım*, s. 177.
101 Robert Jacksoan, *Din Eğitimi: Yorumlayıcı Bir Yaklaşım*, s. 173.
102 Rudolf Englert, "Çoğullaşabilir Bir Din Pedagojisi Modeli: Dini Çoğulculuğun Sınırları", Ed. Recep Kaymakcan,   *Çok Kültürlülük Eğitim, Kültür ve Din Eğitimi*, çev. Nesibe Gülşen, Dem Yayınları, İstanbul 2013, s. 181; Muhammed Şevki Aydın, Cemil Osmanoğlu, *Kültürlerarası Din Eğitimi*, s. 174.
103 Emir Kuşçu ve Mahmut Aydın, "*Dinî Geleneklerin Fenomenolojisi: Wilfred Cantwell Smith Örneği*", İslâm Araştırmaları Dergisi, Sayı 23, 2010, s. 57. (41-58.)

religious education approach. The approach touched upon the reality that religions are experiencing in socio-cultural life from the aspects of doctrine. Thus, living in everyday life is being taught by taking the reality of religiosity as the center of education.

In the contextual approach, interaction and relationship between the universal and the local have a very important role. In the education and training process, the relationship with the global ones is examined by starting from local knowledge sources. Because the contextual approach predates global-scale goals, the goal is to improve the student's ability to understand interaction and co-operation in the global community.[104]

CONCLUSION AND EVALUATION

With the development of globalization and information communication technology, the barriers between different cultures and religions have disappeared. People having 4 different beliefs, thoughts and cultures are starting to live together. This situation can cause uneasiness among the individuals.

The religion aiming for people's peace and happiness is the cause of conflict, war and unrest throughout history. These negativities are not caused by the religion itself but by their misunderstanding. In this context, there is a need for religion education approaches which can be understood in the most practical way of the religion's main sources and which can respond to the needs of today's people, not the separating but the integrating, not the war. Religious education approaches, which contribute to the peaceful coexistence of people with different beliefs and cultures, are also important.

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104 Muhammed Şevki Aydın, Cemil Osmanoğlu, *Kültürlerarası Din Eğitimi*, s. 178

CONTRIBUTION OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION TO COEXISTENCE: RCMK PROGRAMS AND THE CASE OF INTERCULTURAL RELIGIOUS AND MORAL TEACHING COURSE

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INTRODUCTION

Communities currently interact more frequently with each other than they would do in the past. People encounter individuals with diverse cultures for several reasons (which may be as a result of a conscious act such as studying or due to compulsion such as immigration because of war). Regardless of whether coexistence is virtual, conscious or compulsory, people with diverse cultures may not have correct knowledge with each other or they may nurture prejudices about each other, and this in turn creates certain problems as regards coexistence. Exposed to a diverse cultural environment, an individual develops the belief that s/he will be successful in this setting and hold this belief for the first few days or weeks, but this short period is followed by a crisis phase. In this phase, people may develop hostile and aggressive attitudes against the alien environment or country, forming certain prejudices. At this stage, individuals experience a sense of disorientation and bewilderment realizing that the behaviors, symbols and signs which they considered meaningful turn out to be without any sense.[105]

It is frequently asserted that the way to overcome the challenges is to get to know and understand each other. At this point, education is perceived as a remedy. In particular, prior knowledge about the culture with which one will encounter may minimize the shock and facilitate the process of adaptation.[107] Intercultural education provided to the people who will work with the people who can be described as "others"[106] or live in a different culture may yield positive results in terms of adaptation. Given the technological facilities of our time, tolerance attitude toward diverse cultures is considered as an essential goal of education for all individuals who may or may not be living in a different culture.

It is safe to assert that religions and religious conceptions constitute one of major causes of cultural diversity, particularly considering the aspects of the religion which affect, and are affected by, the culture. The way to cope with these differences from an educational point of view is to ensure individuals should obtain information about the opinions and beliefs that are different from their own religious beliefs or conceptions. The source of this information and how it is obtained as well as whether it is correct and objective is important. The attitude advertised by one's religion against other religions and their practitioners is decisive as well. What sort of approach is adopted in teaching the dominant religion/ teaching the religion (religious education approach)? How are other religions included in educational curricula and with what purposes and approaches? Answers to these questions are critical. Nevertheless, the impact of the ever-growing multicultural structure and issues like personal rights on the development

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105 Fulden İnal Zorel, Kültürlerarası Eğitim (Intercultural Education), Eğitim Yayınevi: Konya, 2014, pp. 74-75.
106 The concept of "other" is used to refer to the different individuals or cultures.
107 Fulden İnal Zorel, ibid. p. 78.

of diverse educational models in the religious education and instruction is undeniable.[108] In this context, in Europe, there are efforts to develop models for religious education through collaboration of practitioners of diverse religions.

Method

In this presentation, a two-stage perspective for addressing potential problems in encounters with other religions and cultures was introduced. First, the current status of the approach to other religions and cultures in the existing compulsory religion course curriculum was identified. In this context, the place of other religions in the curricula and perspectives in this regard were reported in a descriptive manner. Thus, the evolution of the approach to other religions in religious curricula since the foundation our country and perspective currently adopted toward the instruction of other religions in the religious culture and moral knowledge (RCMK) programs were presented in the light of academic studies on the subject.

In the second stage, a curriculum regarding the "Intercultural Religious and Ethics Teaching," a compulsory course for the final grade students of the RCMK teaching program was proposed.[109] The proposed curriculum was based on the experiences and course materials of the lecturers who had been teaching this course since the establishment of the RCMK department as well as the results of a study[110] conducted in the 2015-2016 academic year on the effectiveness of the course.[111]

Teaching Other Religions in Turkey

Article 24 of the Constitution lists the religious culture and moral knowledge as a compulsory course for primary and secondary schools. It is taught 2 hours a week for the grades 4-8 and 1 hour a week for the grades 9-12. The RCMK curricula became compulsory with the constitution of 1982 and the most radical changes regarding them were introduced in 2000. Further changes were also made during in 2005 and 2006 and the last change was made on 2011 and 2012.

Various academics studies were conducted on how and to what extent other religious were taught and the approaches used in the RCMK curricula throughout the history of our republic.

Teaching Other Religions in Religious Courses before 1982

Religion courses in our country started in the form of religious education as is the case for all other countries. In early periods of the republic, the purpose of the religion course was to make children develop liking for Islam and make them adopt Islam by providing basic information on this religion.[112] In this approach, other religions were never mentioned or they were discussed with the perspective of the dominant religion. In the curricula of the religion courses optionally taught between 1949 and 1982 based on the assumption that it would be attended only by Muslim students, no reference was made to the teaching of other religions. The religion courses had objectives that sought to implement the Islamic teachings.

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108 See John Hull, "The Contribution of Religious Education to Religious Freedom: A Global Perspective" Religious Education in Schools: Ideas and Experiences from around the World, IRARF, Oxford 2001, pp. 1-8, http://www.iarf.net/REBooklet/Hull.htm.
109 Student admission was halted in 2013.
110 The study results were presented as part of an international book prepared under an Erasmus+ project. See Yıldız Kızılabdullah & Fatma Çapcıoğlu,"Veränderte Wahrnehmung des „Anderen" Werkstattbericht zu einer Studie an der Universität Ankara", Religiöse Bildung und interkulturelles Lernen, (ed. André Ritter, Jörg Imran Schröter, Cemal Tosun), Waxman: Münster, 2017.
111 In the study in question, the course objectives, teaching environment and activities were specially planned and visits were made and participation of experts was organized. When the effectiveness of this course was indicated by a study, we decided to proceed with the course program proposed in the context of raising RCMK teachers.
112 Tuğrul Yürük, "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Din Öğretimi Program Anlayışları" (Religious Teaching Program Search in the Republican Era), Dini Araştırmalar (Religious Studies), January-June 2010, Vol. 13, Issue 34, pp. 69-86, p. 73.

The courses consisted of overall description of Islam.[113] However, the 1979 secondary school curriculum included references to "being respectful for beliefs and opinions of others." While the programs did not start to teach other religions, they did contain references to freedom of religion and freedom of thought.

The primary school religion textbooks in the pre-1982 period did not contain headings related to other religions, but they had remarks about Judaism and Christianity in the descriptions. The religion textbooks for secondary schools, however, covered subjects concerning other religions. The textbooks of this period apparently adopted a discriminatory attitude against other religions. The fact that comparisons between Islam and other religions employed these discriminatory phrases lends credence to this idea. For instance, the argument that all sacred books other than the Holy Qur'an had been altered and the Qur'an had been sent down to replace and invalidate all previous sacred books can be found virtually in all textbooks. On the other hand, the textbooks of this period also contained inclusive phrases such as the argument that "all sacred books brought the same message and all prophets were sent to guide people to the straight path and therefore, we believe in all books." However, these statements were usually followed by discriminatory ones. The following sentence can be given as an example: "We believe in all sacred books, but the latest and most perfect religion is Islam and the advent of Islam has invalidated all other religions."[114]

Teaching other religions in the 1982 compulsory RCMK program

In 1982, compulsory religion courses were introduced under the title of "religious culture and moral knowledge" (RCMK) and with this change, the curriculum started to include information on other religions. Nevertheless, the Islam-centered perspective on other religions persisted in this program as well. The information on other religions was provided within the context of Qur'anic verses on the matter. Still, the program contained objective-oriented phrases such as "respect for beliefs and thoughts of others and customs and traditions of different nations." While there were pluralistic and inclusive phrases in the 1982-era religion textbooks, the discriminatory ones dominated them. Consequently, it is hard to say that the approach to teaching other religions had differentiated compared to the previous period.[115]

Teaching other religions after 2000

The RCMK programs went through a radical change in parallel to changes in Turkey and around the world in 2000. While several alterations have been introduced to these programs (in 2005 and 2011-2012) so far, the program that is currently in place largely preserves the logic of the program that was prepared in 2000.

The approach adopted in drawing up the content of the RCMK course can be described as a "supra-sectarian" (not relying on any specific sect and refraining from sectarian debates) approach which "is based on the religion's fundamental sources and open to other religions."[116]

In line with the advertised openness to other religions, the information on other religion is provided under a separate unit (8th Grade: Universal Teachings of Religions). The main purpose can be summed up as teaching pupils how to be tolerant toward diverse religions, cultures and beliefs and see diversity as

113 Hatice Gündüz, İlköğretim Din Dersi Kitaplarında Diğer Dinlerin Öğretimi (Zorunlu Din Öğretimi Öncesi Ve Sonrası Dönemlere Ait Ders Kitapları Üzerinde Karşılaştırmalı Bir Araştırma) (Teaching of Other Religions in Primary School Religion Course Textbooks: A Comparison of Textbooks Before and After Religious Education Became Compulsory), Ankara University, Social Sciences Institute, (Unpublished Master's Thesis), 2008, Ankara, p. 175.
114 Hatice Gündüz, ibid. p. 178.
115 Hatice Gündüz, ibid. p. 179.
116 Primary School Religious Culture and Moral Knowledge Course (4th, 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th Grades) Curriculum and Manual, Ministry of Education, Ankara, 2010, p. 2, accessed on 06.03.2017.
 http://mebk12.meb.gov.tr/meb_iys_dosyalar/50/01/702621/dosyalar/2014_09/18085250_dinkltr48.pdf

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an asset and making them realize the significance of correctly learning the religion from its own sources. With the information given on other religions at the RCMK courses, the objective is to expand pupils' perspectives on beliefs and cultures and make them act with increased tolerance against the pupils from other religions. The aim of providing information to pupils on other religions is to make them get to know different religions and interact with practitioners of other religions without imposing their beliefs or views on them and cooperate about shared matters. Information given to pupils about other religions will help them understand members of other religions, which in turn eliminate lack of communication between practitioners of different religions and pave the way for the creation of tolerance and friendship based on mutual respect and love.

The program's section on explanations also covers the important matters to be considered. "Attention should be drawn to common purposes of religions and information on religions should be taught in general terms and without superstitions or prejudices and in a scientific and objective manner," it is advised regarding the unit on the universal teachings of religions.[117] This perspective is visible also in the context of textbooks. While the textbooks prepared before 2000 tended to provide information on other religions based on Qur'anic verses, the textbooks of the post-2000 era embraced a more inclusive and pluralistic narrative on other religions, such as by making quotes from them.[118]

Importance of Teacher Training in Teaching Other Religions

An examination of new approaches to the religion instruction across the world [119] reveals that the programs drafted based on certain theoretical principles may fail to provide the desired efficiency in the implementation phase. In such cases, the role of teachers is emphasized.[120] The fact that teacher attitudes are directly related to the success of the program gives rise to the question of what skills teachers should have or how they should be trained if they are support to teach religion instruction programs.

The role of teachers becomes more critical in the models of approach to religion instruction. The manner in which teachers provide information about other religions and their attitudes and behaviors regarding them create a learning environment for pupils. Therefore, it is not enough for teachers to be informed solely about other religions or teaching methods. Indeed, there are studies which give teacher proficiency top priority for attaining the educational goals.[121] A teacher who seeks to create a culture of tolerance and peace toward other religions is supposed to have internalized the goals of the curriculum that is open to other religions. In particular, the prospective teachers should be equipped with awareness of the other as well as intercultural encounters and intercultural religious education and they should be given the opportunity to revise the theological references concerning Islam's perspectives on other religions during their undergraduate studies in order to create a peaceful and tolerant environment and transfer it to future generations. This also implies that we need to come up with a fundamental perspective about our strategy for training teachers.

117 Primary School Religious Culture and Moral Knowledge Course (4th, 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th Grades) Curriculum and Manual, p. 65.
118 Hatice Gündüz, ibid. p. 172.
119 Fatma Çapcıoğlu, Din Öğretiminde Yeni Yaklaşımlar Çerçevesinde İlköğretim Din Kültürü Ve Ahlak Bilgisi Dersi Öğretim Programlarının İncelenmesi (Study of Primary School Religious Culture and Moral Knowledge Course Teaching Programs with the Framework of New Approaches to Religious Teaching), Ankara University, Social Sciences Institute, (Unpublished Master's Thesis), 2006, Ankara.
120 For the section on the notes to teachers, see Vahdettin Şimşek, İngiltere'de Devlet Okullarında Okutulan Din Eğitimi (Re) Dersi İle Türkiye'de Devlet Okullarında Okutulan Din Kültürü Ve Ahlak Bilgisi Dersinin (4-8) Öğretim Programlarının Karşılaştırılması [Comparison of Curricula of Religious Education (Re) Course Taught at Public Schools in the UK and the Religious Culture and Moral Knowledge Course Taught at Public Schools (4-8) in Turkey], Ankara University, Social Sciences Institute, (Unpublished Master's Thesis), 2014, Ankara, p. 126 et seq.
121 Abdurrahman Boran, "Lise Birinci Sınıflarda Okutulan Din Kültürü Ve Ahlak Bilgisi Dersinin Öğrencilerin İslam Dini Dışındaki Dinler Hakkındaki Bilgi Ve Düşüncelerine Etkisi" (The Effects of the Religious Culture and Moral Knowledge Course Taught at First Grade of High Schools on Student Knowledge and Views regarding Religions other than Islam), Ankara University, Social Sciences Institute, (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis), 1996, Ankara, p. 147.

A Proposed Curriculum for Training RCMK Teachers: the Case of Intercultural Religious and Moral Teaching Course

The Theology Faculty of Ankara University has made certain courses mandatory with the purpose of reinforcing the environment of peace which the globalizing world needs more than ever and raising the awareness of students in this regard. One of them is the "Intercultural Religious and Moral Teaching" course, given two hours a week for the spring semester of the final grade at the Primary School RCMK Teaching Department. The purpose of this course, given to the students who will be employed as RCMK teachers upon graduation, is to contribute to their developing a culture of peace and respect in their encounters with and coexistence with diverse cultures. In line with this purpose, the intention is to ensure that students develop positive perspectives regarding different cultures. We proposed this course as a new curriculum because of the need for ensuring that prospective teachers develop a conception of tolerance that would help them build up a culture of peace essential in the context of their views and provide their students with an implementation environment that is compliant with the basic approach of the RCMK program while teaching about other religions. Given the fact that no student has been admitted to the RCMK teaching programs since 2013 and the teachers who will implement the RCMK program will be accepted into the profession without having any perspective regarding the teaching of other religions, the necessity of our proposal for all theology faculties and the RCMK teacher training is obvious.

An exemplary curriculum concerning our teacher training strategy is presented based on the materials and experiences accumulated since the first INTRODUCTION of the course "Intercultural Religious and Moral Teaching" and a study conducted in the spring semester of 2015-2016 academic year (Kızılabdullah & Çapcıoğlu, 2017). The basic principles, activities and methods which we believe can contribute to the creation of a culture of peace in the context of teaching of other religions were identified as complementary stages. These stages can be listed as follows:

What is the source of our knowledge about other religions? Encounter with our own theological references:

People tend to adopt the perspective of their religion concerning other religions when they develop attitudes towards practitioners of other religions. At this stage, not only the religion's perspectives, but also the individual perceptions about those perspectives play a crucial role. In other words, individual prejudices may be more instrumental in understanding a sacred text or determining relations with other religions. In this case, it is essential that individuals should develop awareness regarding the real sources of their conceptions about other religions. The first stage of the course "Intercultural Religious and Moral Teaching" was identified as ensuring that students encounter with the reference points on which their perspectives regarding other religions rely. At this stage, students are supposed to engage in a process of critical thinking about the sources of their knowledge about other religions. This stage is devoid of any effort to make students adopt any view. Rather, it seeks to ensure that students start thinking about the sources of their knowledge. Thus, students will realize the prejudicial and discriminatory perspectives against other religions and find the theological reference for the tolerant attitude toward the other in their own beliefs/traditions. This attitude will not be attained through an external orientation or discourse on the need for such an attitude. In other words, it is assumed that if individuals can find a basis for tolerance in their own theological references, this will facilitate the internalization of tolerance. This approach is further reinforced by the fact that while sacred texts of all religions contain references to peace, difference in religious affiliations may still lead to antagonism among people.[122]

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122 Şahin Kızılabdullah, "*Dinlerin Birey, Aile Ve Toplum Barışına Katkısı (Yahudilik, Hıristiyanlık ve İslam) (Contribution of Religions to Individual, Family and Social Peace: Judaism, Christianity and Islam)*", Ankara University, Social Sciences Institute, (Unpublished Master's Thesis), 2016, Ankara.

The method used to attain the stated purpose is debate. In this context, students are asked to read academic studies that seek to prove two opposing views regarding Islam's perspectives about other religions[123] and defend their views using the debate technique. Here the main purpose is to ensure that students take into consideration the sociocultural setting in which the Qur'an was revealed in making sense of the Qur'anic verses related to members of other religions and realize that the Qur'an's attitude toward practitioners of their religions cannot be understood solely in terms of religious beliefs, but it was also shaped by the real events of the time. Thus, students are expected to try to understand the real meaning in the Qur'anic verses describing differing attitudes toward members of other religions. Given the fact that these phrases have been used as theological support for a discriminatory perspective and taken as part of religious beliefs, the significance of the targeted goal becomes obvious. Religious theological references may pave the way for individuals' forming a worldview that governs their relations with all other people including the practitioners of other religions. These references may rely not on real intentions of the religions, but on individual perceptions about those intentions. In this regard, our aim is to make sure that individuals can realize the very sources of their references as well as their prejudices through a critical self-interrogation process. The prerequisite for developing skills for peaceful coexistence with the "other" consists of realization of our preconceptions and discovery of an inclusive perspective in our own theological traditions.

The Qur'an's view on diversity: At this stage, in addition to theological debates, the significance of practical encounter with the other is emphasized for the creation a culture of peace. This in turn relies on the assumption that when people engage in one-to-one relationships with each other, their discriminatory perspectives may relax. Of course, the nature and purpose of such encounters is quite important. In the first place, the aim is to make students believe that diversities and encounters are the result of God's will. At this point, the central concept is taarruf (getting to know each other). The emphasis is on the fact that our differences are the result of God's will to make us get to know each other and find the common good. In addition, the reciprocity aspect of taarruf is also discussed. Good will and correct knowledge about the other obtained from the course are identified as the fundamental principles in the encounters made in this context. It is hoped that this perspective will help us develop skills for encountering with diverse cultures and understanding differences.

An environment for direct encounter with diversity: After it is theoretically proven that diversity is the result of God's will and it is an opportunity for getting to know each other, the next step is to create an environment for such an encounter. Certain course activities are planned to allow for direct encounter with members of other religions and religious conceptions. In this setting, the people who are described as the "other" tell about themselves and their religious beliefs. In the planning of the course program, encounters are arranged with Christian communities as members of different religions and Alevi communities as members of different religious conceptions. Cemevis (cultural and religious centers for Alevis) and churches are visited and the concepts of discrimination, inclusion and pluralism in the context of encounters with different religions are discussed with presentation of foreign guests. The educational fact experienced in these encounters is that this process of encounter should be well managed with emphasis on goodwill and correct knowledge. Otherwise, it may lead to unexpected and unfavorable consequences. Teachers have an important role to play as guides in this process.

Possibilities and limitations of intercultural religious education: The purpose of this stage is to equip prospective teachers with a perspective on the possibilities and limitations of an intercultural religion

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123 Süleyman Ateş, "Cennet Müminlerin Tekelinde Değildir" (Paradise is not Monopolized by Believers), İslami Araştırmalar (Islamic Studies), Vol. 3, Issue 1, 1989, pp. 7-24; Talat Koçyiğit, "Cennet Müminlerin Tekelindedir" (Paradise is Monopolized by Believers), İslami Araştırmalar (Islamic Studies), Vol. 3, Issue 3, 1989, pp. 85-94; Süleyman Ateş, "Cennet Tekelcisi mi?" (A Monopoly of Paradise?), İslami Araştırmalar (Islamic Studies), Vol. 4, Issue 1, January 1990, pp. 29-37.

course. Why an intercultural religion course may be needed and what principles such a course should adopt are determined based on the knowledge and experience gained so far. Models of different approaches to how diverse cultures and religions can be included in religion courses are provided from various countries. It is indicated that each country implements a different religious teaching model within the context of its specific circumstances and advantages and disadvantages of each model are explained so that an idea about what model can be more suitable for our country can be formed.

Other religions in the RCMK programs in our country: Prospective RCMK teachers learns about the fundamental approach of the RCMK programs they will apply in the courses they take in previous years such as the special teaching methods and religious education courses. At this stage, the nature of the program's perspective on other religions is discussed. In this context, as noted at the beginning of the presentation, historical process is shortly described before the purpose, content, principles, and activities of the program in approach to other religions as well as the matters to consider during the teaching and examples are given. In this context, the inter-religious approach of the program and the purpose of, and the matters to consider in, providing information about other religions is discussed. The topic is further enriched with example course deliveries.

Actual issues: In the final stage of the course program, the aim is to inform students of the process and current status of the actual issues such the compulsory nature of the RCMK courses, optional religion courses, Alevism, and the European Court of Human Rights decisions. The method employed at this stage is to show students how actual issues are discussed in the press and academic circles with a view to preparing prospective RCMK teachers for potential issues and problems they may encounter in their professional lives. The aim is to raise prospective teachers who will prioritize scientific knowledge over political attitudes and stances in the decisions taken regarding religious education.

Results of a qualitative study conducted on the students who took the course "Intercultural Religious and Moral Teaching" in the spring semester of 2016 indicated that the course managed to influence the students' views. The study indicated that the students who took the course shifted from discriminatory attitudes toward other religions to inclusive and relatively pluralistic perspectives. The students' feelings in the process of encounter with the other changed from fear and alienation to curiosity and diversity. At the end of the course, the students acknowledged the need for intercultural religious education and agreed that the principles of such a course should be correct knowledge, goodwill and mutual respect. The prospective teachers who are raised with this perspective may be hoped to perform applications in the spirit of the fundamental approach of the RCMK program that prioritize correct knowledge and objective perspective regarding other religions and seeks to place emphasis on universal messages of other religions and raise students who internalize the culture of peace.

CONCLUSION

Globalization has made it virtually inevitable to encounter and even live with the "other." Given this, it has become a necessity to ensure that religion courses facilitate tolerance and train the religion course teachers in line with the fundamental approach of the program. In this context, as a result:

A more inclusive perspective on the teaching of other religions under the RCMK programs was developed after 2000.

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124 See Mualla Selçuk, "Birlikte Yaşamaya Kur'ani bir Yaklaşım" (A Qur'an-centered Approach to Coexistence), in Kültürel Çeşitlilik ve Din (Cultural Diversity and Religion) (ed. Remziye Yılmaz), Sinemis Yayınları, Ankara, 2005, pp. 229-242.

The implementation of this program and consequently the role of teachers are crucial for the fulfillment of the purpose of the religion course programs. This in turn calls for the improvement of our teacher training strategy.

To develop a correct attitude toward diversity, it is essential to make sense of our own theological references in the first place.

The course "Intercultural Religious and Moral Teaching," a compulsory course in the RCMK teaching program (before student admission to the program was halted) which was developed with an activity-based approach, influenced the attitudes of students toward the "other" in a positive manner.

Based on the results of this previously conducted study, it was concluded that it is favorable and necessary to make this course compulsory for prospective teachers in all the theology programs in terms of teacher proficiency.

Considering the fact that the success of a teaching program is contingent upon teacher proficiency, parallelism should be attained between RCMK teaching programs and teacher training. As the student admission to the RCMK teaching program was halted, this profession took the form of theology education plus pedagogical formation. However, this educational process lacks the course "Intercultural Religious and Moral Teaching." Given also the fact that no training is provided on the teaching of other religions, the implementation of the approach adopted by the RCMK programs is left to individual efforts. This can be seen as a major deficiency in terms of creation of a culture of peace.

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AN APPROACH IN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION FOR THE PREVENTION OF RELIGIOUS CONFLICTS: PHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACH IN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION, THE CASE OF ENGLAND

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INTRODUCTION

As a result of rapid developments in communication area, people, societies and nations have come to live together at any moment. These developments require thinking about the universal dimension of religious education and training. It can happen with understanding other people, being able to understand them, and recognizing their valuesand their behaviorthat they have. This condition requires that each individual's religion, morality and culture are to be known.[125] In this context, in pluralist societies, universal values such as "understanding, respecting and empathizing with" boththe purpose ofgeneral education, and religious education are universal valuesin recent years. Among the countries where religious education and teaching practices aimed for these universal values are included is England which has a long tradition of religious education.

England especially II. After World War II, began to have emigrates from different parts of the world. These migrations led to the proliferation of diverse religious members and the change of religious demographic structure in England. These changes in the religious structure, the influence of secularization, have led to the teaching of other religious religions in the country since the early 1970's in religious education and teaching, which focuses on Christian teaching only, before the 1970's, in the first in the local curriculum, And also the framework which was prepared as a recommendation for the country has taken place in the program. [126]

The English Education System has struggled with this diversity of social structure and its efforts to regularize irregularities in order to implement it in a manner consistent with religious education, and particulary in social order. Because people who speak the same language but make different meanings require a system that can be transformed into a collective, live in different cultures and can meet in a higher culture. Keeping this order requires a control mechanism that goes beyond laws if they are possible with laws and are sustainable. One of the first instrumentsthat came to mind in this processin order to create cultural unity is religious education.[127] What kind of a religious education approach can be reached in order to keep different individuals together in peace, to understand other, to develop empathic thought, to provide cultural unity and to form a social order? In the context of these questions, many attempts have been made to develop approaches to teaching the religion in the country over the last 40 years. Unlike approaches to traditional Christianity-based and religious advocacy, these new approaches have been designed to take into account the interests and developmental levels of students in religious subjects.[128] This is the Phenomenological Approach associated with England at the beginning of the work.

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125 Cemal Tosun, Din Eğitimi Bilimine Giriş, Pegem Akademi Yay. Ankara, 2010, p. 100.

126 See: Recep Kaymakcan, Günümüz İngiltere'sinde Din Eğitimi, Dem Yayınları, İstanbul, 2004, p. 36.

127 Ismail Ersahin, İngiltere'de Kamu Okullarındaki Din Öğretimi Programlarında Dini Çoğulculuk Ve İslam Din Öğretimi,Ankara 128 Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi, p. 3.

128 Recep Kaymakcan, ibid., p. 77.

Phenomenological Approach in Religious Education

Phenomenology focuses on religions. These phenomena are often imaginary non-visual / perceived items such as worship, holy book, pilgrimage, hope prejudice. This approach is an interfaith approach to religion teaching that predicts the religious phenomena in an impartial and unbiased way.[129] This approach, which contradicts the traditional confessional religious education approach aimed at teaching Christianity, is very important because it brings about fundamental changes in the understanding of the British religious education, its implementation for many years, and its development and differentiation from traditional approaches.[130]

The two basic elements of the phenomenological approach are "bracketing and empathetic thought". By bracketing, it is meant to keep one's beliefs back as far as possible in order to not negatively affect the angle of view towards other religions.[131] While these approaches are taught together with other religions, they explicitly refuse to be presented only with Christian perspective and paradigms. In schools that adopt this approach, religious education is not interested in which religion is right and which is not. With empathetic thought, it is aimed to give the students an insight into how the members felt their religious rituals and worship in order to understand the doctrines and rituals of other religions in an objective way.[132] With empathic thought, each religion also reveals the understanding of its members from the point of view.

The phenomenological approach in religious education does not prevent the teacher from having a religious commitment. In this respect, it is stated that the approach can be implemented by a member of any belief or even by those who do not believe in any of the religions. At the same time, this approach also tries to prevent one-sided prejudice arising from one-way thinking and one-sided explanations of religious education. The teacher will help emotional understanding of what the students mean by being connected to a particular religion and how they express this commitment. The goal here is not to build beliefs of a certain belief but to understand what it means to be a believer, that is to empathize. In this approach, the other side is to develop "religious literacy" skills and open the way of using religions as a tool in the adventure of learning life and religious meaning.[134]

Historical Development Duration of Phenomenological Approach in Religious Education

Until the mid-1960s, religious education in Britain aimed to becomemore religious Christian individuals. However, this kind of training failed and, on the contrary, the impression contributed to the departure from Christianity appeared[135], and with the immigrants influenced by to Britain belonging to different religions except Christianity began to appear in public schools more.[136] This demonstrated that the current religious education approach didn't not meet both the needs of children of Christian families and children of families of different religions except Christianity.

There were two ways to solve this problem about religious education. The first of these; to give religion class for every religion. However, there was no experience of teaching separate religions in the British education system. On the other hand, it was believed that religious education lessons hadn't to

129 Recep Kaymakcan, ibid., p. 86.
130 Recep Kaymakcan, ibid., p. 78.
131 John Shepherd, Fenomenolojik Bakış Açısı, Eleştirel Anlamda Sorgulayıcı Din Eğitimi, Din Eğitiminde Yeni Yöntem Arayışları Uluslararası Sempozyum, Bildiri ve Tartışmalar, İstanbul, 2001, p. 324.
132 John Shepherd,ibid., p.324.
133 Fatma Capcıoglu, Din Öğretiminde Yeni Yaklaşımlar Çerçevesinde İlköğretim Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi Dersi Öğretim Programlarının İncelenmesi, Yayınlanmamış yüksek lisans tezi, Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Ankara, 2006, p. 59.
134 Grimmitt, "When is commitment a ploblem in Religious Educaiton", British Journal of Educaion Studies, V. XXIX, No. I, Şubat, p. 49, from Yıldız Kızılabdullah, Çok Kültürlü Toplumlarda Din Eğitimi Modelleri Indiana Örneği, Otorite Yay. Ankara, 2014, p. 49.
135 Dogan, R. ve Tosun, C. İlköğretim 4. ve 5. Sınıflar İçin Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi Öğretimi, Pegem A Yayınları. Ankara: 2003, p. 33.
136 Recep Kaymakcan, ibid., p. 82.

help social separation, but help individuals who came from different cultures live togerther in the British society. The second way is to meet the needs of different religions in a religious education. The British system of religious education chose the second way [137], namely the phenomenological religion education approach.

The first works on the phenomenological method were made by the German philosopher Edmund Husserl in the field of philosophy.[138] In this period, the phenomenological philosophical studies emphasize the necessity of approaching with a human-centered approach and understanding by being affected by the idea of illumination in Europa.[139] This new understanding had a certain impact as well as in all of Europe, on religious education in British schools and the phenomenological approach proposed at the university level has become a usable approach in UK schools by Ninian Smart. [140]

Smart, firstly establishedthe Department of Religious Studies at Lancaster Universityin the early days ofand thenlaunched a new program for the development of religious education called the School Council Project on Religious Education in Secondary Schools. At the end of this project, a new method of religious education approach was introduced in the School Council Working Paper: 36, which is called the phenomenological non-doctrinal approach, in which the religious education that takes place within the framework of traditional Christianity in the pluralist British society, which contains many different religions, sects and views.[141] Despite all of the criticisms this new approach has been applied and beenactively used in curriculum programs in local religious education since the 1970s and 1980s.[142]

Working Paper: 36 proposes a phenomenological methodology that includes the inclusion of ideology, which is religion-like function in the religion, education context to mean other religions and every human beings, except than Christianityfor the United Kingdom.[143] In this study, Smart expressly states that there should be 5 objectives of religious education. Kaymakcan has listed these aims as follows.[144]

Religious education should not only be informative.

Religious education should aim to replicate the members of a religion and not to be religious, to make sense of the questions about reality.

Religious investigations should not exclude the point of view of a religious believer.

Religious investigations should help people understand their culture and religion. In this way, significant contributions can be made to overcome the "cultural tribalism" of Europe.

Religious investigations should examine the apparent and historical aspects of religion. However, it is necessary to establish a dialogue between holy discourse and anti-religious discourse.

The Phenomenological Approach to the Benefits of British Religious Education

It is not possible to speak of a single approach in the system of British religious education. Phenomenological religion education approaches and different religious education approaches can also be mentioned. However, the phenomenological religion education approach is quite influence on establishing the religious education programs prepared by the local education authorities and the achievements of these programs. The achievements of 3 large religious units based on the phenomenological religious education approach are given below in tables.[145]

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145 Diğer inanç sistemlerine veya ortak değerlere ait kazanımları görmek için Bakınız: Vahdeddin Şimşek,İngiltere'de devlet okullarında okutulan din eğitimi (re) dersi ile Türkiye'de devlet okullarında okutulan Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi Dersinin (4-8) öğretim programlarının karşılaştırılması,Yayımlanmamış yüksek lisans tezi, Ankara Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Ankara, 2014.

FOUNDATION STAGE (RECEPTION)   **UNIT TITLE: SPECIAL PLACES**

Learning objectives Pupils should learn:	Possible teaching activities AT1 and AT2 Opportunities to:
that people have their own special places that there are religious buildings which are special to certain groups of people such as: Church – Christians Mosque – Muslims Synagogue – Jews Temple – Hindus Gurdwara – Sikhs	explore children's literature about special places (e.g. "Halfway Up The Stairs", by A A Milne, "Out and About", by Shirley Hughes) visit a local religious building (e.g. church, Hindu temple, synagogue, mosque etc.) bring in photographs of special places draw/paint a special place talk about feelings in a special place
Key questions:	**Learning outcomes** **AT1 and AT2** **By the end of the Foundation Stage most pupils should be able to:**
what makes a place special what is your special place how do you feel in your special place how does this building (e.g. during a visit to a church) make you feel	talk about their homes and belongings begin to develop an awareness that some people worship in special buildings recognise that people have special places, some of which are religious have respect for people, their beliefs and cultures

KEY STAGE 1   **UNIT TITLE: CHRISTIAN FAITH AND VALUES**

Learning objectives Pupils should learn:	Possible teaching activities AT1 Opportunities to:	Possible teaching activities AT2 Opportunities to:
God stories, songs, poems and sayings from the Bible which describe God as the Creator who has created the world as a gift to humanity, and as a loving father **Christian Values** the two greatest commandments, 'love God' and 'love your eighbour' Jesus' teaching on forgiveness and love relationships with family and friends the lives of Christians who followed the example of Jesus caring for others **Home life** within the home and family Christianity encourages honesty, care and respect for others Christians often pray at home before meals homes may contain Christian symbols such as a cross, a fish (ichthus) or statues/paintings of Jesus/Mary	listen to Christians talking about how they try to 'love their neighbour' listen to stories about famous Christians past and present who have followed Jesus read and discuss some traditional graces or prayers handle artefacts found in the home such as family Bible, cross, rosary find out how Christians care for others and talk about why listen and respond to stories about the natural world and creation read or listen to songs and poems which describe God as 'Father' and talk about what this means to Christians	talk about rules and why they are important think about their own behaviour and things that influence it – whether it is possible to 'love your neighbour' share feelings about values that may be important e.g. fairness, honesty, forgiveness, kindness talk about how people show concern for others talk about issues arising from relationships with friends and family share ideas about how they care for one another discuss what it means to set an example make up a class prayer/ grace to be said before a meal respond to the wonders of the natural world share feelings relating to experiences of awe, wonder and mystery recognise that some questions can be answered in different ways

Key questions:	Learning outcomes AT1	Learning outcomes AT2
	By the end of the key stage most pupils should be able to:	By the end of the key stage most pupils should be able to:
what do you think God is like what do Christians believe about Jesus what qualities are necessary to be a true friend how did Jesus set a good example for his followers	identify some Christian beliefs and teachings from the Bible demonstrate understanding of the importance of the Cross in the Christian faith	realise that some questions that cause people to wonder (e.g. creation) are difficult to answer respond sensitively to Christian values about the way we treat one another

EY STAGE 1   UNIT TITLE: ISLAM 1 AND 2   (2 UNITS)

Learning objectives Pupils should learn:	Possible teaching activities AT1 Opportunities to:	Possible teaching activities AT2 Opportunities to:
Allah is the Islamic name for God Muslims believe : Allah is the one true God He has no partners He is the Creator who provides all things **Islamic values** the importance of good values home and family life for children respect for each other, parents, elders and children honesty and good manners responsibility for all creation **Guidance** the Qur'an is the special holy book for Muslims Allah has sent guidance through the Qur'an stories from the life of the Prophet Muhammad* **Worship of Allah** Muslims serve Allah in many ways including daily salah which can take place in the mosque festivals, especially Id-ul-Fitr and Id-ul-Adha	learn that the Islamic name for God is 'Allah' listen to Muslims talking about their values talk with Muslims about their families find out what Muslims mean by 'respect' and how this is demonstrated in action listen and respond to stories about how Allah sent guidance through the Prophet visit a mosque observe salah, and find out where and how it takes place look at pictures showing how Muslims prepare for prayer and artefacts associated with prayer encounter Islamic festivals and find out why they are celebrated listen and respond to stories about the Prophet Muhammad* and his family and festivals	distinguish between what is made by people and what belongs to the natural world experience and talk about the care of living things talk about how stories from the lives of the prophet might guide people in their daily lives today talk about when and how people pray talk about cleanliness and occasions when washing is particularly encouraged share experiences of special occasions in their lives share feelings of gratitude and thankfulness think about why we try to be 'good' and what that involves think about how adults, especially parents, show love and care for their children talk about how people show respect for each other

Learning objectives Pupils should learn:	Learning outcomes AT1 By the end of the key stage most pupils should be able to:	Learning outcomes AT2 By the end of the key stage most pupils should be able to:
is having a name important what helps to make you good why are rules important why do Muslims pray five times a day what is prayer how would you feel if you were hungry and would you share your food with those in need	retell some stories of the life of the Prophet Muhammad* identify some religious practices of the Muslim faith such as prayer, and that prayer is important for Muslims	respond sensitively to the experiences and feelings of others, including those with a faith which they are studying respond sensitively to Islamic values, particularly within the Muslim home

* After the name of the Prophet Muhammad, Muslims say, or write 'salla-llahu alaihi wa sallam' (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him) After the names of other Prophets, Muslims will say, or write, 'peace be upon him' p.b.u.h.

KEY STAGE 2   **UNIT TITLE: JUDAISM: GOD AND THE TORAH**

Learning objectives Pupils should learn:	Possible teaching activities AT1 Opportunities to:	Possible teaching activities AT2 Opportunities to:
Jews believe that God: is One is the Creator cares for all people **Beliefs about God expressed through:** the Shema (mezuzah, tallit, tefillin) (see Deuteronomy ch 6 v 4-9, ch 11 v 13-21 and Numbers ch 15 v 37-41) the first four of the Ten Commandments salms, songs and prayers stories from the Tenakh **The Torah (the first five books of the Tenakh, known as the Five Books of Moses) contains:** rules e.g. the Ten Commandments sayings which express values e.g. 'love your neighbour as yourself' (Leviticus ch 19 v 18) stories about the beginning of the world and the people of Israel The Torah: its place within Jewish worship and the synagogue: the Sefer Torah (Torah Scroll) the Ark ornaments and decorations	listen to stories and poems from the Tenakh, which refer to God as Creator e.g. Genesis ch 1, Psalm 8, Psalm 148 draw CONCLUSIONs about the importance of the Shema by examining a mezuzah and considering the meaning of the words inside explore the meanings of some songs, prayers and commandments which refer to God know some of the Ten Commandments e.g. 'do not steal', 'honour your father and mother' and say why they are important encounter some well-known sayings from the Torah e.g. 'love your neighbour as yourself' and discuss what they mean find out the names of the books of the Torah listen to Jewish people talking about why the Torah is important to them visit a synagogue and see the Sefer Torah or look at photographs, a video or a virtual visit	make their own response to the beauty of the natural world talk about how people care for each other discuss their own beliefs about God talk about any objects, songs or prayers known to them, which help to remind people of their faith discuss the importance of community rules talk about books or stories that are special to them show awareness of right and wrong with reference to their daily lives talk about what it means to 'love your neighbour as yourself'

Turkey - Spain – Bulgaria – Germany – Czech Republic

(continued overleaf)

Learning objectives **Pupils should learn:**	Learning outcomes **AT1** **By the end of the key stage most pupils should be able to:**	Learning outcomes **AT2** **By the end of the key stage most pupils should be able to:**
was the creation of the world an accident or the work of God the Creator does the Hebrew Genesis story give any suggestions about the role of human beings within the created world what do the first four of the Ten Commandments tell us about Jewish beliefs about God how is the Torah treated within the synagogue and what does this tell us about Jewish beliefs how are other sacred writings shown respect by the faithful of other religions what responsibilities do we have to God and each other.	demonstrate how the Genesis story of creation can be interpreted literally or as creation myth identify some of the questions as well as answers within the Genesis narrative of creation research a story within the Tenakh and what it tells us about Jewish belief and practice describe the main Jewish beliefs about God and the Torah, using the correct technical terminology.	reflect on Jewish ideas about the existence and nature of God and how these compare with their own beliefs express their own views about creation making reference to the ideas and beliefs within the Genesis narrative analyse the Ten Commandments and evaluate their application and significance to daily life in society.

It is seen that all the units in the curriculum program are informed when they examine it. While presenting this information to the students, as a requirement of the Phenomenological Religious Education Approach, teachers must be impartial and must approach all religions with respect. On the other hand, it is expected that the teachers will also compare the places of worship, sacred books, special days and places in all religions comparatively. [146]

CONCLUSION

In England, religious education began to take shape about 150 years ago. However, this period was teaching religious education in the direction of the churches and in the direction of the doctiranal ideals that every church member was itsown. In other words, there was no union in both religious education and general education. With the 1944 Education Act, education and church schools were under controlled by the state and religious education became compulsory in all schools. From the 1970s onwards, according to the mental and emotional development required by the student, the learning areas, units, and topics for the religious education course are to be given by the phenomonal approach.

In the general purpose section of English Religious Studies (RE) courses; *"Religious education helps the student respect other religions or other people who have a different faith and to come from above the prejudices"*[147]. The most appropriate religious education approach to be pursued in order to achieve this goal is the Phenomenological religious education approach.

Phenomenological religion education is the basic principle in the approach that the individual is bracketing himself, the religions are not compared in terms of truth and not truth, and they are approached with respect to every religion and belief system. Recognizing different religions, empathizing with people of different religion, showing respect and tolerance and making them worthwhile contribute to social peace and help different cultures meet in common values and points.

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146 Vahdeddin Simsek,ibid., p. 125-128.
147 https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/190260/DCSF-00114-2010.pdf, Reached on: 09/03/2017.

Phenomenological religion education is the basis of English Religious Education which is given in the approach is the understanding of the 'other' and the respect of the other. This approach, with its basic aim of "understanding the other" and developing empathy, is felt in local religion education curricula and in the model religious education program prepared by the central education authority. This situation contributes to the prevention of religious conflicts in the country.

The British education system, which adopts a phenomenological approach in religious education, aims to reduce prejudices among individuals belonging to groups of beliefs outside of Christianity and Christianity in the country through religious education. Prejudices can be shown among the important reasons for individual, social and religious conflicts. In this context, skills such as the ability of the individual to define himself, to understand the meaning of "others, to respect others and to empathize with others" are reducing prejudices. Phenomenological religious education approach also helps in the development of these skills.

As a result, religions or cultures have been the cause of conflict for certain periods of history. Religion and culture are also related to religious education offered to individuals who are an element of conflict. The phenomenological method, which aims to keep society alive together in peace and to minimize the elements that threaten social peace, is important, in spite of some criticisms and incomplete directions, to form a culture of coexistence and to bring together people with different religious, The phenomenological approach also serves to prevent religious conflicts by reducing prejudices. This approach offers a contribution to world peace.

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HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF XENOPHOBIA IN EUROPE

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INTRODUCTION

The West has always struggled to distinguish itself from the East, because of this the West has developed a discourse that has shown themselves always superior and the East inferior. This can be noticed throughout history. The distorted and incomplete knowledge of the West about the East is intentional, because the West intended to consolidate their sovereignty over the East this way.[148] The distorted and incomplete knowledge of the East is basically build on the picture that the East is barbaric and the West civilized.

Even if Europeans basically rely on Greek, Roman and later on Christian roots, one can say that at the very core they have perceived the world in the civilized West and in the barbarian East opposition. The East always appeared as barbarian and 'other' to the Greeks, Romans and Christians. The Western has done this alienation in a conscious way. This has different causes; the common sense of threat adds speed to the identity formation of societies. This has different causes; the common sense of threat adds speed to the societies definition and differentiate themselves by looking at the mirror of the "other". So the identities created are based on differences and contrasts identity formation of societies. The West draws the boundaries of themselves the way of Hegel method (what determines what is not). They attributes the negative (barbarian, backward, despot, etc.) features that they shouldn't be to the East. Because they aren't the East, the West indirectly regards themselves as civilized. Another reason for the West's looking at themselves civilized and advanced is the belief that they are the "superior-aryan race". As a result of this "superior race", "civilized human" consciousness, we know that the West labels themselves as "master" and the East (Turks, Muslims, Negroes, etc.) as the opposite. But how do we know? The answer is in history, the place where mankind has the answer to the most questions. Once can surely say, that this self created superior conscious of the West hast reflected on history writings. This reflection can be confronted in two ways; Naming, describing, or interpreting developments in history. But with this attitude, the West is ignoring the most basic method of history. Because events in the past should be assessed according to space, time, that day, and the conditions of that geography. However, the West has assessed the whole history according to the concepts it has developed and the developments in Europe.[149]

The Civilized West Perception

The "Triple World System" is one of the products of this discourse we talked about, but who can say when the "First World" did become first? Who has first invented the name?[150] There are some who think and defend the idea of Aryan people created superior against other races. Moreover, those who evaluate civilization, culture, human development according to evolutionist construction; They argue that westerners in Europe developed more in the process of evolution than others. Whether it is through knowledge-power relations or by the influence of superior creation, they think that there is naturally a

148 Çırakman Aslı, "Oryantalizmin Varsayımsal Temelleri: Fikri Sabit İmgelem ve Düşünce Tarihi". Doğu Batı, 20 (1), s.190.
149 Uncu, Cem, "Batı Hegemonyasının Pekiştirme Aracı Olarak Tarihyazımı", 1.Uluslararası Sosyal Bilimler ve Müslümanlar Kongresi: "Hegemonya-Karşı Hegemonya" Bildiriler Kitabı, 2016, Konya, s.162-163.
150 Ahmad, Aijaz. Teoride Sınıf, Ulus, Edebiyat. Çev: A. Fethi, İstanbul: Alan Yayıncılık, 1995, s.123-124.

master-consciousness in the West. From time to time, the superiority of the white race appears in form of mastery. Thus the West, in a sense, created a "imagined communities" by the expression of Benedict Anderson. Because imagined communities - collective formations without national content - create a history that meets their political, social and cultural needs.[151] In fact, this is a more voluminous dimension of the nation building process. In this sense, the history of the West created by their own interests and needs could not be expressed in a concise and precise way as Hayden White's definition: *"historical narratives are verbal fictions, their contents are as much invented as found and their forms have more in common with their counterparts in literature than they have with those in the sciences."*[152]

Issue of East's Deficiency

As Kontny summarizes, the West says, *"I am the West, I'm this and you are that, you will be mine, I'm the mind, the science and democracy, you are only about emotions and instincts, religious fanaticism and dictatorship"*.[153] The attitude of the United States remained the same from the Indians to the Muslims of the Middle East. By saying that the knowing one can dominate the barbarians who don't know; they legitimized their point of view which mainly includes slavery in an age where people were expressed as being potentially equal and slavery were rejected. In XXI. Century USA President G.W. Bush declared Iraq *"the dark corner of the world"* to the world by declaring *"we must be ready to attack the dark corners of the world"*. The Iraq darkness would have caused the US to attack and illuminate it with the torch of civilization and freedom.[154] We can say that "the invention of progress" or with the words of Hegels method, or Fontana's mirror, or the Foucault's knowledge-power discourse the 'deficiency' of other people were invented.[155] They reflected the Western supremacy in every sense in texts, claiming the deficiency and invalidity of the East. When the rise of the East began to emerge, they interpreted it again in a Eurocentric way and thought that God tested and punished by giving supremacy to the East.

Eurocentric Historiography

The information-power relation we talked about, give the owner right to determine and manage the fate of the remaining communities. For this reason, the West is trying to make themselves, their ancestors and their understanding of civilization superior for all times. This situation has been passed on to modern history as Eurocentric historiography.[156] One can say that, it is defined as a situation that devalues other peoples and have the right to control the world by applying to economic and political superiority after the industrial revolution. This is the beginning of modern history-oriented problems. [157]

CONCLUSION

Europe and North America have been seen other cultures and civilizations as a missing West that needs to be completed. This is a result of alienation for centuries is making people move away from each other and being in a vicious circle. The difference between people lead to alienation and as a result of alienation people get more different from each other which also leads to alienation.

The West began to believe in their lies over thousands of years and they also have believed in the propaganda they have done. Fontana even gives a striking example of the size of this issue: *"There are*

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151 Hobsbawm, Eric. "Kimlik Tarihi Yeterli Değildir", Tarih Üzerine. Çev: O. Akınhay, İstanbul: Agora Kitaplığı, 2009, s. 339; Anderson, 152 Benedict, Hayali Cemaatler – Milliyetçiliğin Kökenleri ve Yayılması. Çev: İ. Savaşır, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2003.

152 Iggers, Georg G., Bilimsel Nesnellikten Postmodernizme: Yirminci Yüzyılda Tarihyazımı. Çev: G. Ç. Güven, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2012, s.10, 121-122.

153 Kontny, Oliver. "Üçgenin Tabanını Yok Sayan Pythagoras: Oryantalizm ve Ataerkillik Üzerine". Doğu Batı, 2002, 20 (1), s. 123-131.

154 Cesaire, Aimé. Sömürgecilik Üzerine Söylev. Çev: G. Ayas, İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi, 2005, s. 53.

155 Fontana, Josep. Çarpıtılmış Geçmişe Ayna Avrupa'nın Yeniden Yorumlanması. Çev: N. Elhüseyni, İstanbul: Literatür Yayıncılık, 2003, s. 122-123.

156 Bıçak, Ayhan. Tarih Felsefesi. İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 2015, s. 10.

157 Bıçak, Ayhan. Tarih Felsefesi, s. 183.

still people in North America who believe that Jesus speaks English." [158] As a result of the Western Eurocentric historiography with the West as subject make them ignorant for the beauty from the rest of the world. Today this attitude nd also this problem continues. Because the intellectuals, politicians and the people who have this attitude think that society and their civilized world order is in danger against barbarian (Muslims, Islam, Terrorism, Refugees, etc.). It is easier for people who are stuck in politics, who do not confront the real problems of the world and mankind, to "project the old fears of Rome's retreat"[159.] This fears change according to the conditions of time. However the horror of the West has always been the East. Fontana's parable analogy actually overlaps with Gramsci's; Hegemon that creates a common "enemy, danger" to consolidate to bring society together in front of him. But the West has used intelligence and their science unfairly as a form of belief, exaggerating its civilization and past, and trying to subjugate the barbarian East as "the other" to establish hegemony over it. People have moved away from each other and the civilizations formed by the accumulation of many cultures have been destroyed or become colonized or ruined. This attitude of the West has made it more important for the colonists and the people belonging to these nations to live comfortably in a material way, and to be conscientiously relaxed.

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158 Fontana, Josep. Çarpıtılmış Geçmişe Ayna Avrupa'nın Yeniden Yorumlanması, s. 116.
159 Fontana, Josep. Çarpıtılmış Geçmişe Ayna Avrupa'nın Yeniden Yorumlanması, s. 16.

THIRD SESSION

Chair: Prof. Dr. Alparslan AÇIKGENÇ

Prof. Dr. Mehmet KATAR   Ankara University/TURKEY
Perceptıon of Foreıgners and the Experıence of Living
Together With Foreigners in Judaism

Jitka Panek JURKOVA   Charles University/CZECH REPUBLIC
Contemporary Anti-Muslim Sentiments in the Czech
Republic as Reflected in Cultural Productıon

Pedro Jose Leiva PADILLA   Researcher/SPAIN
Racisim –Xenophobia

Ruhi Can ALKAN-Emrah BAŞARAN   Necmettin Erbakan University/TURKEY
Racism In Football and Anti-Racist Precautions Taken
By Union of European Football Associations (UEFA)

Muharrem KUZEY   Eberhard Karls University/GERMANY
The Contrıbutıons to Common Values and
Coexıstence Made By Germany's Islamic Theology
-The Centre For Islamic Theology Tubıngen (Zıth) As An Example-

PERCEPTION OF FOREIGNERS AND THE EXPERIENCE OF LIVING TOGETHER WITH FOREIGNERS IN JUDAISM

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INTRODUCTION

Judaism is usually presented as a national religion where ethnic identity and religion are intertwined. Within this framework, the concept of Jews refers to both a race and a religion. This description implies a de facto state and it is stated in sources that although Judaism first appeared in history as a universal religion, it became inward-oriented over time with the effect of various factors and turned into a national religion.

The national characteristic of Judaism which we mentioned above is clearly seen in the scriptures of this religion and the construct of the scriptures reveals a narration and approach which is based on Jews (Sons of Israel as it is historically called). In this structure where the Jewish scriptures approach matters with an apparent ethnic perspective, the position of foreigners and the nature of the Jews' views of others pose a serious problem. When we look at Jewish scriptures from this perspective, we can see that a discourse which is exclusionary towards those who are not Jewish is dominant. Nevertheless, it's also possible to come across a number of statements between the lines which are contrary to this approach or which can be interpreted in that way. Therefore, it's possible to come across a number of statements and examples of practices which imply acceptance of living together with foreigners, in addition to many statements that would prove a negative and exclusionary approach towards foreigners, in Jewish scriptures. The evidence of these two approaches can be seen below.

Approaches that Exclude and Reject Foreigners During the process where Judaism started to become inward-oriented gradually beginning with the Babylonian Exile and started to turn into the religion of an ethnic population, the scriptures were also affected by this change and while the Jewish scriptures were being written, they were being shaped within the framework of a national religion perspective.[160]   In this regard, the discourse that the sons of Israel are the chosen ones[161] and that the area extending from Euphrates to the Nile, which has the Land of Canaan (Palestine) in its centre are promised to this chosen nation is reflected in the scriptures.[162]   Also, a discourse which states that all of the seven nations who live

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160 See Mehmet Katar, "A Research on the People of Israel being the Chosen Ones", Islamic Studies, Ankara 2007, V. 20, No: 2, p. 175; Ali Osman Kurt, Early Jewish History (Ezra, the Architect of Judaism), Istanbul 2007, p. 211.

161 See Katar, People of Israel being the Chosen Ones ..., p.172; Paul Johnson, A History of the Jews, G. Britain and USA 2006, s. 18-19; Nicholas De Lange, An INTRODUCTION to Judaism, USA and Australia 2000, p. 27-28; Baki Adam, Other Religions from the Perspective of Judaism and Christianity, Istanbul 2002, p. 128-129; Nazmiye Yavuz, The Concept of Being the Chosen Ones in terms of the Holy Bible, (A. U. Soc. Sci. Institute, Unpublished Postgraduate Thesis) Ankara 2006, p. 86.

162 Torah and Haftarah with Turkish Translation and Explanation, Translation and Editing Mose Farsi, Editors: Yitshak Haleva et al. Istanbul 2002, 1st book: Bereshit, 15/7-21.

163 When HaShem will bring you to the country where you're on your way to inherit, a vast number of nations - nations who have more people and who are stronger than you; Hittites, Girgashites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivites and Jebusites - will perish right in front of you. HaShem will deliver them to you and you'll hit them. (At that moment) you must destroy them completely. Don't make any agreements with them and don't show them any mercy. (See Torah and Haftarah with Turkish Translation and Explanation, Translation and Editing Mose Farsi, Editors: Yitshak Haleva et al. Istanbul 2009, 5th book: Devarim, 7/1-2; for similar statements, see: Torah and Haftarah with Turkish Translation and Explanation, Translation and Editing Mose Farsi, Editors: Yitshak Haleva et al. Istanbul 2004, 2nd book: Shemot, 23/23-24; 5th book: Devarim, 20/16-17). (While it's advised in the Jewish scriptures that no agreements should be made under any circumstances with nations who live in the land of Canaan and who are members of seven tribes which is believed to have descended from Noah's grandson Canaan and that they should be exterminated or banished from the region, it is stated in the Noah's Story that these nations who descend from Canaan will be slaves to the descendents of Shem who is recognized as the forefather of the Hebrews. See Torah and Haftarah, 1st book: Bereshit, 9/20-27; for detailed information, see Mehmet Katar, "The Relationship between Noah's Curse and The Promised Land", Judaism in All its Aspects, Ankara 2012, p. 45-59).

in Palestine - or in the Land of Canaan as called historically - which constitutes the centre of this land, should not be allowed to live in the region under any circumstances or they should be banished from the region, was verbalized.[163]

According to the national religion discourse that we described above and the claim that sons of Israel are God's chosen people, God told Prophet Abraham, his son Isaac[164] and his grandson Jacob[165] that he'd enable them to have lots of descendants and he promised them that he'd give the land that they live on, the land which extends from the Euphrates to the Nile to their descendants. However, He stated that this promise would be fulfilled within the framework of a specific plan, after a period of time and that they haven't yet come to the end of the period they're supposed to stay there despite the intemperance of the people in the region.[166] Indeed, Prophet Abraham's grandson Jacob (Israel)[167], settled in Egypt with his sons because of a famine that started in the Land of Canaan (Palestine), within the framework of this plan.[168]

Jacob's (Israel's) children led a comfortable life for a while in Egypt and they constituted the community of the sons of Israel which was made up of twelve tribes[169], by rapidly reproducing during that time.[170] After a while, the dynasty in Egypt changed and this rapid increase in the population of the sons of Israel disturbed the Egyptians. Sons of Israel were subjected to various persecutions due to the measures taken as a result of this disturbance and the regulations that were made.[171] However God did not abandon this nation to be persecuted even more because of his promise to their forefathers Abraham, Isaac and Jacob (Israel) and rescued them from Egypt and brought them to the land he promised to their forefathers by means of the prophet he chose who was Moses.[172]

While the incidents that we have mentioned above according to the Jewish scriptures are reflected as a rescue operation of a certain nation who are the sons of Israel, it is understood by some statements between the lines that the matter shouldn't be perceived in that way and that this is not a rescue operation of a certain ethnic community but the emigration of a prophet from a land he couldn't survive along with his people. Because, while almost all the statements narrating the process of Moses taking the sons of Israel out of Egypt, beginning with his assignment to do so depict the process as the struggle of an ethnic community being rescued, a statement indicating that the mixed multitude of people (Erev Rav) also got out with them during the exit from Egypt changes the outlook of the story in an instant. If this exit wasn't the departure, that is the emigration of people from a country where they couldn't stay because of their beliefs and if it was just the rescue of a certain nation, there would be no logic in the departure of people

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164 See Torah and Haftarah, 1st book: Bereshit, 26/2-4.

165 See Torah and Haftarah, 1st book: Bereshit, 28/13-15.

166 Torah and Haftarah, 1st book: Bereshit, 15/7-21.

167 In Jewish scriptures, it is stated that the name of Israel is the nickname of Jacob and that he acquired this nickname by wrestling a divine creature. In the commentary part of the Jewish scriptures, it is stated that this divine creature who is mentioned to be an angel couldn't overcome Jacob and called him Israel before leaving his side, which meant "the one who overcame a divine creature" (See Torah and Haftarah, 1st book: Bereshit, 32/25-33; the interpretation section of the same text, p. 254-255).

168 Torah and Haftarah, 1st book: Bereshit, 45/25-47/12; Louis Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, I-II (in two volumes) Translated from the German Manuscript by Henrietta Szold and Paul Radin, 2nd edition, (The Jewish Publication Society), Philadelphia 2003, V. 1, p. 391-395.

169 It seems possible that the number twelve in the twelve tribes theory which constitutes one of the main discourses of Judaism carries a symbolic meaning and that it is used to describe multitude. In this context, examples such as twelve names being brought up while the children of Prophet Abraham's brother Nahor are mentioned (Torah and Haftarah, 1st book: Bereshit, 22/20-24); God telling Prophet Abraham with regards to his expectations of Ishmael that he'd enable Ishmael to have many descendants as well and that he'd make him the forefather of twelve tribes (Torah and Haftarah, 1st book: Bereshit, 17/20, also see 25/16) brings up the possibility that the number twelve in the Jewish scriptures is used to symbolize multitude. In fact, in some sources it is mentioned that it's a prevalent practice to classify tribes and lineages with the number "twelve" in this way, or with the number "six" which is half of twelve, especially in the Anatolian and Eastern Mediterranean cultures in the Bronze Age which spans from 3000 B.C. to 1200 B.C. (Johnson, p. 21)

170 Torah and Haftarah, 2nd book: Shemot, 1/7; also see Ginzberg, V. 1, p. 465.

171 Torah and Haftarah, 2nd book: Shemot, 1/8-19; Ginzberg, V. 1, p. 465-472.

172 Torah and Haftarah, 2nd book: Shemot, 2/24-4/17.

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from different ethnic backgrounds who are referred to as the "mixed multitude of people" from Egypt.[173] Most importantly, the sons of Israel who acted with a perspective of an ethnic emphasis in the following period would not take these nations in their midst and wouldn't share a common fate with them.

The fact that many other nations left Egypt along with sons of Israel proves that the discourse of sons of Israel being the chosen ones which is used by sons of Israel as the main exclusionary evidence towards people other than themselves, does not refer to being chosen ethnically and that it is a worthiness in the eyes of God in return for having faith[174]. In fact, God also clearly indicates with the following statement he made right before the covenant he made with the sons of Israel in Sinai that this concept of being chosen has nothing to do with being chosen ethnically and that it is a worthiness in the eyes of God in return for having faith: "Now if you obey me unconditionally and keep my covenant; then you shall be a special treasure to me above all people even though the whole world belongs to me"[175]. However, as Judaism begin to turn into a national religion in the historical process, the issue of being the chosen ones which refers to the worthiness of the believers in the eyes of God in return for having faith in God, has been started to be perceived as being the chosen ones ethnically and as a result of that, it has been used as the main foundation of an approach that excludes other people.[176]

The concept of being the chosen ones which has been started to be interpreted as an ethnic privilege in the eyes of God within the framework of Judaism turning inward-oriented and being perceived as an ethnic religion, has caused the Jews or the sons of Israel as they're historically called, to view themselves differently from other nations and they began to exclude nations who even had some common ancestors with them, with that approach. In this context, some constructs regarding nations who are relatives of sons of Israel and who have close ethnic and cultural relationships with Jews such as Moabites and Ammonites have taken their place in the scriptures. According to the verbalized construct regarding these nations who descend from Prophet Abraham's nephew Lot, the nations of Moabites and Ammonites have come into existence as a result of the incestuous relationship that Lot had with his own daughters.[177] The Jewish sources not only depicted these nations as products of incestuous relationships in terms of their origin, but also accused them of becoming the focal point of illegitimate relations and adultery. Hence, they tried to form the basis for their discourse which even excludes nations who they have common ancestors with and rejects living alongside them.[178]

The second fundamental issue in Jewish scriptures which makes it harder for Jews to live together with foreigners and which lays the foundation for them to adopt an exclusionary perspective towards foreigners is the issue of the promised land. According to Jewish claims, God promised them the land which extended from the Euphrates to the Nile and which had the Land of Canaan at its centre. God repeated this promise of his quite frequently, beginning with Abraham who is the first forefather of the sons of Israel

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173 Torah and Haftarah, 2nd book: Shemot, 12/38. (While the number of the sons of Israel leaving Egypt is mentioned to be six hundred thousand men except women and children in Jewish scriptures (Torah and Haftarah, 2nd book: Shemot, 12/37), the Jewish sources put the number of the mixed population as one million. Since only the number of men are expressed when a number is mentioned for the sons of Israel, and when we take into account that the same logic is used for the mixed population, it is understood that the number of the mixed population is more than one and a half times of that of the sons of Israel. Torah and Haftarah 2nd book: Shemot (commentary section), p. 121).
174 Katar, A Research on the People of Israel..., p. 174.
175 Torah and Haftarah, 2nd book: Shemot, 19/5.
176 Katar, A Research on the People of Israel..., p. 175.
177 Mehmet Katar, "A Research on the Story of Lot in Torah", Ankara University, Faculty of Theology Periodical, Ankara 2007, V. 48, No: 1, p. 68-70.
178 It is stated that out of these two nations which the Jewish sources associate with sexual crimes and adultery, the Moabites in particular almost adopted adultery as a way of living and led sons of Israel as well to get involved in the same crime (Ginzberg, V. 2, p. 758-776; Flavius Josephus, The Antiquities of the Jews, (Included in the book called, "Josephus, The Complete Works, Translated by William Whiston, Nashville Tennessee USA 1998"), 4.6.4-6).

and said that he would leave the nations who live on those lands in their mercy. In this context, He delivered the seven nations who had been living in the region of Palestine, which is referred to as the Land of Canaan to the hands of the sons of Israel and frequently repeated that no agreements should be made with these nations under any circumstances or that they should be banished from these lands.[179] This sharp discourse of Jewish scriptures with regards to the nations living on the Land of Canaan, which intends to exclude and destroy them is supported with some stories as well. In this context, a scene is constructed where the grandson of Noah, Canaan who is said to be the ancestor of the nations of Canaan is cursed by his grandfather and his ancestry is given the punishment of being slaves to Shem's ancestry and therefore slaves to the Israelites who are descendants of Shem, in order to form an ethical basis to all kinds of unfair practices towards nations of Canaan.[180]

Jews (sons of Israel), have come face to face with the nations of Canaan who are mentioned in the scriptures with a negative approach and who absolutely shouldn't be allowed to live in the land of Canaan (Palestine), during the time of Joshua who took over the leadership after Moses. Jews (sons of Israel) who began the struggle of acquiring these lands under the leadership of Joshua, led a rather cruel war against the people of the region and banished the inhabitants of the region[181] while they completely exterminated the inhabitants of the cities they conquered.[182] Therefore, they fulfilled the order of God according to the Jewish scriptures. Actually, in these scriptures God states that in case the sons of Israel don't follow the order of exterminating the nations of Canaan or banishing them from the country and if they let them live in that region, he will inflict the negativities he planned for these tribes in the beginning on the sons of

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179 Torah and Haftarah, 2nd book: Shemot, 23/20-23; 5th book: Devarim, 7/1-11, 16, 20/16-18.

180 According to the scene that the sons of Israel constructed about these nations living in the Land of Canaan, Prophet Noah had created a vineyard after the Flood and had laid in his tent naked after getting drunk by drinking the wine he acquired from the grapes he harvested. His son Ham saw this condition of his and made a mockery out of the situation and told about it to his brothers Shem and Japheth. However, these two brothers acted differently than Ham and covered their father without looking at him. Noah who came to from his drunkinness after a while saw himself naked and he cursed the son of Ham, Canaan, instead of Ham who made a mockery out of him and he gave Canaan the punishment of becoming a slave to Shem and Japheth and he gave those who descend from Canaan the punishment of becoming slaves to those who descend from Shem and Japheth (Torah and Haftarah, 2nd book: Bereshit, 9/21-25; Katar, The Relationship between Noah's Curse and The Promised Land, p. 45-46). In Jewish sources, it is claimed that Ham is the ancestor of black people and that the physical characteristics of the black people, in essence, carry the traces of the crime that their ancestor Ham committed. In this context, the blackness of the skin of black people is attached to the disgrace of what Ham did, the redness of their scleras is attached to him looking at Noah naked, the plumpness of their lips is attached to him relaying what he saw about Noah as gossip to his brothers and the curliness of their hair is attached to the complication of what he did. The Jews have had a negative perspective of the black people for centuries due to this approach and they haven't refrained from verbalizing the most insulting discourses about them (see Katar, The Relationship between Noah's Curse and The Promised Land, p. 55-57).

181 "Speak to Bene Israel and tell this to them: You must banish all the inhabitants of the country out of your sight when you cross Jordan (river) towards the Land of Canaan and you must destroy all their carved stones." (Torah and Haftarah with Turkish Translation and Explanation, Translation and Editing Mose Farsi, Editors: Yitshak Haleva et al. Istanbul 2007, 4th book: Bamidbar, 33/51-52). In Jewish scriptures, while the banishment of the nations of Canaan who live in the land of Canaan is frequently advised, it's also stated that God will sometimes perform this banishment (Torah and Haftarah, 2nd book: Shemot, 33/1-3, 34/11-16; with Turkish Translation and Explanation, Torah and Haftarah, Translation and Editing Mose Farsi, Editors: Yitshak Haleva et al. Istanbul 2006, 3rd book: Vayikra, 20/22-24). However, it is mentioned that God will perform this act of banishment gradually as sons of Israel spread over the area, so that the settlement areas that the Canaan people left wouldn't become desolate all of a sudden and be invaded by wild animals (Torah and Haftarah, 2nd book: Shemot, 23/24-33; 2nd book: Shemot (commentary section), p. 292; 5th book: Devarim, 7/18-26). In our opinion, this situation actually points to the reality of a fact more than the existence and realization of a divine plan and reveals that sons of Israel got a hold of the region gradually in a certain period of time by battling with different tribes.

182 For example, see Yeshua with Turkish Translation and Explanation, Translation and Editing Mose Farsi, Editors: Yitshak Haleva et al. Istanbul 2015, 8/22-26, 10/28, 30, 32-33, 35, 37, 39-40, 11/11-12; also see The Book of Jasher, 89/30-36; Josephus, 5.1.7.

183 "However, if you don't banish the inhabitants of the country out of your sight, what you let them leave behind will become needles in your eyes and thorny bushes next to you and will harass you at the land you live on. Then I will do to you what I planned to do to them (at first)." (Torah and Haftarah, 4th book: Bamidbar, 33/55-56).

Israel, that these nations will be a source of disturbance[183] and that they won't be able to banish these nations in the future as a punishment.[184]

In fact, the cruel war policy of the Jews (sons of Israel) which we pointed out above and their intolerant attitude towards being in the same environment with foreigners, has started before they entered the Land of Canaan, when they came up on the stage of history as a political factor under the leadership of Prophet Moses. Within this framework, while they were moving along to reach the lands that they claim they were promised; they encountered various nations and battled with some of those nations. According to the narratives in the scriptures, they have revealed their perspectives on foreigners with their practices in these wars. In this context, Jews (sons of Israel), slayed everyone except unmarried girls by the order of Moses in the war they had with the Midianites, when they defeated them.[185] It is seen in the comments made on the Jewish holy book that this expression of "the unmarried girl" is limited to girls who doesn't even know what marriage is yet and who hasn't reached puberty and that the attitude towards foreigners except these young girls who are left alive for predictable reasons is rather cruel.[186]

According to the Jewish scriptures, the practice of the sons of Israel letting only the unmarried young girls live in wars with the enemy and exterminating all the other people including women and children has been taken to a much more cruel level and this exception of the period of Moses is abandoned and the practice of exterminating all living beings whether they be humans or animals is adopted.[187] And those who don't do this are accused of behaving against God's will. In fact, Saul who was the first king of Israel attracted the fury of God since he didn't kill some of the animals that belonged to the enemy during the war he had with Amalekites and he left them alive in order to use them in sacrifice rituals rather than killing them for no reason and therefore he was scolded by the prophet Samuel for this reason and he received news that God would take the kingdom from him and hand it to someone else because of this sin he committed.[188]

There's the impression that the sons of Israel usually displayed a negative and exclusionary attitude towards other nations, especially towards the nations who lived in the Land of Canaan which they tried to conquer and that they didn't view living with them in peace in a positive way, according to the examples we gave above based on the Jewish scriptures. However, it's possible to come across some evidences in the same scriptures which we can interpret as positive attitudes towards foreigners, even though they're not as frequent as these exclusionary discourses. Especially, when we take into account the factor that Judaism is not actually a national religion at its core and that the members of this religion had to have the purpose of making the belief of amalgamation rule at least in places under their own command during the period they stepped on the stage of history, the issue gains a more distinct perspective.

Approaches that are Tolerant of Foreigners and that Adopt Living Together: Despite the exclusionary discourse that the Jewish scriptures displayed against other nations, it is seen in the same scriptures that a more positive perspective is adopted towards some nations[189] and in addition, it is ordered that foreigners living in the country should not be treated badly. Even beyond this approach, it is seen through the examples of practices that were mentioned in the scriptures that the practices about the nations of Canaan

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184 Rulers, 2/1-3. (While the general attitude of the Jewish holy books towards the nations of Canaan is negative as we described above and while it's mentioned that there will be a severe divine punishment if they're left in the region, it's also stated that a part of these nations are left in the region almost for practice purposes as part of a divine plan so that the future generations of the sons of Israel don't lose their ability to fight and struggle and therefore another contradiction is set forth in this way. See Rulers, 3/1-6.)

185 Torah and Haftarah, 4th book: Bamidbar, 31/7-18.

186 Torah and Haftarah, 4th book: Bamidbar (commentary section), p. 612.

187 For example, see Yeshua, 8/22-26, 10/28, 30, 32-33, 35, 37, 39-40, 11/11-12; also see The Book of Jasher, referred to in Book of Joshua and second Samuel, Faithfully Translated from the Original Hebrew into English 1840, Published by J. H. Parry and Company, Salt Lake City 1887, 89/30-36; Josephus, Antiquities, 5.1.7.

188 See I. Samuel, 15/9-31.

189 "Don't look down on an Edomite, for he's your brother. Don't look down on an Egyptian, for you had been a guest in his country." (Torah and Haftarah, 5th book: Devarim, 23/8).

who are mentioned as people with whom no agreements should be made or who should be exterminated or banished from the country, do not match the general exclusionary discourse of the scriptures. In light of these findings it is understood that Judaism is in fact not against living together in peace with people of different ethnic origins and beliefs.

In light of the points we made above, there's a need to present the differences between Jews' discourse and practices first and foremost with regards to nations of the seven tribes from Canaan towards whom they displayed the strictest exclusionary attitude. It is frequently repeated in Jewish scriptures as a discourse that no agreements should be made under any circumstances with the nations living in the land of Canaan and that they should be exterminated or banished from the lands they live in. However, when the sections of the same scriptures referring to historical practices are reviewed, some data which reveals that these expressions are not perceived and implemented in the literal sense is found.

In light of the data we deduce from the narratives of the Jewish scriptures, above all, it is understood that statements referring to not making any agreements with the members of the seven tribes from Canaan who live in the land of Canaan or them being destroyed or banished, essentially depend not on the identities of these nations but on their idolatry and the fact that they didn't recognize the Jewish authority who was the representative of amalgamation at that time. It is understood that these nations were allowed to live in the region in case they recognized the sovereignty of the Jews or they sought a settlement with them. In fact, in the Jerusalem Talmud, it is stated that during the period when the sons of Israel came to the region under the leadership of Joshua, Joshua presented three choices to the nations of the region by sending each of them a letter before he began a war with them. One of the three choices was to accept the sovereignty of the sons of Israel and the others were leaving the region or engaging in battle. It is stated that, in the face of these three options, Gibeonites, one of the nations of the region, chose to make peace, Girgashites preferred to leave the region and the other nations opted to engage in battle and that the sons of Israel fought these nations under the leadership of Joshua.[190]

The above narrative which is included in the Jerusalem Talmud gives a new and different perspective to the issue of the Jewish scriptures' view of foreigners. Accordingly, it becomes apparent that the people of Moses who came to the Land of Canaan accepted themselves as the representatives and holders of a faith and not as an ethnic community during that period, and viewed the struggle they were executing essentially as a struggle for the ruling of justice and not as the struggle of an ethnic nation for acquiring land. Actually, it is seen that a similar kind of approach is also displayed in the Jewish scriptures. In this context, Jews are commanded in the scriptures to offer peace to the people of a city before attacking them, with the condition of them obeying the Jews and paying them taxes and to engage in battle and kill men while taking women, children and goods as spoils in case they don't accept the peace offering. However, a limitation is brought to this command in the same scripture by the indication that this provision will be applied only to the nations of other regions and not to the nations who live in the lands which are believed to have been promised to the sons of Israel.[191]

Despite the limitation in the Jewish scriptures, famous religious scholars such as Mose b. Meymun with the nickname Rambam (1135-1204) and Mose b. Nahman with the nickname Ranban (1194-1270) supported the idea that the right to make peace with the condition of paying taxes and performing the other liabilities should not only be given to the nations living outside of the Land of Canaan, but also to the nations living in the Land of Canaan. However, they also didn't think that the conditions of tax payment

190 The Jerusalem Talmud First Order - ZeraimTractates Kilaim and Seviit, Ed. by Heinrich W. Guggenheimer, Berlin and New York, 2001, p. 500-501; also see Yeshua (commentary section), p. 110; Torah and Haftarah, 5th book: Devarim (commentary section), p. 433; Ginzberg, V. 2, p. 846-848.
191 See Torah and Haftarah, 5th Book: Devarim, 20/10-15.

and obedience for these nations were enough and stated that they also had to abandon idolatry and live according to the Laws of Noah.[192-193] In fact, a number of statements in the Jewish scriptures reveal that the historical practices were also in the manner that these scholars supported and that the nations who accepted the authority of the Jews (sons of Israel) were allowed to live in the land of Canaan. In this case, what the Jews (sons of Israel) did doesn't have a purpose beyond making the belief of amalgamation that they represent rule and it doesn't seem so different than the practices of the Muslims who stepped on the stage of history centuries after them. However, it is understood that a number of statements which were verbalized with a different purpose and which were attached to certain conditions were assessed in a limited angle by the new perspective of Judaism which became nationalistic later on and that all ethnically different people in general were ostracized.

The difference between the exclusionary discourse of the Jewish scripture regarding what should be done to the nations of Canaan and the comprehensiveness of the historical practices which are yet again based on the scriptures, reveals that this destructive discourse in the Jewish scriptures was probably put down on paper afterwards and that they don't reflect the historical facts. In this context, the fact that the names of a number of individuals belonging to these tribes were mentioned in the narratives of the period of David which is presented to be the most powerful period of the sons of Israel in history, constitutes to be an important evidence for this claim of ours. In the first of these narratives which we will give examples of, it is stated that the husband of the woman named Bathsheba who is alleged to have an illegitimate relationship with David, is Uriah the Hittite and that this man had been fighting in the front with the enemy in David's army during that time.[194] In the second story, David who conquered Jerusalem and made it the capital city decided to build a temple there after a while and while he was looking for the most ideal spot for this, he identified the threshing floor of Ornan (Araunah) from Jebus and purchased this place from this person in return for a certain price.[195] It is understood that just like Uriah the Hittite, Ornan of Jebus who is mentioned here is also a member of the seven tribes, in his case the Jebus tribe, with whom no agreements should be made under any circumstances or who shouldn't be allowed to stay in the land of Canaan and who therefore should either be terminated or banished according to the Jewish scriptures. However, despite clear statements with regards to the identities of these individuals, it is clearly seen that these people were not terminated or banished from their lands and they were allowed to live in the land.

In addition to our point above that the attitude of Jews towards nations who live in the land of Canaan and who are supposed to be exterminated according to the Jewish scriptures should not be interpreted in the way they're understood today, the attitude of Jews towards other nations include a much more apparent tolerance. In this context, it is clearly seen through Jewish scriptures and historical practices that Jews (sons of Israel) allowed people who were not Jews and yet were subject to the Laws of Noah to stay in the region. Within this framework, many statements appear in various sections of the Jewish scriptures which imply that Jews should behave tolerantly towards foreigners in the lands they rule and that they shouldn't be humiliated.[196] Even though it is expressed in the interpretations of the Jewish scriptures that these foreigners are people who have adopted Judaism[197], it seems possible to think that this form of in-

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192 Seven laws which are referred to as Laws of Noah consist of the following elements: Establishing a fair legal system, not worshipping idols, eulogizing God, avoiding sexual indecency, not killing a person, not stealing and not eating a live animal by tearing off its meat! (Eldar Hasanov, "Perception of Foreigners in Judaism in the Context of Noahide Identity", Magazine of Turkey Middle East Studies, 2015, V. 2, No: 1, p. 139).

193 See Torah and Haftarah, 5th Book: Devarim (commentary section), p. 432-433.

194 See II. Samuel, 11/2-12/23; also see Josephus, 7.7.1-4.

195 See II. Samuel, 24/21-25; I. Dates, 21/18-28; Josephus, 7.13.4; also see Muhammed Gungor, Solomon's Temple in Jewish Tradition, Ankara 2014, p. 30.

196 For example, see Torah and Haftarah, 2nd book: Shemot, 22/20, 23/9; 3rd book: Vayikra, 19/10, 33; 5th book: Devarim, 10/18-19.

197 Torah and Haftarah, 2nd book: Shemot (commentary section), p. 270; 3rd book: Vayikra (commentary section), p. 390, 420; 5th book: Devarim (commentary section), p. 220-223.

terpretation occurred with the effect of the exclusionary approach which appeared after Judaism became inward-oriented. Besides, even if the interpretation that the majority of the people who are expressed with the term "foreigners" in the scriptures refer to foreigners who transferred to Judaism as also mentioned in the Jewish sources, is accepted, it is not possible for some of these statements to be understood as people who transferred to Judaism. The clearest proof of this lies in a statement which explains that in case a Jew becomes a slave to a rich foreigner (a Ger Toshav who lives by the Laws of Noah) who lives in the Land of Canaan, his relatives should rescue him from being a slave to the foreigner by paying his debt[198]. According to these statements, a person who is not an idol worshipper and who abides by the basic principles which are expressed as the Laws of Noah, even seem to have the right to use a Jew as a slave because of his debts beyond having the right to live freely in the lands ruled by the Jews. In fact, it is stated clearly in commentaries that are made on Jewish scriptures as well that people who adopt Noah's seven basic laws can live together with the Jews in the lands ruled by Jews, by the state of Ger Toshav (resident foreigner). This clearly reveals that people of different faiths would have the right to live freely in a region ruled by the Jews with the condition that they're not idol worshippers.[199]

The last factor we will set forth with regards to Jews not turning xenophobia into a behaviour pattern is the interpretations about the Story of Lot in the Jewish sources. In these interpretations, many sins which led the people of Sodom and the surrounding areas to destruction as they met their divine wrath are mentioned but it is also stated that one of the biggest sins of these nations is xenophobia.[200] It doesn't seem too realistic to think that Jewish religious scholars who state that xenophobia would cause the destruction of a nation in their own sources, would for the most part be blindly xenophobic.

CONCLUSION:

Jewish scriptures generally don't approach foreigners positively and prioritizes an exclusionary discourse. This exclusionary discourse toward those who are not Jewish reaches a whole new level when it comes to foreigners who live in the land of Canaan which the Jews accept to be the land that God assigned to them (Promised Land) and it turns into a completely rejectionist discourse with regards to those who live in this land (seven tribes of Canaan). In this context, it is stated that no agreements should be made under any circumstances with these tribes who live in the Land of Canaan and that they should either be completely exterminated or banished from their lands. However, some narratives of historical practices which are relayed in the same scriptures reveal that Jews did not perform a general practice of completely exterminating the nations of Canaan or banishing them from their lands and that they allowed those who obeyed their dominion to live in the region under certain circumstances. In this case, it is understood that these strict exclusionary discourses reflect a xenophobia which appeared in a period when Judaism turned inward-oriented due to various factors and became nationalized and the idea that getting close to foreigners would lead to corruption in terms of religion and nationality became dominant. Therefore it can be seen that these discourses do not reflect the original concept of Judaism. In this case, despite the general exclusionary discourses of the Jewish scriptures, it appears that there are also some statements which make it possible to live with foreigners and that in the light of these statements, it is possible to live with foreigners in peace in Judaism.

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198 If a Ger Toshav (A foreigner who is subject to the Laws of Noah and therefore who isn't an idol worshipper) acquires financial power and if your brother becomes poor and gets sold to serve an idol that belongs to the Ger Toshav next to you or a foreigner's family, he must have a chance to be rescued after he's sold. One of his brothers should rescue him (Torah and Haftarah, 3rd book: Vayikra, 25/47-48).

199 Torah and Haftarah, 3rd book: Vayikra, (commentary section), p. 596; also see Hasanov, p. 147-148.

200 Ginzberg, p. 208-209; Steven Greenberg, Wrestling with God and Men, USA 2004, p. 65; Katar, "A Research on the Story of Lot... p. 60, 63-67.

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CONTEMPORARY ANTI-MUSLIM SENTIMENTS IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC AS REFLECTED IN CULTURAL PRODUCTION

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RESEARCH TOPIC

In November of 2016, the popular music contest Zlatý Slavík (Golden Nightingale) took place as every year in Prague. Czech music celebrities gathered in the Karlín music theatre to go home with a trophy or disappointed, in either case under the omnipresent sight of TV cameras.

However, this year was to be ground-breaking in a way: the second place was in popular voting won by the band Ortel (meaning "Verdict"), authors of the (in)famous record "The Mosque". The skulls they were wearing only underlined what everyone knew: this band is not exactly celebrating cultural diversity.

The cultural community split up: a smaller part protested, a prominent Roma musician left the hall in protest. Other stayed in their seats – not necessarily as a sign of support, rather ignorant of the significance, or petrified: what happened? How is it possible that Czech music scene, notably apolitical, bred and brought to such widespread support promoters of hate speech? Is racism so pervasive in contemporary Czech culture? And what is the way forward– can we abolish a band popular with such large number of people? This paper examines the socio-political context of this incident and proposes an interpretation.

This paper does not deal with Czech cultural production that is in support of cultural diversity and immigrants, nor does it map protests against the Ortel band, even though there would be a lot to talk about. The subject of this paper should not imply that racism is a defining phenomenon of Czech music scene, which is not the case.

SOCIO-POLITICAL CONTEXT

The Czech Republic is one of the most atheist countries globally (the second country in Europe with the smallest number of people pleading allegiance to a religion – Czech Statistical Office 2014a). It is also one of the most ethnically homogenous countries in the world (Czech Statistical Office 2014b) due to the elimination of ethnic minorities during the Second World War (Jews, Romas) and shortly after it (Germans), and due to the closure of borders during the communist era (1948-1989).

Currently, among the biggest ethnic minorities are Roma, Slovaks, Ukrainians, and Vietnamese (Czech Statistical Office 2014b). Muslims have always been a numerically insignificant minority: the estimates of their current numbers vary, the maximum one being 0,1% of the overall population (i.e., 11 000 people).[201] About 1500 Muslims would attend Czech mosques during Muslim holidays (Ministry of Culture 2014).

Despite (or perhaps because of) the lack of physical contact of the Czech majority with Muslims, their image has been virtually always predominantly negative: Already during the wars with Osman Empire, Muslims were perceived and depicted as a threat in popular culture. Muslim religious community

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[201] The Czech Statistical Office in its census from 2007 talks about 1437 people who self-identify themselves as Muslims (Czech Statistical Office 2007); other analysis estimate the real number of Muslims around 10 000 people.

was officially registered only during the Second World War - and therefore abolished shortly after it; it was renewed as late as in the 1990s, after the Velvet Revolution (Novotný 2011). Several hundred Muslim students came to Czechia in the 70s and 80s as part of student exchange between the countries of Socialist bloc, but these were still rather insignificant numbers. After 1989, Muslims have been coming to Czechia for a short stay as spa guests, which was not always welcomed by local residents due to differing cultural norms. But there has not been any significant violent incident including a Muslim on the Czech territory.[202] Nevertheless, fear of a violent attack is rising among the population and statistically, it is currently among the biggest concerns of the Czechs (Aktuálně.cz 2016).

Currently, there are several small mosques in major cities – Prague and Brno – and in the cities with numerous spa guests from Arab countries - Teplice and Karlovy Vary; there are also several prayer rooms in various cities. Attempts to build mosques in other cities were hindered by local municipal governments. Czechs are traditionally opposed to building of mosques – even before the migrant crisis, 75% of Czechs were persuaded that mosques represent a direct threat to their historical heritage (Týden 2010).

Overall, the history of Czechs and Muslims is a history of a lack of contact, and prejudice. In the globalized world and changing European context, xenophobia and populism are on the rise in the Czech Republic.

Recently the issues related to Muslims became a catalyst of a heated public debate. Two sets of factors have contributed to the exacerbation of the public debate in regards to Muslim minority: international factors, and domestic factors.

Among the international ones, it is notably the migrant crisis and the EU policies, or the clash of Czech political representation with it.

As for the migrant crisis, this phenomenon represents a new reality for Czechs who do not have any experience with a major wave of foreign immigrants. The influx of refugees into Europe is related to a number of incidents that are widely medialized (most notably terrorist attacks). Czech media do not have a tradition of qualified foreign analysis, nor understanding of complex issues related to ethnicity and religion; as everywhere, they tend to use scandalous headlines. Therefore, the most inflammatory stories get the broadest coverage, disproportionate to their real impact. Most Czech media were reported to spread the bias of Muslims as a violent, dehumanized minority (Zabloudilová 2015).

The second international factor is the disaccord between Czech and EU policies. One of the gravest recent frictions between the Czech government and the EU was caused by quotas on refugees suggested by the EU Committee. Their aim was to distribute the incoming migrants more evenly throughout the European countries. The Czech Republic was ascribed approximately 2700 migrants, whereas the real number of requests for asylum in the Czech Republic by Muslim migrants is much lower. A wave of protests against the "European dictate" arose, rooted in a long-time sentiment that the EU is an authoritarian power, disconnected with the "real people". The issue, widely used by politicians to profile themselves as advocates of common people against the EU autocrats, created additional tensions and pro-isolationist sentiments. Interestingly, one non-governmental group decided to bring its own group of Christian refugees (approx. 160 people) from Iraq, demonstrating that the Czechs are not afraid of migrants that comply with their civilizational values;[203] this was approved by the government and partly implemented, but large part of the refugees left the Czech Republic for a better life in Western Europe as soon as they were granted asylum (that allows them to move across the EU). Therefore, there was not a major opportunity

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202 There might have been Czech victims of Islamist terrorist attacks abroad; and 2 young Czechs were kidnapped while travelling in Pakistan, but this all happened outside of the state borders.
203 The argument about „protection of our Christian values"is heard very often, despite general lack of participation on church life by the absolute majority of Czechs.

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to prove the Czech public that a friendly contact between them and the migrants is may be possible, or even desirable.

The second set of factors are the domestic ones. First, the current Czech president, Miloš Zeman, is a politician framing himself as truly "popular", standing for the "real people" ("the bottom 10 million" – out of the total 11 million, in his own words), courageously contesting "political correctness". He positions himself as the one who is not afraid to speak the truth to current European elites, including on the matters of Muslims. Recently, he encouraged the population to arm itself against the Muslim invaders, and to build a wall against the migrants – which, in the context of EU, is a far-reaching claim. For the president, the topic of refugees is a major mobilizing issue and a tool to raise political points. Additionally, aside the president, other politicians promote a hardline stance against the refugees as well. The Czech Minister of Interior, Milan Chovanec, had a detention facility built where all incoming migrants were held for an extended period of time as their requests were being evaluated. They were treated deliberately badly (separation of families for several months, lack of information, deprivation of basic human rights, confiscation of means of communication, etc.) in order to build up the image of Czechia as a country hostile to migrants, discouraging more asylum requests.[204] After a significant media pressure, the detention facility was cleared of Muslim migrants in recent months.

Also, there were several controversies related to Muslims in the Czech Republic, even though they have been rather scarce: two Czech female students were kidnapped and held in Pakistan by an Islamist group for two years and came home decimated; the head of the Prague Muslim community was detained and accused of spreading of extremist thoughts as a consequence of publication of Basic Tawheed; and Czech population, which takes pride in its agricultural tradition, is very skeptical towards halal slaughter which it sees as unnecessarily cruel.

Finally, political parties have been feeding on the topic of immigration. It was promptly picked up by new political movements and groups, most notably one called We Do Not Want Islam in the Czech Republic (Islám v ČR Nechceme; later Blok proti islámu/Bloc against Islam), led by the professor of biology Martin Konvička. His statements about "grinding Muslims into meat and bone meal" are notorious. He became the center of a loose coalition of far-right political parties including those formerly engaged in anti-Roma and other xenophobic activities. One of his most successful but also last activities was the "occupation of Prague by ISIS" in summer 2016. However, his influence has slowly waned – he was not elected into Senate and now is rarely to be seen publicly. The extremist groups usually seem to be heard a lot, but their support tends to be volatile. The anti-immigration rhetoric was to some extent adopted by mainstream political parties, especially with the view of approaching elections in the autumn of 2017. For instance, the major center-right party ODS (Občanská demokratická strana/Civic Democratic Party) proclaims cautionary stance towards Islam, the son of the founder harshly commenting on hidjabs in schools; the major centre-left party ČSSD (Česká strana sociálně demokratická/Czech Social-Democratic Party) catching up with the aforementioned detention facility set up by its minister who has been also recently advocating for more benevolence in the guns' control. Thus, as we have seen, the anti-immigration rhetoric is a widespread phenomenon which we might not agree with but that has major socio-political reasons that cannot be ignored or eliminated in the short therm. As the topic of national values, fears of "the others" and echoes of the national history are forming public discussion, they were adopted by mainstream politicians, at the expense of extremist groups.

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204 This is rooted in a long time Czech policy of administrative hostility towards all foreigners – the visa process is unusually complicated and residence permits are granted only to a very small number of applicants in absolute as well as relative numbers, compared to other European countries.

CASE STUDY: ORTEL MUSIC BAND

The second place in the music competition for the band Ortel to some extent reflects the described trends. This band has emerged from a far-right music scene but shifted towards mainstream and reached legitimacy with a broader population.

Ortel was established by a former band member of Conflict 88, a clearly neo-Nazi and anti-Semitic music band with songs titled Rudolf Hesse, Struggle of Nations, etc.

Tomáš Ortel, leader of the Ortel band, has distanced himself from this past. However, also his current music formation can be linked to extremism: one of the band's early songs was declared to be the anthem of the neo-Nazi Workers party; extremist audience attends their concerts. The band's lyrics include a lot of anti-minority, nationalistic rhetoric, as we have seen; and its visual identity (skulls, black and red, etc.) vaguely resembles that of NSDAP and SS forces. However, the band is very cautious about not trespassing the law and has not provided the police any opportunity to accuse them of inciting violence or ethnic hatred. Some even claim that Ortel is frowned upon by the hardcore neo-Nazi scene that says that they stepped away from radicalism.

Orten has existed for 10 years, but became popular only in 2013 with the album "The Mosque". The lyrics include lines as "It is a curse, I feel betrayed by the media / And I am scared for my children / You will be scared as well when they will stand here in burqas and shout their prayers" or "They will feel entitled / These in their black robes / They attack only in crowds and they worship holy war / For Allah's glory they will cut your head off / That is the only thing they care for / Let's stop the madness".

Ever since this album, the band became very successful: their concert's audience has multiplied, and they often receive invitations to play at anti-Muslim and anti-EU demonstrations. The above described fears of general public that is having hard time orienting itself vis-à-vis the previously unknown challenges of globalization are certainly among the reasons why a broader audience falls for easy solutions.

And there is also a supporting explanation: Ortel was included in the annual report on extremism for 2015 and is a subject to heightened police surveillance. This has provided the band with the image of a rebellious group that "dares to say the truth" – a popular stance within the Czech Republic where people are traditionally very skeptical of official narratives and public authorities. Even the band leader has confirmed that their popularity rose after they were labelled as extremists. The question remains what should we do about extremely anti-Muslim stances in public space.

REPRESENTATION OF MINORITIES

The efforts to exclude negative representation of minorities from the public space is well grounded and well understandable. Representation, according to Stuart Hall, means 'using language to say something meaningful about, or to represent, the world meaningfully, to "Other" people … Representation is an essential part of a process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture' (Hall, 1997, p. 15). Others point to the twofold function of representation: it is both a process of ongoing construction of identities in any given culture, and a stereotyping force (Grossberg et al. 1998). Stereotyping "reduce[s] people to a few, simple, essential characteristics, which are represented as fixed by nature" (Hall 1997, p. 257) – therefore, a portrayal of Muslims inherently violent and fundamentalist is highly detrimental for public discourse as it creates oppositions and builds up the narratives of what is "normal" and what is an "aberration" or straightforward "rotten" and what should thus be expelled from the public sphere. Furthermore, "since it tends to occur where there are gross inequalities of power, stereotyping is a classification system that also serves as a regulator in the maintenance of the social and symbolic order." (Avraham 2003, p. 483).

However, the case of the band Ortel points to a major dilemma, which is now emerging throughout European politics: if the general fears are pushed aside from the public space, they come back with more support and more vigor. We cannot see the supporters of Ortel as a homogenous group of people ready to attack the migrants, but people that feel for various reasons and to differing degrees attracted to or attached to the exclusionary rhetoric. Charles Self's notion of public space as a constant struggle for recognition of one's voice can help us understand this: "The public flows across networks of dialog is an unending battle for universality. Public is the unending process of struggle, not the fortuitous grouping of demographics, psychographics, or even issues. It is a view grounded in evolving networks that share vocabularies that create the perception of issues." (Self 2010, p. 89)

Therefore, on the one hand, it could be tempting to argue that abolishing negative vocabularies can help us eliminate negative perceptions. However, I perceive the other part of Self's definition to be crucial: "The public flows across networks of dialog is an unending battle for universality." Self does not see the publics as something fixed, but as a process. In the process, everyone claims to have the superior notion of reality – and everyone wants to communicate it, while the means of doing so increase in the age of information revolution. According to Self, as more media forms make it possible for more players to participate in more ways, the players require continuous engagement over the shape and direction of the flow of the public. Currently, sociopolitical phenomena in the Czech Republic (lack of recent experience with migration, detachment from the EU) feed to a certain view that is, due to increased means of communication, spreading across publics and cannot be easily ruled out. Exclusion of this narrative from public space only supports its aspiration to be the "unpopular truth".

This paper suggests that we should stick to the legal means that we have at our hand: strictly punish any transgressions of law, and if necessary, amend the law within democratic procedures to current situation. Indeed, in the times of heightened tensions, any illegal incitement, and even more so acting upon it, needs to be prosecuted within the law. Protection of all humans from violence is the basic imperative.

But all subjects that maneuver within the democratically established legal system should be included into the discussion – and exposed to criticism and counterarguments, just as everyone else. After all, deprived of the aura of mystery and rebellion, these claims stand out as shallow and mediocre and often quickly fade into oblivion, such as the controversial leader of the Bloc against Islam movement.

We should not quickly lose faith into our self-regulatory democratic systems. As other examples of musicians that gained popularity due to their xenophobic claims show, this is by far not a sufficient recipe for fame – while popular on the Internet, they often lose ground in public space due to the stigma they carry (such as Olivie Žižková, Vilém Čok, and others in the Czech context). After all, the band Ortel itself was refused by an NGO organization when it offered the NGO a non-negligible donation in favor of children with cancer (Novotná 2016).

Publics are a critical component of the democratic process (Dewey 1984) and as such cannot be ignored, however uncomfortable for our own personal stances as academicians their views can be. The current spread of xenophobia is not the end of European democracy – it is a test of democracy. And as we have seen in the Austrian and Dutch elections, we have not always failed this test. It provides more fruitful to acknowledge the problem, ascribe the actors' responsibility, and carefully deal with them than to exclude them from public space. Cultivation of discussion, facilitation of contact between the cultures, and education about challenges of contemporary world will be crucial over the long term.

When it comes to the immediate outlook, it might seem that we do not share values even with our fellow citizens. While encountering new, difficult and polarizing issues, the consensus or a compromise has to be found in a possibly long, painful and arduous process. But we should not give up if we do not

see shared values immediately. We still share a minimal requirement of interaction – our agreement on democratic procedures. Until we will question the very mechanism of democracy, we share a platform on which we "struggle for universality" – everyone's desire to be heard. That is something we share indeed, and maybe it is sufficient for this moment.

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RACISIM –XENOPHOBIA

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WHAT IS RACISM?

1.1. What do we talk about when we talk about racism?

Racism is not only an ideology or an attitude, but also, and especially, a material force, often institutional, which has many practical consequences both direct and indirect.

"Racism is a specific form of oppression. It results from discrimination against a group of people based on the idea that some inherited characteristic, such as skin color, makes them inferior to their oppressors."[205] This type of definition corresponds well with the so-called "scientific racism" practiced by the Nazis in the 30s and 40s of the last century. More recently, however, a variant of racism justifying discrimination against certain groups (particularly immigrant groups) has been extended, based not on their rational-biological traits but on their socio-historical or cultural characteristics, although these Are often conceived as equally unalterable or, in any case, unassimilable for the host society.

1.2. The origin of Racism

Racism is not an innate or inherent trait of human nature. Certainly, prejudices against "barbarians" prevailed in ancient Greece and Rome, and the institution of slavery existed, but it had no racial basis.

"There were divisions, discriminations and antagonisms of class and of cultural, political and religious character, but none based on race or color"[206]

1.3. The target groups of racist discrimination

Currently in Spain, immigrants are the main group suffering from racist discrimination, although not uniformly, as we will see later.

However, we must not forget the secular discrimination, both institutional and popular, against the gypsy people - having arrived in Spain in the fifteenth century, Spanish nationality was not recognized until the Constitution of 1812, - which still lasts.

The results of the attitudes surveys continue to indicate that a significant percentage of the population would not want their children to share classes with gypsy children and would be annoyed if they had gypsy neighbors. And it is only in recent years that the gypsy (or Romaní) people have been overtaken by the Maghreb as an object of this kind of animosity.

Beyond prejudices, the gypsy people suffer much higher rates of unemployment and social exclusion than the average. According to the Fundación Secretariado Gitano, its unemployment rate is 42%. As for the Romanian and Bulgarian gypsies, which since the beginning of this century have markedly increased the total gypsy population, two-thirds are below the poverty line and more than a third are in a situation of severe exclusion.

Despite its status as "community", the Spanish government has imposed restrictions on access to the labor market for all Romanian nationals.

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1.4. Why fight against racism?

Many people and some organizations of the left consider that it is necessary to fight against racism because it divides and weakens the working class. They argue that racism presents immigration, "blacks," "the Moors," or "Gypsies," as scapegoats who divert the just anger of native and / or white workers from the true culprit of their evils that is the capitalist system.

And you can not say that they are not right. This is undoubtedly one of the functions of racism. However, it is not the first or the main reason to combat racism from the left. The main reason for combating racism is that it seriously undermines, first and foremost, the minority concerned. It degrades the lives of much of the discriminated group and too often leads to the death of some of its members.

The starting point of a revolutionary attitude and practice in this field is the active opposition to all forms of exploitation and oppression from an internationalist perspective and from class solidarity. In other words, it defends equality of rights and the universality of rights.

Exploitation is the central element in the functioning of capitalism, and therefore the struggle against exploitation must also be a central element of the revolutionary strategy to overthrow this system.

However, different forms of oppression can not be reduced to a simple class question, and although the end of capitalism is a necessary condition for the disappearance of racism, it is not a sufficient condition.

Meanwhile, the fight against racism requires specific measures based on a concrete analysis of the type of racism that exists or is being developed, and their multiple interrelations with the rest of the capitalist system in each case, place and time.

1.5. Anti-semitism

Anti-Semitism (rather, Judeophobia, hatred of Jews - Arabs are also Semites) is not very significant in Spain today, but played a key role in the rise of National Socialism in Germany during the 1930s.

The Nazis managed to identify the Jews through the "racial" stereotypes that they attributed to them - as the main cause of the evils suffered by society. They were presented and represented not only as a foreign (and foreign) body, unassimilable and unfaithful, but also as economically arrogant and plotters of a "Judeo-Bolshevik" plot to dominate the world. "The Socialism of Fools". The extermination of most European Jews is not the only case of genocide in history, but it does have some prominent features that should be remarked. One of the questions many people have tried to answer is how so many seemingly "normal" people participated in such a huge, morally disgusting company at first glance, such as the systematic physical elimination of six million people (including gypsies, homosexuals , Disabled ..., not counting the political categories).

To respond, Hannah Arendt coined the concept of "the banality of evil": the unthinking acceptance and the fulfillment, without questioning, of the tasks adjudicated by the State although its consequences are ethically condemnable. In this sense, Bauman emphasizes "the social character of the damage", that is to say, beyond the role of each individual seen in isolation, we must analyze the social system, especially the bureaucracy. "The organization as a whole is an instrument to erase responsibility ... The causal links of coordinated actions are masked." However, the social production of distancing, the dehumanization of groups suffering from racism, has a relevant place in this scheme.

Another surprising aspect of Nazi anti-semitism is how it became independent of its practical or ideological usefulness to the point that the project of extermination of the Jews of Europe did not stop even when it had become counterproductive in diverting resources from military combat when Germany was already losing the war.

Equally striking may be the survival of anti-semitism today in Poland, decades after the murder of three million Polish Jews, when there are only about 25,000 left, or Hungary, where the openly anti-semit-

ic Jobbik party is the third parliamentary force. It is now important to emphasize the distinction between anti-semitism and anti-zionism. The first is hatred of the Jews, the second is the political opposition to zionism, a colonial and oppressive project. The efforts of the State of Israel to confuse the two terms, to dismiss any criticism of their actions as anti-Jewish, to claim the right to speak on behalf of all Jews, only fuel anti-Semitism throughout the world.

We note that in recent times some extreme right-wing formations, for example the National Front in France, have muted their traditional anti-xemitism, which tends to give them bad press, to approach zionism, insofar as it has a good fit with its Islamophobia.

1.6. Islamophobia

Several analysts have highlighted the use of xenophobia (hatred or fear of foreigners) that the extreme right does in countries such as France, centered on the rejection of immigration and particularly Islam, in such a way that plays a role similar to anti-semitismof classical fascism. In Spain the most successful exponent of this tactic is Plataforma per Catalunya (PxC), which has a good number of councilors in different cities and towns.

In his program statement "PxC does not oppose immigration, but the installation of Muslim immigrants in our country," claiming that the phenomenon may be "a clear threat to our culture" because of the fact that Islam "has ideological elements Of rejection to the Human Rights ".

Specifically, it proposes an immigration policy that "fixes quotas of origin and reduces the Islamic quota to zero" and that "needs" (of labor, is understood) are covered according to a well-defined hierarchy of preferences, by " Native citizens, community Europeans and the countries of the East or, in any case, those of Latin America with whom we have had historical relations and to whom we have contributed our Christian culture, traditions and moral principles. " And it goes even further: "PxC will encourage the repatriation of the Islamic population."

This does not mean that Islamophobia is deprived of the extreme right. In Catalonia, both CiU and the PSC have proposed and voted on municipal motions designed to prohibit the burqa or niqab - a superminitarian practice in Catalunya, by the way - arguing that they defend the rights and dignity of women - the same Reasoning used to send troops to Afghanistan.

In addition, the Parliament of Catalonia, this time alleging "security reasons", has passed a motion - with votes in favor of CiU, PP, Ciutadans and PSC, abstention from ERC and votes against only ICV and CUP - urging to prohibit "concealment of the face", which would mean the exclusion of certain women from public space.

Meanwhile, the regional police are gathering data on women wearing the burqa or niqab, suggesting that this practice could indicate the existence of a dangerous radical Islamist environment.

The people who are against all forms of oppression will defend (as far as they ask us) women who rebel against the imposition of any article of clothing, but we will also defend the right of every woman to choose her clothes, whether without any prohibition.

The central government also contributes to the creation of a threatening image of Muslims with heavily publicized operations against "Islamic terrorism", aided in this by the media, especially after the attacks on the Twin Towers in the United States and the Trains in Madrid, and the declaration of the so-called "war on terror", often amalgamating Islam, Islam and political terrorism, and terrorism in one concept.

However, it should be noted that for many people in the Spanish state the idea of Muslim overlaps with that of Arabic, especially the Maghreb, and is much less associated, for example, with Senegalese, Gambian or Nigerian, even if they are Muslims, in whose image The condition of being black Africans predominates.

Turkey - Spain – Bulgaria – Germany – Czech Republic

Let us note, incidentally, the frequent confusion between the Maghrebi and the Arabs. A good part of the Moroccan people, as well as some Algerians present in the Spanish state, are not considered Arabs, but imazighen (Berbers). In Catalonia the Amazigh is the mother tongue more widespread behind Castilian and Catalan.

2. What is Xenophobia?

What do we talk about when we talk about Xenophobia?

2.1. Phobia is defined as disproportionate fear of something. In this section I will focus on Xenophobia, that is, hatred of foreigners, a daily reality.

Xenophobia and racist manifestations stem from the lack of knowledge of people and cultures, but also from the maladaptation of education and training organizations; Xenophobia is one of the prejudices with more suspicion, hatred and rejection against foreigners, generally against different ethnic groups.

In recent years demonstrations against racism and xenophobia have appeared, as in the case of "SOS racism" in France.

Feelings of racism and xenophobia are fueled by a climate of social inequality, lack of employment and possibilities for development.

The increase in unemployment in several States has led to a more restrictive policy towards immigrants, who are displaced disproportionately due to the reduction of their rights.

Countries that are part of the European Union must distinguish between immigrants from member countries and immigrants called "third countries". The Community provisions on freedom of movement (Article 48 of the Treaties establishing the Community) guarantee protection against discrimination against immigrants from the Member States of the European Community; Unfortunately this protection is not complete since the immigrants of the "third countries" do not have this security. Those coming from third countries are mainly Turks, Algerians, Moroccans, Yugoslavs and Tunisians.

2.2. Xenophobic attitudes are increasing in the five continents of the world.

Xenophobia is manifested in various ways and in many ways that we would not imagine. For example, in some countries of the European Community, foreigners are rejected as clients of private insurance companies, secured under more unfavorable conditions or forced to pay higher prices. Two examples of Spanish xenophobia known by the majority are the outbreaks of racism against black Africans in Catalonia, and against South Americans in some quarters of Madrid.

In Spain, the "Moor", the Polish, the Senegalese and the "sudaca" are accused of "stealing" the Spaniards, not only is he offended by falsely accusing him of crimes, rape or drug trafficking, but That xenophobic discrimination seems to affect the mechanisms of the State, which are supposed to avoid it.

The European Parliament has achieved a broad political consensus among all democratic political forces, on the need to combat racism and xenophobia and have achieved a "Commission of inquiry into the rise of fascism and racism in Europe."

At the institutional level, the commission recommends "Reviewing and constantly adapting national legislation on combating political extremism, racism and racial discrimination and monitoring their effective implementation."

The media are very important regarding the image they transmit from foreigners. In addition, the impression of the phenomena of violence depends to a large extent on the treatment given by the media.

Only by connecting the radio, turning on the television or opening the newspaper can we stumble upon facts of xenophobia. The media must stay away from the '' intoxication '' of public opinion that occurs when it is pointed out that foreigners are a problem, either by removing jobs from the inhabitants of the receiving country or by their relations with Drug trafficking and crime; Everything named and more, constitutes absurd xenophobic feelings.

2.3. Copceptual limitation and cultural origin of xenophobia

Xenophobia is a compound term, consisting of two Greek words: ξένος, which means "foreing" or "guest", and φόβος, which translates to "fear", "to be frightened." Xenophobia, has no other possible meaning which is not "fear of strangers." This fearful suspicion, provokes in the person a quick reaction of enmity towards foreigners.

Xenophobia is considered a serious problem when it comes to violence and aggression towards members of other countries.

Reduced to '' prejudice, '' xenophobia and racism are offered to us as simple unjustified beliefs adopted earlier, which, when mixed with negative feelings, provoke attitudes of hatred towards foreigners or towards members of other races, whether of the same country or another.

According to philosophers, the components of prejudice are three:

Cognitive: The value and invariable belief.

Affective: Negative or positive feelings.

Active: Availability for action.

Prejudices function as unavoidable presuppositions in learning and behavior, so that they can only be implemented by promoting an individual critical attitude or by replacing prejudices with others.

Prejudice is an individual belief, since it is inevitable that the majority will discriminate against the minority, because their individual prejudices add up.

A foreigner is one who does not own the nationality of the country in which he lives. Historically, when the national States were not delimited, foreign was a term with the meaning of "stranger", "strange", "unknown", "which comes from outside" ... Hence Xenophobia can be defined as a discriminatory separation between '' us '' and '' them '', as the rejection of any culture or religion of others.

From this point of view, xenophobia manifests itself as a broader and more general phenomenon than racism, but also less dangerous and energetic.

2.4. Xenophobia and inmigration

The growing economic and social differences between developed and developing countries seem to be the determining factors of the current international migratory movements. These movements have always been accompanied by important social and economic variations, but xenophobia as a reaction of the receiving countries has not always been their natural companion and this is due to the great migrations of the twentieth century, mainly those after the First War World. Territorial changes of people are often categorized as forced displacement and voluntary displacement.

It is clear that both the expulsion of a human group from their place of residence, whether by political agreements between States or by political decrees of a State, involves a clear xenophobic inclination.

The displaced, whether for ethnic, religious, political reasons, etc. They are considered for their presence in certain territories as illegal or unjustified. Usually the disadvantaged are minorities, to which most consider them strangers, foreign, different ... and who for some reason hate and reject them.

There are four factors that explain the massive migratory movements that the modern world experienced after the Industrial Revolution:

• The abundance of uninhabited land and greater opportunities in countries receiving migration.

• The strong demographic pressure in a populated Europe.

• The slowness and contradictions of the industrialization process that led to a large surplus of labor in the cities, with no option to return to the country from where they had resided.

• The development of terrestrial and transoceanic transport.

The emergence of modern states, as forms of political organization, are based on the rivalry between nationals and foreigners, and on the elimination of these.

3. Borders / Immigration: Racism and Xenophobia are fit at the hand

3.1. Why do people migrate?

Migrations, whether or not inherent in human nature, have been a constant throughout the history of the human being, often resulting in the integration of the different groups that have come together.

Sometimes the main thrust of the move has been the difficulties encountered in the original place of residence, others the desire to seek new opportunities, new possibilities, and often a combination of both.

Be that as it may, migration is often the result, in certainly very variable proportions, of an election. But not always. In many cases, slavery, ethnic cleansing, "civil" or inter-state wars, climatic catastrophes, famines (almost never purely "natural"), or political or religious persecution have been the determining factors.

And it must be remembered that some migrations have consisted basically of invasions in the literal meaning of the word, that is to say colonial projects of conquest of populations and occupation of foreign lands.

In short, although the economic reasons predominate, the reasons for the migrations are multiple and there are of all kinds, from those imposed by force against the will of the people to those freely chosen by people who want a change of environment in search of new experiences.

Since the second half of the nineteenth century, the development of modern means of transport, which has facilitated the movement of people, has coincided with the consolidation of nation-states, whose borders and controls have created the figure of the "immigrant "Poor, suspiciously different, which may be necessary for the maintenance of the welfare state, but at the same time threatens it.

And so, in the era of unequal development of a world subjected to global neoliberal capitalism, the displacement and establishment of this artificially constructed category of people encounters all kinds of impediments that raise the human cost of migration, but not in any way.

3.2. Borders: The Show

Sometimes it is asked, with the best intention of the world: if, in the era of globalization, capital and goods circulate with less and less restrictions, why should not people also? From the point of view of an internationalist left-wing option, however, the question is poorly posed.

We should not equate people with capital or goods. Quite the opposite. Our priority is to defend people over financial or corporate interests. Therefore, it is not at all contradictory to be for the free movement of people and, at the same time, to advocate stricter controls on the movement of goods, and especially capital.

Borders mean exclusion and, in the case of people, this necessarily translates into suffering and death. For example, between 1993 and 2016, 22,518 disappearances were recorded at the internal, external and externalized borders of the European Union.

There is, also, who criticizes the frontiers (better, the control of the borders) by its inefficacy; It is evident that they do not impede immigration, which always finds ways to overcome or avoid obstacles, even at the cost of many sacrifices.

Now, the official discourse should not be confused with its actual functions. "More than impermeable barriers, borders ... are mostly revealed as selective entrance tolls or locks".[207]

On the one hand, they ensure the "usefulness" of the people who pass by. Those that enter "legally" usually have profiles demanded by different business sectors; Those who do it "illegally" often show

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207 BrunoleDantec,citadoenelcursodeunaentrevistaaClaireRodier,Mugak,n.61, diciembre2012.

initiative and determination, and in any case the precariousness of their stay, together with their lack of rights, make them more vulnerable to extreme forms of exploitation that are appropriate for certain entrepreneurs.

On the other hand, the borders have an ideological function: they play with the fear of an "invasion". This role is amplified by his mediatic treatment that converts the "massive" attempts to climb the fences of Ceuta and Melilla, or the arrival of boats, cayucos, zodiacs or small inflatable boats in real spectacles, when, in fact, they are the routes of Inputs.

These images can arouse the compassion of many people; Paradoxically, however, its constant repetition can turn the death of an immigrant into a banal fact. It seems that it is partly to that to which Pope Francisco referred when he denounced the "globalization of indifference" in his visit in July 2013 to Lampedusa, the Italian island in the attempt to reach which so many people have died. It is interesting to note that at that time the pope went further in his denunciation, censoring "the cruelty that exists in the world, in us and in those who anonymously make socioeconomic decisions worldwide that open the way to such dramas." Now, in the face of this cruelty and indifference, he simply proposed that we "ask the Lord to give us the grace to weep" for them.

And behold, only about three months after this visit, new tragedies (or massacres?) Near Lampedusa suddenly add more than three hundred dead to the thousands that accumulate by small groups along each year in the Mediterranean Sea. Before this new occasion to exercise the grace of crying the pope shouts "Shame!" But there is no indication of any substantial change in the policies that are at the root of these perfectly foreseeable misfortunes.

3.3. Borders: The business

There is an aspect of the boundaries that are often given little attention: the commercial. In 2011 approximately 20 thousand kilometers of the borders of the world were marked with walls or fences and some 18 thousand kilometers more incorporated additional security elements like technologies of surveillance or patrols. Simply put, borders offer good business opportunities.

After the death of 11 sub-Saharan people in Ceuta in September 2005 as they attempted to enter the enclave and six more the following week in Melilla - images that went around the world - the Spanish government invested 32 million euros just to reinforce the Wall of this last city.

As Claire Rodier has discovered, "the border security market is now saturated with private actors with long teeth." The European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders of the European Union, or Frontex (whose budget has risen from € 6.3 million in 2005 to more than € 118 million as of 2011) functions as "a Interface between industrialists and politicians ". They have found "enormous sums [of money] carried by Frontex without being inscribed in its official budget".[208]

And it is a business, to a lesser extent, for governments like the Moroccan who undertake, in exchange for money or trade agreements, to control the flow of migrants before they leave their borders, a phenomenon known as the outsourcing of borders, and which usually implies an even more ruthless treatment of these people.

3.4. Borders: Free movement?

Viewed today, article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in December 1948, may seem a bit strange. It is divided into two parts, the first of which says:

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each State.

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208 ClaireRodier,Mugak,n.61,diciembre2012.

At certain times, a number of States have applied controls on their internal migrations, especially from the countryside to the city. In "The Capital," Marx very graphically describes the coercive methods employed to drive out the inhabitants of the countryside and to "create for urban industry the necessary supply of an entirely free proletariat [in the sense of dispossessed of the means of production]."

Thereafter, there have been internal passport systems designed to regulate rural exodus and / or to restrict the rights of certain segments of the population in the Soviet Union (propiska), in South Africa (pass laws, for the non-white population), and in China (Hokou, where it still works and exacerbates the insecurity and precariousness of millions of people who have gone to the cities to work in the factories).

And the second:

2. Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

At different times, some states, including those of the "Soviet bloc", have imposed severe restrictions on the departure of their citizens, and this formula has been used to criticize them, often with good reason, but avoiding the lack of a third section that completes the Right to emigrate with its necessary complement, to immigrate, the only thing that could make it effective.

When these regimes collapsed in the late 1980s, one observer commented: "The Berlin Wall is being replaced by high fences, cutting wire and increasingly sophisticated electronic devices ... People are dead and injured by entry guards Rather than by exit guards"[209]

Today the Spanish State uses the promise of aid or the signing of trade agreements so that countries like Senegal or Morocco prevent the departure of citizens of these countries if it is suspected that their destination could be Spain.

As the Federation of Solidarity of the Workers and Immigrant Workers of France (Fasti) aptly points out: "The concept of the universality of human rights implies, by its application, the abolition of frontiers."

3.5. Borders: Are we more racist and xenophobic when immigration affects our economy?

It is not often heard that immigrants represent a burden on public coffers. They use the health system, their sons and daughters go to public school, receive all kinds of help without having contributed, lower salaries ...

It is not uncommon to hear arguments that seek to refute these statements. That if the immigrants are young and healthy and go little to the doctor, that if their training has been paid in the country of origin and has not cost anything to the host country, that if the value of the taxes they pay is greater than the benefit they From the welfare state, that if they are essential for the economy, that if they do the jobs nobody else wants, they will secure the pensions of an aging population ... As the professor of the University of the Basque Country says, Bob Sutcliffe , "This is a really extraordinary debate. First, both positions share the premise that immigration is desirable only if it has a positive fiscal balance. That is, immigrants are welcome only if they improve the economic situation of the current inhabitants. If not, they should be excluded " .

We should not fall into the trap of this kind of debate, of petty and selfish calculation of the advantages or disadvantages for "the home" (and that "outsiders" get annoyed).

An instrumental and utilitarian view of people, treated only as dehumanized labor, is characteristic of capitalism. On the contrary, we must insist again and again on the universality of rights from an internationalist and class position.

A common complaint is that immigrants receive lunch grants (or places in daycare centers or minimum income insertion or social housing) when many of our "families" do not have access to them. There

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209 TeresaHayter,OpenBorders,PlutoPress,Londres,2000.

are those who try to counter these rumors, prejudices or "urban legends" by citing "real" figures or explaining that the scales are the same for all, but that immigrants tend to be poorer (which is generally true).

It is not necessary to underestimate the possible utility of reasoning of this style; However, they are short or, worse, poorly focused. The problem is not the distribution of these goods, but the fact that there are not enough for all the people who are needed. In addition, this chronic shortage has been aggravated by cuts at precisely the time when unemployment and precariousness have increased needs.

It is not easy to convince immigrants and indigenous people who have a common interest in resisting (and reversing) the cuts and asking that the provision of public services and social goods be enough to satisfy the needs of all, or that getting together in this struggle They would have more strength and, therefore, more chances of success. It is not easy, but convenient and also feasible.

The proof is in the good results of the Mortgage Affected Platform, which are due in large measure to the involvement, side by side, of foreign and native people of the popular strata in defense of a basic good such as the right to the house.

4. How to fight against social injustice, racism and xenophobia?

Since childhood: Children always learn from what they see and hear, for example, in a home where parents, or only one, are racist or xenophobic, encourages future racism / xenophobia of children; This implies two serious consequences for them, if the child has a desire to interact with other people, he will be traumatized and will be unable to naturally assume his desire; Another consequence will be that parents will be raising a racist future, which means that they would be reproducing a fascist system.

From school: As we all know, school is a place where values are taught and acquired, which means that it is imperative to introduce educational programs that are tolerant of cultural differences in schools.

From the language: The language currently used by people may contain abundant racist / xenophobic expressions, which legalize this state of hatred and aggression, the wealth of Castilian in this area is unlimited.

From the institutions: The State, the Army and the Church are three traditionally racist / homophobic institutions. The State approves the marriage between couples of different sex and margin for reasons of sexual orientation to other people. The Army actively pursues homosexual persons when under its authority, and infuses homophobic and sexist values. The Catholic Church continues to attack homosexual relationships, often with aggressive statements, thus promoting hatred toward these people. The same thing happens with several religions of the world.

I can emphasize that in 2005, the marriage between same-sex couples was legalized in 2005, and was led by its president, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero. During the first year of the law, 4,500 marriages of same-sex couples were contracted.

From social and political movements: The groups of social criticism (socialism, anarchism, etc ...), have always removed the problem of racism / xenophobia, when they have not actively participated, such as Stalin. NGOs have recently become aware of the need to include work against racism, xenophobia and homophobia as one of their objectives.

From the academic-scientific world: Medical, psychiatric, sociological and science discourse must abandon their strategies of segregation and stop pointing out the differences between people, as something abnormal or unhealthy. For example, and fortunately, on May 17, 1990, the World Health Organization (WHO) excluded homosexuality from the International Code of Diseases.

From the media: Radio, television and the press continuously transmit racist, xenophobic and homophobic images and content. A clear example would be the following, when there is a murder, if the murderer is of another nationality or country or for example homosexual, it is included as relevant information in the headline of a news item and if the murderer is heterosexual, this data is excluded.[210]

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210 Nacidoenotraparte,Hegoa,Bilbao,1998.

RACISM IN FOOTBALL AND ANTI-RACIST PRECAUTIONS TAKEN BY UNION OF EUROPEAN FOOTBALL ASSOCIATIONS (UEFA)

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INTRODUCTION

Racism as one of the most problematic areas of modern World has long been discussed within the social sciences. On the other hand, in the 19th and 20th Centuries, sciences like biology and anthropology had become one of the platforms where racism had been produced. Beyond the sciences, it is a well-known fact today that racism is also based partly on philosophical background, which has been constructed for more that two thousand years.

The face of racism has been changing according to historical periods and attitudes of people. In modern times, racism has been making itself visible since racism gains its philosophical background. This face sometimes occurs as institutional racism against ethnic minorities, sometimes as hate speech against the representatives of any religion, sometimes as discriminative behaviours against black people. In relation to this, the places where racism make itself visible may vary. For example, in a bus or on a plane, you may witness racist discourse and/or behaviours against black people. Or the attitudes of law enforcement officers against representatives of any minor group in police centres might be racist attitudes. On the other hand, any white owner of a market grocery store may not sell any product to black people. These are the cases where the representatives of minor ethnic or religious groups or blacks have been experiencing thousands of times for centuries.

In the 2000's, humanity witness that the face of racism shows itself more among crowds. Although sport fans have been observing racist implementations since Berlin Olympics in 1936, the visibility of racism and racist rhetoric on the scale of fans and players can be encountered more in the 2000's and 2010's. As an early inference, it can be said that when the fascist politics was being reflected on the sportive activities in the 1930's, next years and decades reflect the appearances of xenophobia, which develops as a form of racism in West, in sportive activities until the 2010's.

In the light of the arguments given so far, this paper proposes to underline and create awareness about the racism in sportive activities, which are observed especially in football stadiums in the 2000's and 2010. Within this purpose, it will be investigated how Xenophobia and racism appears among football fans and players against black player in football matches. In relation to racist behaviours or cheers in football stadiums, it will also be investigated what precautions are taken and what criminal sanctions are implemented by European Union of Football Federations (UEFA) against racism. After this investigation, it is foreseen that how an international organization, UEFA, contribute to common values of the Europe and Humanity by attempting to prevent racism, which is a humanity problem.

After clarifying the main problem, the content of the paper can shortly be given. Firstly, the definitions of racism and its philosophical roots will be explored. After that, implementations that can be called racist in colonial period will shortly be remembered. As the most intensive period in terms of racism, 2nd World War and fascism will be brought into discussion before underlining the arguments regarding institutional racism. As soon as examining institutional racism, it will be questioned how the humanity

struggle against racism after the 1960's. Lastly and in relation to this struggle, racism in football observed for two decades will be dealt with by also considering UEFA's precaution and penal sanctions against football clubs, players and fans. In doing so, it is proposed to give voice one of the most important platforms of the anti-racist campaign in regional (for Europe) and global scale. In other words, by subjecting UEFA's initiations against racist clubs, players and spectators, it will be shown an aspect of anti-racist policies of international society and institutions.

1. Definitions and Philosophy of Racism and its Reflections in Colonial Period

In Oxford Dictionary, racism is defined by being emphasized the the concept of superiority. Accordingly, racism is a "prejudice, discrimination, or antagonism directed against someone of a different race based on the belief that one's own race is superior" (URL-1). This side of racism in theory emphasizes the most general 'mentality' of racism. On the other hand, the other meaning of racism emphasizes the behavioural reflections demonstrated by the people to the other members of any ethnic culture or religious groups. According to Merriam Webster's definition, racism is a doctrine or political program based on the assumption of racism and designed to execute its principles" (URL-2). These two main perspectives regarding racism are the sources of all of the arguments and discussions regarding the concept, which have been dealt with for centuries.

Although racism has been conceptualized and discussed since the 19th Century, implementations that can be evaluated as racist can be observed in history and mental background for these can be traced back to philosophical arguments. Especially, racist statements and arguments can be encountered in the studies of two significant philosophers: Kant and Locke. As cited in Rattansi's (2007: 27) study, A Very Short INTRODUCTION to Racism, Kant expresses following statements: "This fellow was quite black . . . a clear proof that what he said was stupid". On the other hand, David Hume detail his racist approaches regarding blacks and the belief of the superiority of white people: "I am apt to suspect the negroes in general and all species of men (for there are four or five different kinds) to be naturally inferior to the whites. There never was a civilized nation of any other complexion than white . . . No ingenious manufactures amongst them, no arts, no sciences" (As cited in Hume, 1754: Rattansi, 2007: 27). Actually, racism among philosophers can be attributed to older times. For example, Aristotle's following statements let us to think that he indirectly affirms racism through his ideas on slavery: "And indeed the use made of slaves and of tame animals is not very different, for both with their bodies minister to the needs of life… It is clear, then, that some men are by nature free, and others slaves, and that for these latter slavery is both expedient and right" (As cited in Aristotle, 1985: Lopstone, 1998: 21). Aristotle's these views are embodied by colonial movements and invasions in which racism is legitimized philosophically ant theologically in pre-modern period.

To remember shortly, colonial movements in pre-modern and early modern period can be defined as the exploitation process and initiations of some specific regions of the World such as India, East Asia, South America, etc. The basic motivation behind colonial movements, which were sustained by Westerners, was to seize the natural sources of these regions and use them in favour of Western people. For a general social scientific theory, in order to legitimize this large-scaled 'robbery', which continued for centuries, West invents the idea of 'race' in order to rank the ethnic cultures in terms of their 'development level'. According to this ranking, 'races' within white skin type are superior than the other 'races' (Bhabha, 2006). It means that they deserve more welfare than the others in the World. In addition, because they are more developed in terms of intelligence and intellectuality, both material and human sources in colonized geography can only be used and and benefited by them, so they are supposed to invade these geographies and force the native people to work harder. Otherwise, the other 'races' will definitely waste the sources and can not use their own 'human capital'. In relation to this, West's racist approaches in colo-

nized geographies are legitimized by the discourse of 'helping person of colour' (all non white people). "Utilizing from non-Western countries by exploiting their resources, their own sources, is hidden under the discourse of 'helping non-Western countries to improve themselves economically and politically'" (Alkın, 2014: 111).

In order to strengthen the superiority of their 'races' on the people live in colonized geography, Western scientists in early modern period utilize some scientific areas such as biology and anatomy. They actually create a correlation among physical characteristics and the level of intelligence. Ania Loomba, who is one of the most famous Post-colonialist writers, clarifies the situation by following statements: "By attributing racial characteristics to biological differences such as skull and brain sizes, or facial angles, or genes, and by insisting on the connection between these factors and social and cultural attributes, science turned 'savagery' and 'civilisation' into fixed and permanent conditions" (Loomba, 2005: 101). 'Proving' the superiority of white people over the person of colour through the relations among physical characteristics and intelligence brings racism to today's World. Especially, after the World Wars, from the 1950's to the end of 2000's, racism in personal and official level over the minor ethnic or religious groups is attributed to this physical and intellectual superiority of white Western people over the rest of the World. Before examining the period mentioned above, Hitler's position towards racism in human history and his implementations by legitimizing the superiority of his own 'race' can shortly be remembered.

Hitler as one of the most psychopathic and fascist characters in human history is highly convinced to the superiority of German 'race' over the other 'races'. As the representatives of 'pure race', German people deserve more wealth, honour, prestige, and 'land', so current borders of Germany after the WW1 was not enough for German's. On the other hand, when German 'race' were glorifying by Hitler based on specific physical characteristics (we can remember Loomba's arguments), some of the others such as Jews, Gypsies, etc. are accused of being 'spoilt'. That is why, those 'spoilt races' and even spoilt 'German' people and children, as Hitler indicated in his Book, Mein Kampf(My Struggle), which was firstly been published in 1925, should be eliminated by being 'killed'. The scale of racism here is 'enlarged' by Hitler. For him, in order to reach to a pure German 'race', handicapped and ill people should be 'abolished'. He practices his ideas after 15-20 years in the WW2. By utilizing the complicated atmosphere of the War, he orders to kill the representatives of some 'races' and handicapped/ill people.

It is a general discussion that the philosophical roots of Hitler's racism are partly attributed to Martin Heidegger, who is one of the most famous philosophers of the 20th century. As a member of Nazi Party in Germany, Heidegger does not hide his sympathy towards fascist policies and implementations. On the other hand, following statements could clarify Heidegger's philosophical and political position side by fascism and Hitler: "In his unpublished seminars on political education in 1933/34, Heidegger solves the relationship among being and existed through the relationship where the state and origin-based public community are engaged on pro-Hitler pioneer state" (As cited in Göçmen 2009: Can, 2013: 95). Such a 'sacred' background for a character of course can not deny Hitler's position towards 'race' and racism.

Beyond philosophical roots, Hitler and Nazis sustain racist implementations over the other 'races' and it is resulted with the murders and genocide in the 20th Century. State and army as official institutions causes such horrible scenes, which are basically motivated by racism, after Enlightenment era in the middle of Europe. Although racist implementations in post-war period could not reach to this extent, racism in Europe and the U.S. has made itself visible in different faces.

2. Racism in Post-War Period: An Overview

After World War 2, due to unexpected experiences regarding fascism and its consequences based heavily on racist genocide, humanity attempted to develop consciousness against racism and the other 'identity'-based problems. Especially, foundation of United Nations proposed to fix the nation-based

problems before they cause large-scaled wars and racist murders. However, nationalism and strong nation-state formations, on the other hand, previous reflexes that were biologically and social scientifically constructed by White perspective could not prevent racist or fascist discourses, behaviours, and implementations.

The face of racism has mostly been observed on the U.S., where United Nations were established. This face generally makes itself visible 'against' black people. Moreover, racism against black people is demonstrated within 'institutional' and 'individual' levels. Although individual actions that can be evaluated as 'racist' pose a serious danger against humanity and peaceful World, institutional racism was (or has been) one of the biggest issues in modern modern World.

Institutional racism is defined in Oxford Dictionary as "racial discrimination that has become established as normal behaviour within a society or organization" (URL-3). On the other hand, definition of the concept in Encyclopaedia of Race and Racism clarifies the meaning: "Institutional racism is the process by which racial oppression is imposed on subordinate racial groups by dominant racial groups through institutional channels. While individuals carry out single acts of discrimination, societal institutions are the primary settings where patterns of racial discrimination are established and perpetuated toward subordinate peoples" (Lavelle & Feagin, 2008: 180). In case Western World, sociological and administrative meanings of institutional racism are generally attributed to the domination of white people over black people especially in the U.S and Britain within institutional forms: "no matter whether the individual attitudes, motivations, and behaviour of ordinary white people were racist or not, all whites benefited from social structures and organizational patterns which continually disadvantaged blacks while allowing whites to stay well ahead in living standards, including housing, health and life span, neighbourhood amenities and safety, educational facilities and achievement, level of employment, and income and wealth" (Rattansi, 2007: 134). Of course, such a white-oriented organization of socio-political and economic life must be supported by official institutions. In other words, governments in the U.S. and the European countries causes such multi-layered racism over black people.

Institutional racism in America and European World were strongly be struggled by civil initiations such as individual protests like Rosa Parks, meetings of masses in places where racist discourses and behaviours were experienced, civil and international organizations such as EU and UN, etc. After these initiations and prices paid, which can be called 'anti-racist', after the 1990's, institutional racism has started to be 'cursed' and struggled directly by state authorities, too. In other words, "opposition to racism has become a familiar element within the rhetorical repertoires of governments… it is also worth considering the way the tasks performed by modern states encourage such displays of racial egalitarianism" (Bonnett, 2000: 48-49). After the 1990's, remembering and focusing on some of the amendments done by state authorities open the ways to judge and punish racist civil servants or people. However, it was not an easy process. While struggling with institutional racism, some of the representatives of states such as police officers or judges were maintaining racism institutionally at the same time. Murder of a black British guy, Stephen Lawrence, and releasing the murderer out without sentencing any punishment by his felony bring the discussions on institutional racism in Britain. Following statements in famous Macpherson Report on this murder might support this idea: "The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people" (As cited in Macpherson 1999: O'Brien, 2000: 14).

3. Racism Today: A Short Overview on an Existing Issue

Today, thanks to mass communication tools (including social media of course), problems in the World can be witnessed and also opposed in a global context much more than it had been. That is why,

it is possible to see or read racist discourses and/or behaviours via digital World everyday. In fact, due to this opportunity, the visibility of racism increases.

In the 21st Century, the appearances of racism can be observed in specific areas and cases thanks to media and social media. These are the cases appeared in line with the cultural, economic, and social developments in the 21st Century. Migration, global mobility, transnational labour movements, economic crises, etc. are the platforms where racism has been produced. On the other hand, new concepts such as Islamophobia, xenophobia, have been produced as different forms of racism.

To start with, intensive migration process in the World, especially to Western geographies, causes many racist implementations and discourses by official authorities and individuals. As a very recent example, Syrian people are exposed to 'pure' racist approaches by Western World in theoretical and practical base. They are omitted by the World just because they are Syrians (who got away from the Bombs and guns fired by Assad regime), theoretical background of racism appears. On the other hand, they are treated badly within the borders of Western countries due to racist behaviours of officers and leaders. Syrians are one of the examples among those who are exposed to racist approaches due to migration process in the 21st Century. It is obvious that Syrians are the people who have been suffering from Xenophobia. If they are accused and excluded from social life just because they are coming from a Muslim-oriented country -which is a fact today-, then they also suffer from Islamophobia.

Economic issues are the other reasons that cause racism in the World. Elected president of the U.S., Donald Trump, has been making racism by his speeches against Mexicans. The main motivation behind Trumps 'hate' over Mexicans, which can be evaluated as a form of Xenophobia is based heavily on Xenophobia, is their unregistered working status in the U.S. By deporting illegal Mexican migrants, Trump believes that the jobs that are currently done by Mexicans will be provided to 'Americans' and economic conditions of American will be enhanced.

Lastly and most related to the subject of this paper, transnational labour movements toward the Western World are the platforms where racism make itself visible. Foreign workers are supposed to be employed by less amounts then native workers are done. On the other hand, large-scaled entertainment projects let the racist approaches and discourses of the people coming in view. Today, Black players in sportive activities are exposed to racism in stadiums or specific places where the organization is maintained. Especially, football stadiums are continuously subjected to racism, which is done against Black football players, in the 21st Century (Sumbas, 2009). Before examining these, racism in sportive activities can shortly be investigated.

4. Football and Racism

Even though football has historically been too old activity, modern football emerged in the 19th Century. When it was seen firstly in England, in time, football spreads all over the World, football clubs founded in different cities, and in order to organize the football matches, some of the institutions in local and international level such as UEFA, FIFA or TFF have been founded. When football becomes a sports branch that effects the masses, at the same time some problems arise in this expanding area. When we consider both its advantages and disadvantages together, it is almost impossible to evaluate football independent from sociological institutions. Football's size in terms of economics and its relations with political discourse, nationalist reactions occur in matches, the relationship among football and the media, and sometimes footballs position that is seen as decision maker status about changing or effecting international relations and many developments similar to these directly show us that football has been connected to with our lives.

Today, people can see the reflections of many things in this platform, where they can not mean in their lives. That is why, "football is not only football" anymore. Beyond being a game, football presents

people fun, power, sadness, happiness, national honour, and more than others, the key of a World where they can find their identities. At the same time, football let different identities to meet and be effected each other. In this respect, championships among the national teams or the clubs from different countries serve the formation of a global World culture (Talimciler, 2008: 90). Beside this extraordinary gravity force of football and the opportunities emerged at this platform, recently observed racist attacks becoming harmful for uniting structure of football.

In football areas, both the anthems and cheers construct the first impressions of racism. Especially, exceeding the limits of nationalist discourses could support this process in Turkey and the World. For example, "Oh Europe, hear our, the Turks', voice… Stand-up, Turks are coming… Crusader spirit haunted in Saracoglu stadium… On the other hand, in British media, after football match among Turkish and British national football teams, the theme of 'blood vengeance' were used… After the elimination of Trabzonspor by Greek football team Anorthosis, Greek press uses some headings that underline historical revenge (Şen, 2013: 99).

The notion of racism in football is highly related to rightist movements in the 1970's and 1980's and their initiations that brings ideological considerations into the football stadiums. By football, these movements wanted to attract supporters. Especially, by the 1970's, these racist approaches, which are songs, cheers, etc. stated to be much more observed against black players, who got on the stage in the 1970's (Bulgu, 2005: 242). On the other hand, after the second half of the 20th Century, migration process towards Europe and the U.S. and the social/integration problems appeared in football stadiums against migrated players, especially black ones. When looking at today, it is obvious that rightist and racist parties and leaders in Western countries come into prominence. Especially, current President of the U.S. has officially been specifically making 'racism' against Muslims and Mexicans. By this fact, can be estimated that Muslim and Hispanic players in the U.S. will be more exposed to racist approaches, which will be very connected to political atmosphere in this country. Similarly, any representative of any minor group playing in any European football club is highly supposed to be exposed to racist discourse and/or behaviour. However, in the next section, we are going to examine the 'existed' racist discourses and behaviours in European football stadiums instead of forecasting on any racist approaches in the future.

5. Some Examples on Racist Discourses and Behaviours Observed in Football

Tension among Emre and Zokora (Turkish Super League): In 2012, Didier Zokora, Trabzonspor's black defence player, accuses Fenerbahçe's player Emre Belezoğlu by telling him "f..k… nigger" after a disputed position during the match. Discussions after Emre's racist discourse has been come up both in national and international media. Although Emre indicated that he had apologized to Zokora after the match, several days later, Emre denied his racist statements. However, the case was brought to legal basis and Emre was sentenced to 2 years and 15-day prison by Turkish justice although it was transformed to parole due to the first time on the same crime. By this case, Emre became the first player who was punished by racism in Turkish football (URL-4).

John Terry and Anton Ferdinand (Premier Leauge, U.K): In 2011, in football match between Chelsea and QPR, it was detected by British justice that Terry use the statements of "f..k.. black c..t" against Anton. Under the control of UEFA, official football institution of Britain, which is called FA, imposed 4-game ban and 220.000 GBP to John Terry by his racist discourse (URL-5).

Samuel Eto'o Abused (La Liga): In 2005, during the football match between Barcelona and Real Zaragoza, whenever Eto'o gets the ball, Zaragoza spectators racially abused him by monkey chants and Nazi salutes (URL-6).

Milan Baros abused Mbia (Ligue 1): In 2008, when the football match between Olympique Lyon and Rennes was played, Milan Baros showed Rennes's player Mbia and pinched his nose and implied that Mbia smells bad. This is one of the mostly used racist behaviours against black people. After this, in accordance with the considerations of UEFA, he banned by French Football Federation for three game (URL-7).

Examples can be increased. However, most cases that can be called 'racist' are generally performed against black players in football stadiums.

6. Precautions and Sanctions by UEFA against Racism

"UEFA – the Union of European Football Associations – is the governing body of European football. It is an association of associations, a representative democracy, and is the umbrella organisation for 55 national football associations across Europe. Its objectives are, among other things, to deal with all questions relating to European football, to promote football in a spirit of unity, solidarity, peace, understanding and fair play, without any discrimination on the part of politics, race, religion, gender or any other reason, to safeguard the values of European football, maintain relations with all stakeholders involved in European football, and support and safeguard its member associations for the overall well-being of the European game" (URL-8). After the foundation of UEFA in 1954, problems within football that are related to political and religious issues have been considered and attempted to be solved by this continental institution. No doubt, one of the most important attempts among these is anti-racist implementations and sanctions. Especially, in the recent years, many sub-units within UEFA and campaigns organized against racism have been serving this target as cleaning racist approaches and discourses from European football. Actually, the main reason behind these precautions are rising racist behaviours and discourse in European stadiums. When it is considered within this context, nowadays, we have been watching many anti-racist advertisements, broadcasts, etc. as much as legal sanctions and rules released by UEFA. Some of the important implementations of UEFA to minimize and finish racism in football areas are given below:

The Project of FARE (Football against Racism in Europe): FARE founded in Vienna in 1999 aims at developing counter strategies against xenophobia and racism in European football. FARE continues its attempts on setting up networks among local and national anti-racist works, providing the sharing of common experiences and struggling with racsm within Europe. Within this frame, in 2001, by making a decision, FIFA aimed at collaboration with FARE against racism in football... FARE organized about one thousand activities in 37 European countries that subjected to xenophobia and racism in 2006 within the scope of Action Week. The revenue of organizations done the top leagues and clubs of 14 countries, including Germany, Austria, Britain, Belgium, and Slovenia, was reserved to the struggle against racism (Alver, 2008: 234-235).

The Campaign of No to Racism: One of the most successful works of UEFA against racism is the campaign of 'No to Racism'. Before every football match, television channels that broadcast the match alive are obliged to give these advertisements. Mainly, very famous footballer playing in European leagues such as Lionel Messi, Zlatan, Ibrahimovic, Eric Abidal, Robin van Persie, tell 'No to Racism' in their mother tongue (To watch the add, please click on the URL-9). On the other hand, the statement of No to Racism is attached on banners and billboards on stadiums. During the matches, both spectators and fans, who watch the match on TV, see this statement many times. Lastly, football players wear 'Unite against Racism' armbands on UEFA Champions League and UEFA Europe League matches.

10-Point Plan on Racism: In order to show its seriousness, UEFA releases a 10-point plan that would keep the struggle against racism alive in European stadium. By releasing this, UEFA indicates that there will be no excuse for racism and any racist discourse and behaviour will not be compensated (URL-10)

Due to (and in accordance with) these plans, initiations and rules, we may conclude this paper by again giving some examples on racist behaviours, which were punished by UEFA, in European stadiums:

In 2014, after UEFA Champions League play-off match between Steaua Bucreşti and Ludogorets Razgrad, due to racist chants and cheers by Steaua fans, UEFA punishes this team with empty stadium for a match and fines 64.500 Euros (URL-11)

In 2014, because of racist chants of CSKA Moscow fans during their match with Rome, UEFA fines Russian team 200.000 Euros and punish with empty stadium for three matches on European football events (URL-12).

CONCLUSION

Racism is a humanity problem which has been attempted to be solved and prevented for centuries. Although institutional form of racism has mostly been defeated in Europe, individual or mass racist discourses and behaviours are still jeopardizing peaceful and respectful atmosphere in the World.

Football stadiums today are the places where racism can be observed almost every year. In order to prevent racism in European stadiums, UEFA has been taking many precautions and punishing racist clubs, football players, and fans. Moreover, there is a general consciousness among football players against every forms of racism.

It seems that in order to prevent racism in football areas, the sanctions and punishments of UEFA should be much more heavy than today's. For example, players who clearly made racism could be banned one year or two years from official matches or stadiums can be closed for a year after racists chants of fans. Otherwise, by getting engaged in strict rightist movements and political parties in Europe, racism will be more visible in Europe in the near future.

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URL-1: https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/racism

URL-2:https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/racism

URL-3: https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/institutional_racism

URL-4:http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/belozoglu-na-irkciliktan-2-ay-15-gun-hapis-26630163

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URL10:http://www.dbu.dk/~/media/files/dbu_broendby/klublicenssystem_herre/diverse/uefas%20 10-point%20plan%20on%20racism.pdf

URL-11: http://www.bbc.com/sport/football/31621375

URL-12:http://www.skysports.com/football/news/11095/9501601/uefa-have-hit-cska-moscow-with-a-fine-and-stadium-closures

THE CONTRIBUTIONS TO COMMON VALUES AND COEXISTENCE MADE BY GERMANY'S ISLAMIC THEOLOGY
-THE CENTRE FOR ISLAMIC THEOLOGY TUBINGEN (ZITH) AS AN EXAMPLE-

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INTRODUCTION

In February 2010 the German Science Council (Wissenschaftsrat) declared the advice to establish Islamic Theology Centers. This advice decision has probably been the most attention- grabbing and controversial decision.

Hence after this decision the German ministry of education, declared the whole amount of 20 Mil. Euros funding for the phase of building Islamic Theology Centers, all Universities were entitled to apply at the ministry. In 2011 the four most appropriate Universities among many University applications were selected: the University of Tübingen, the University of Erlangen/ Nürnberg, the University of Frankfurt/ Gießen and the University of Münster/Osnabrück.[211] Besides, a few Universities such as the University of Paderborn and the University of Hamburg built smaller centers with their own financial means without receiving any financial share.

Those Universities whose projects have been approved for state funding started rapidly with setting up a substructure. Pursuing this aim, teaching stuff vacancies had been advertised and curricula created. The curricula of the Islamic Theology Faculties in Turkey and in Bosnia and Herzegovina coupled with the experiences and customs of both countries were taken as a sample.

At this point, I would like to express that as part of the teaching stuff and the majority of the students are of Turkish origin, the existing Islamic Theologies in Turkey have a direct influence on the founding and its evolution of the Islamic Theology Centers in Germany in many aspects.

From the above mentioned founding phase until today tens of teaching staffs are deployed and hundreds of students are studying at the Islamic Theology Centers. Hence, 36 students started studying at the Center for Islamic Theology in Tübingen in the winter term 2011/2012. On January the 16th, the formal ceremony took place with the attendance of German Federal Minister of Education Annette Schavan, former mufti of Bosnia and Herzegovina Prof. Dr. Mustafa Cerić, former Presidency of Religious Affairs general director of foreign affairs Prof. Dr. Mehmet Paçacı and again former advisor for religious services and former DITIB chair man Prof. Dr. Ali Dere. The first students from the Center for Islamic Theology of the University of Tübingen graduated in year 2015.

The reasons of founding Islamic Theology Centers

The reasons of founding Islamic Theology Centers can be divided into two groups:

Juristic reasons: The basic right of forming religious communities and the right of religious education [212] are under constitutional guarantee. It is common sense that 3 million Turks and above 4 million

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211 Besides the University of Tübingen other Universities that presented joint projects are: Erlangen/Nürnberg, Frankfrut/ Gießen and Münster/Osnabrück.

Muslims in Germany can make use of their rights. Hence many German corporations and organizations (Catholic and Protestant churches, scientists, politicians and civil society organizations) expressed that ‚Islam (and henceforth Muslims) are part of Germany' and therefore support religious and social requests.

Political reasons: It is obvious that there is a need for Islamic religion teachers and religious welfare experts for the Muslims living in Germany, religious organizations and associations. Until this day this need has been met by bringing religious agents form abroad. Due to language and cultural differences of these religious agents, they fall short to teach adequately religious education for the youth that was born, grown up and got educated in Germany.[213] These newly founded Islamic Theology Centers aim to meet this need by educating and teaching religion teachers, religious welfare experts within these centers in Germany. Hence violent acts committed by terrorist groups like Al-Qaida and Daesh lead to perturbation in Germany and especially in German public opinion. Through the means of education, meaning educating imams and teachers that are familiar with the German language and culture, at least a few problems can be tackled and the youth can be prevented from becoming radicalized.[214] Hence the report „Religious Exploitation and Terrorist Organization ISIS"[215] by the Presidency of Religious Affairs (Diyanet) states that relatively few people from Turkey are joining ISIS compared to other countries which can be attributed to the already existing Islamic Theology customs.

University of Tübingen's Center for Islamic Theology's Board of Advisers: Beirat

The discussions concerning the founding of Islamic Theology Centers as an academic institution within the University system can be divided into two parts. The first part is of formal nature, meaning constructional aspects, the other about its contents.

Concerning the formal aspect, as a normal academic discipline we already mentioned the case of the rooted tradition of the structural and juridical situation of Christian Theology Faculties. Those rights claimed by the Christian Theology Faculties can also be claimed by the Islamic Theology Centers. In other words, there is no known positive or negative privilege.

Within this juridical framework during the establishing period of whatever theological faculty -it can either be a Catholic, Protestant, Islamic or Jewish Theology Faculty- cooperating with the state and the religious body, dini cemaat' - for instance if a Catholic Theology Faculty should be founded it should cooperate with the Catholic Church- is recommended. In this sense, the duty of University is to enable the establishment of the Theology Faculty and to set the academic standard. However, the University can not interfere in the theological content.

In this context, one problem thus shows up. As there is no Islamic organization known as a ‚religious body', dini cemaat' such as the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish body, the missing ‚religious body'

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212 Concerning the legal status of religious bodies see the Constitution of Germany, article 137: (1) There is no state church. (2) Freedom of association to form religious bodies is guaranteed. The union of religious bodies within the territory of the Reich is not subject to any restrictions. (3) Every religious body regulates and administers its affairs autonomously within the limits of the law valid for all. It confers its offices without the Participation of the state or the civil community. (4) Religious bodies acquire legal capacity according to the general provisions of civil law. Article 7:(1) The entire school system shall be under the supervision of the state. (2) Parents and guardians shall have the right to decide whether children shall receive religious instruction. (3) Religious instruction shall form part of the regular curriculum in state schools, with the exception of non-denominational schools. Without prejudice to the state's right of supervision, religious instruction shall be given in accordance with the tenets of the religious community concerned. Teachers may not be obliged against their will to give religious instruction. In: Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany, translated by Professor Christian Tomuschat und Professor David P. Currie, online: https://www.gesetze-im-internet.de/englisch_gg/englisch_gg.html#p0046 (accessed April 2017).

213 Ceylan, Rauf: Die Prediger des Islam : Imame - wer sie sind und was sie wirklich wollen, Bonn: Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, 2010.

214 Yavuzcan, İsmail Hakkı: Almanya'daki İslam Din Dersinin Konumu Pedegojik ve Sosyal Beklentiler, In: Uluslararası Dini Araştırmalar ve Küresel Barış Sempozyumu, Ed: Muhyiddin Okumuşlar, Necmeddin Güney, Aytekin Şenzeybek, 2013, s. 58-59.

215 http://webdosyasp.diyanet.gov.tr/UserFiles/mugla/Ilceler/bodrum/UserFiles/Files/ DEA%C5%9E%5F65935475%2D9d34%2 D4084%2Db81c%2Dc2cc8b2c056b.pdf

can be substituted by the forming of a Board of Advisers (Beirat) consisting of religious groups in Germany. In Tübingen for instance a Board of Advisers was formed with the cooperation of the University of Tübingen in January 2011.

These organizations are:

DITIB (Presidency of Religious Affairs)

VIKZ (Association of Islamic Cultural Centers)

IGBD (German Bosnian Islam community)

Beirat consists of 7 members and from which three are from DITIB, one from VIKZ, one from IGBD and two are selected by the University.[216] The Board of Advisers makes the decision about the curricula and selects the teaching stuff. Because both the curricula and the teaching staff have to be approved by the Board of Advisers.

The University of Tübingen's Islamic Theology Center's Curricula and Teaching Staff

As already mentioned above, the curricula is created after the example of the curricula of the Islamic Theology Faculties in Turkey and in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The core curriculum in Turkey consisting of -exegesis (tafsīr), hadīth, kalām, fiqh, Islamic philosophy, sufism, islamic religious education, history of Islam, prophetic biography-[217] will be teached at the Center for Islamic Theology in Tübingen as well. The curriculum can be classified as follows:

1. Undergraduate programs: there are two undergraduate programs at the Center for Islamic Theology in Tübingen:

Bachelor of Arts in Islamic Theology [218]

Bachelor of Education for Gymnasium/high schools[219]

To clarify at this point the reason for the two-fold subdivision of the Bachelor program lies in Germany's educational teaching system. In order to become a teacher one has to graduate at least in two disciplines. As an example, additionally to Islamic religious education one has to graduate for instance in history, mathematics or in any other discipline.

2. Master programs: there are two master programs at the Center for Islamic Theology:

Islam in the European Context[220]

Practical Islamic Theology for religious welfare (Seelsorge) and social work (Soziale Arbeit) [221]

3.Doctorate program: there is the possibility to obtain a doctor degree in the field of exegesis (tafsīr), hadīth, kalām, islamic philosophy, islamic law, islamic history, sufism, religious education, or religious welfare.

Since the year of 2017 seven Professors are employed at the Center for Islamic Theology. The chair of kalām is Prof. Dr. Lejla Demiri, the chair of tafsīr is Prof. Dr. Omar Hamdan, the chair of islamic law is Prof. Dr. Mouez Khalfaoui, the chair of islamic history and contemporary culture is Prof. Dr. Erdal Toprakyaran, the chair of hadīth is Prof. Dr. Ruggero Vimercati Sanseverino, the chair of islamic religious education is Prof. Dr. Fahimah Ulfat, the chair of religious welfare is Prof. Dr. Abdelmalek Hibaoui. Apart

from the professors, 17 lecturers and assistants are employed at the Center for Islamic Theology.

Problems encountered concerning the Islamic Theology Centers in Germany

It is normal to encounter problems in the newly founded departments of the Islamic Theology Centers in Germany. As in Germany, the Islamic Theology is grounded on former customs. That is why there is the need to make great efforts and endeavors during the founding and institutionalizing stages.

At the top of the met troubles are various people, foundations and discourses that try to impose their influence on the Islamic Theology Centers.

Taking this into consideration, we can mention politicians, islamic foundations in Germany, institutionalized Islamic Theologies outside Germany, Muslim or non-Muslim media representatives, catholic and protestant churches, Christian theologians, orientalists and islamic scientists' departments and even students of Islamic Theology Centers.[222]

Another reason is the heterogeneous nature of the Muslim population in Germany. This heterogeneity is also reflected in the Islamic Theology Centers. Hence the ethnic, cultural, religious and philosophical background of the teaching stuff and the students present a great variety. This situation means on the one hand richness, on the other hand, it can lead to certain problems.

as a CONCLUSION:

The contributions to common values and coexistence made by Islamic Theology Centers in Europe

The primary aim of these institutions is to educate Islamic theologians, religious teachers and religious welfare experts that are familiar with the surrounded society and its culture and at the same time adorned with religious education. With these graduated people, a reliable religious education can be brought closer to the Muslim community in Germany

The deficiency in religious knowledge and the insufficient education in this field are the main reasons for the rise in radical tendencies among Muslims in Germany and especially among young Muslims. Speakers that are lacking a profound knowledge are mingling in a radical religious discourse and instead of emphasizing on the lack of institutions for religious education, they are finding a supporting mass and are spreading in a fast manner. Hence the report „Religious Exploitation and Terrorist Organization ISIS"[223] by the Presidency of Religious Affairs (Diyanet) states that relatively few people from Turkey are joining ISIS compared to other countries which can be attributed to the existing Islamic Theology customs. Therefore important contributions of these institutions on coexistence in religious and cultured societies are expected.

The academic activities conducted in these centers -writing books and articles, symposiums consisting of lectures and briefings in different regions conducted by Universities, schools, churches, political parties and non-governmental organizations- conduce to a better Islam understanding and the dismantling of prejudices.

Another important point as far as Islam is concerned lies in the important advice center in Germany. And it has the responsibility to function as a bridge between the Islamic society in Germany and state institutions, the media, political parties and churches.

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222 Agai, Bekim/Özsoy, Ömer: Islamische Theologie in Deutschland: Herausforderungenim Spannungsfeld divergierender Erwartungen, in: Frankfurter Zeitschrift für islamisch-theologische Studien, 1 (2014), p. 9-28.
223 http://webdosyasp.diyanet.gov.tr/UserFiles/mugla/Ilceler/bodrum/UserFiles/Files/ DEA%C5%9E%5F65935475%2D9d34%2 D4084%2Db81c%2Dc2cc8b2c056b.pdf

FOURTH SESSION

Chair: Ahmet GÜL

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Müşerref YARDIM	Necmettin Erbakan University/TURKEY

The Islamophobic Speech Of The West Media: Islamism

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Selçuk ERİNCİK	Ankara University/TURKEY

Mouffe's Theory Of Radical Democracy

Binnaz BİNİCİ	Assistant /GERMANY

Combatıng Dıscrımınatıon By Youth Projects

Sultan UĞURLU

Mersin M. A. Ersoy High School of Social Sciences/TURKEY

Racism, Alıenatıon and War

THE ISLAMOPHOBIC SPEECH OF THE WEST MEDIA: ISLAMISM

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INTRODUCTION

Islam and Muslim images in the West are based on prejudices and stereotypes. In particular, the spread of the negative image has gained momentum since the attacks of the 11th of September. However, the roots of the Western world's negative attitude towards Islam and Muslims and hostility are not new. It is expressed that the intolerance towards Islam and Muslims dominant in today's West dates quite back. There are different opinions on this issue:

1. Where is Islam standing in today's West? For answering this question, it is necessary to look at the attitude of the West with the Jewish-Christian tradition towards Islam since the time of the emergence of Islam. In this context, the birth of Islam is explained by the conspiracy theory. According to the theorem, a priest who had been removed from the Catholic Church went to the Arabian Peninsula to get revenge from the church and found a man named Muhammad, gave him information on Jewish and Christian traditions and thus invented a new religion (Canatan, 2007:21). For the Christian world, the religion of Islam is a theological question before anything else. Edward Said summarizes the Western perspective of Islam saying "Islam is a new and fake type of Christianity" (Said, 2003:26). Thomas Aquinas has put forward the most beautiful example of negative judgments by the teachings of Islam. In the text rejecting anti-Christian views, Aquinas included anti-Islamic judgements about Islam but also made negative propositions about The Prophet Muhammad. According to Aquinas, Muhammad did not bring any truth, and could not even show a single miracle as proof of divine inspiration. According to him, Muhammad had not been any wise or educated since the beginning. Thus, those people helped give fear to other nations and subjugate them. In addition to these judgments, Aquinas says that the evidence from the Bible does not testify to [Muhammad] and even he disrupt the Bible teachings. According to his claim, [Muhammad] forbade reading of these sacred texts even by his supporters and to prevent the emergence of his own mistakes and contradictions. He argued that it is really hard to believe his words for all these reasons (Aquinas, 1975:73-74).

2. The attitude towards Islam and Muslims is exhibited with reference to the Islamic and Christian worlds, the Crusades. The most important emphasis is on the Battle of Poitiers, which took place in 732 AD. Charles Martel's Muslims were repelled in the city of Puvatia. This incident has an important place in the Western memory. For those who are against Islam and Muslims, this war is symbolized: Muslims must be repulsed as they were in Poitiers.

3. The Christian alienation of the Muslims continues with the feudal West. The feudal society had a characteristic of considering being together, being alike each other, and being united as "good"; however, diversity or difference was considered "evil". Medieval Christians living in such a cultural environment and mentality set up relations with the non-Christians, the "other", on the basis of this understanding or perspective. Within the framework of this understanding; On the one hand, certain people in the society such as perverts, Jews and lepers, were brought down to the sub-human level, while Muslims outside the community were receiving the "Crusades" against the "heretics". Thus, Muslims were labelled and humiliated as "heretics". As a matter of fact, . So, the war with the Muslims was, in fact, a war between the enemies and friends of God (Schnapper, 2005:43-45).

4. East-West Distinction: According to Hobson (2008), "between 1700 and 1850, European minds divided or forced the world into two opposing camps: the West and the East (or the West and the Rest). According to this new concept, the West seemed superior to the East. The values believed to be owned by the second-class East were regarded as a thesis against the values of the rational West. In particular, the West was dreamed of being blessed with unique virtues: rational, industrious, productive, self-sacrificing, frugal, liberal democratic, honest, authoritarian and mature, advanced, resourceful, moving, independent, evolving and dynamic. On the other hand, the East was "the other" opposite the West: irrational and arbitrary, lazy, non-producing, enduring, exotic as well as complex, despotic, corrupted, childish and immature, underdeveloped, passive, dependent, stationary and unchanging. To put

it another way, while the West was characterized by a number of developmental characteristics, the East was defined by deprivation."

5. Orientalism: In the modern times, it is seen that the first serious academic studies on Islam began to take place in the 17th and 18th centuries. From these centuries on, universities such as Sorbonne, Oxford and Cambridge have begun to open departments for the search of Islamic history and culture. These studies, after a century of incubation, led to the emergence of an independent field of knowledge called Orientalism by Edward Said. Europe, which had not needed to acquire direct information about Islam for more than a thousand years, carried out tens of thousands of academic works, published thousands of books, articles and journals about Islam in a century. The material information about Islam then entered a new phase. Yet, this interest and knowledge accumulatation has brought about many problems. Islam, which Orientalism offers, is not a living tradition; rather, it is a building that has been historically frozen and confined to texts civilization after a civilization which is being demolished. On the other hand, the world of Islam, which is no longer seen as a threat and challenge, is a geography of meaning and significance in proportion to its relationship with Europe. Finally, though not as much as asserted by Said in his work Orientalism, Orientalist knowledge is a kind of knowledge generated in close association with the power. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Europe, which actually occupied about eighty percent of the world of Islam, had to be knowledgeable about the subject it governs. In this sense, "Orientalist knowledge" has a functional aspect. It is therefore not surprising that some Orientalists were sent to various Islamic countries as colonial officers (Kalın).

6.The Islamic and Muslim hostility of the West has entered into an effort to create a new "other" since 1989 when the wall of Berlin came down and the Soviet Union broke up. Islam and Muslims are at the centre of this alienation. The New York Times newspaper emphasized the "other" as follows: "Islamic fundamentalism is rapidly becoming a major threat to global security and peace. It is as a dangerous threat as Nazism and fascism in the 1930s and communism in the 1950s... "(cited by Şafak, 2006). In the same year, the hostility against Islam and Muslims were based on legitimate grounds with The Clash of Civilizations by Samuel Huntington (1993). After the September 11 attacks (2001), this attitude was attempted to be indoctrinated to the Western society under the leadership of politics and the media. The September 11 attack is very important for the fear and even opposition of Islam. Because after this date, an atmosphere of mistrust was created all over the world and a sense of fear was tried to be established. Indeed, the power of fear is being discussed in today's modern societies. It seems that this fear has spread over a very wide area all over the world and it is felt against the other, foreigners, immigrants, minority, Islam, those that are not from us (Kaya 2007: 221-222). In this context, the "Islamic threat" (Esposito 2002) which is no more than a 'myth' or a 'legend' as put forth by writers such as Bernard Lewis (1990; 2004) and Oriana Fallaci, seems to have transformed fears into a collective hysteria in the Western world. The last straw came as a result of succession of a series of events which starting with the cartoons about The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) on the Danish Jyllands-Posten paper on September 30, 2005. It then spread to Norway and then to the whole world as the "cartoon crisis" (Kirman, 2010:23).

To understand the extent to which Islamophobia, which has a historical background, has reached in the West; Chapel Hill attacks, the pork heads left in the mosques, arsons and attacks, insults and humiliation as well as violations of fundamental rights and freedoms give clues. The western media hardly brings the attacks and discriminations against Muslims to the agenda. Also it is contributing to the creation and dissemination of an intolerant environment by reinforcing people's fears and anxieties with a hate speech. The fact that the media associates Muslims with violence and creates a terrorist perception makes every Muslim a potential criminal and a terrorist. The source of hate speech based on stereotypes and prejudices that the Western media uses for Islam and Muslims is based on the West's dominant view of Islam, namely, dates back to early times.

The hate speech, which has a crusher, a hard and destructive tone, creates its own agenda with the actions it causes; reproduces and spreads the kind of hatred that can be defined with concepts such as racism, ethnic prejudice, xenophobia, and anti-Semitism (anti-Jewish) in an explicit or implicit manner. The media's negative, cynical, derogatory, humiliating and exaggerated attitude towards the groups that it has otherized tends to make the groups "potentially risky and threatening people" against public security. In addition, the same rhetoric forms a source of prejudice and causes people to feel unprotected and vulnerable in this situation. Besides this, there is another very important problem. It is related to the identification of hate speech because what is not said rather than what is said;

the expressions which seem to be normal, rational and logical make it difficult to identify hate speech. It goes without saying that there is a truth to be witnessed in the media. The truth is the otherization on the "we-they" axis. By ignoring the human value of the group that the media otherizes, it also legitimizes all kinds of violence and degrading behaviours towards that group (İnceoğlu, 2012:16-17).

European countries label the Muslims living in their own lands as "immigrants" and "foreigners" from a colonial point of view.European societies have recognized Muslims through newspapers and TVs in relation with events such as the oil crisis, Algerian developments, the Iranian revolution, Salman Rushdi incident, and the Gulf crisis. In other words, Islam and Muslims have been associated with the problems and crises experienced outside the country. As stated by French journalist Thomas Deltombe, the media has created an "imaginary Islam". This process has gained momentum as a consequence of the September 11 attacks against the Twin Towers. The extent reached today as a result of those attacks displays a grave picture in this regard. Islam and Muslims are mentioned mainly by political and academic circles, including the media, with methods based on stereotypes, "a priori" and subjective approaches away from objective truths. Is it possible to claim that it is not spiritual or psychological abuse that the printed and visual media make frequent references to Islam with hostile rhetoric and attitudes? (Yardım, 2014).

As a result of the September 11 attacks first and then the popular uprising that led to the administrative change in North Africa, called the Arab Spring; Muslims are defined in different ways: Islamist, radical Islamist, fundamentalist, jihadist, terrorist... Although Europe builds the future on the concept of multiculturalism and interaction of different identities, it continues a pre-modern theological and historical reading-based approach to understanding Muslims, which causes it not to observe any scientific criteria in definitions such as Muslim, Islamist and Salafi (Star, 29 November, 2014).

After the political parties, called "Islamist" by the West, were elected following the Arab Spring in Tunisia, Egypt and Morocco; the concept of "Islamist" is seen to be frequently used by politicians, media, intellectuals and academicians. The printed and visual media, which has been trying to constantly keep Islam and Muslims on the agenda in Europe, is dealing with Muslims' visibility in an alienating manner to fuel the hostility against Islam and Muslim by using confusion among the concepts of "Islam", "Islamism", "Islamist", and "Muslim". Le Point 's founder Claude Imbert says "... I do not mind saying that I am a bit Islamophobic...". Similarly, many other members of the media exhibit exclusionary attitudes and discourses against Islam. Thus, it is not surprising to see certain headlines spread in the European media such as "Should Islam be scared of?", "Who's afraid of Islam?", "Fear of Islam", "West, against Islam", "That Islam without hesitation", "Islam, disturbing facts", "Islamists and Us", "Islamist threat", and "Watching Islamization" (Yardim, 2014).

As one starts a simple search on "Islamist" in the French media by using the search engine Le Nouvel Observateur, there can be seen a boom in the news containing the term "Islamist" after the Arab Spring. In 2010, the number of published articles with "Islamists" content rose from 88 to over 900 in the last months of 2011. Likewise, the number of articles containing the word "sharia" has increased from 9 to 222 within one year (Schmachtel, 2011). We will look at cover pages of some journals which could be called aggressive in order to comprehend the message that the press gives through the concepts and images and the negative perception that it contributes to build. It is intended to get a general idea of the message received by the reader from the media by examining the best-selling weekly French periodicals such as Le Point, Le Nouvel Observateur, l'Express, and Valeurs Actuelles in France by taking top position in one of the journals in weekly publications (Le Nouvel Observateur, 2012). Looking at the journal Le Point, well-known for its rightist line, we see that they have carried Islam and Islamists onto the cover page 4 times in the last 2 years. In February 2011, the journal published a cover image with a woman in a headscarf holding an Egyptian flag under the heading "Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria ... Islamist Boggart" and the subheading of the "Facts about the Muslim Brotherhood" (Le Point, 3 February, 2011). Considering the Le Point 's attitude, it does not just seem accidental the sub-heading focuses on the Muslim Brotherhood while illustrating a veiled Muslim woman carrying the Egyptian flag on the cover. A month before that issue, the periodical referred to the church attacks that took place during that period and published the headline "The Islamic Crusade in Egypt, Iraq and Pakistan" (6 January, 2011) immediately describing the perpetrators of these attacks as "Islamists" and even going further by identifying the Islamists with the Crusaders (Özdemir, 2012: 451-452).

According to the definition of the media, everyone belonging to Islamic religion is Islamist. As an example:

- Charlie Hebdo attacker Kouachi brothers and Amedy Coulibaly are Islamists.

- Tariq Ramadan is Islamist.

- High school student is Islamist.

- University student is Islamist

- Factory worker is Islamist.

- Housewife is Islamist.

İn the context of talk on Muslims, the Western media prefers the term Islamist to "Muslim" seems to be made consciously rather than mere ignorance or an innocent mistake. The term "Islamist" has a pejorative meaning as the media uses it. Thus, under the Islamist perception, it is emphasized that Muslims are "dangerous", "threatening" and "evil". In other words, "Islamist" represents "every Muslim who is a terrorist". We attempt to portray with concrete examples selected from the media how Muslim is converted to Islamic and how the concept of Islamic is used to exclude and alienate Muslims in the hate speech of the Western media.

1. The Le Point cover (Le Point, 3 February, 2011): Islamists and Muslim Brotherhood are mentioned in the same frame under the headlines such as "Le Spectre İslamiste" (Islamist spectrum). "Fantasy and reality", "France is at risk" and "Facts about the Muslim Brotherhood". We discuss the question of whether the "freedom" environment formed by the Arab Spring can be useful for Islamist and fundamentalists.

2. The Valeurs Actuellesjournal cover (4 November, 2012): Under the headlines such as "L'İslamisme va-t-il gagner?" (Will Islamism win?) "Black Scenario", and "How can the worst be prevented?", it has been argued that Islamism is dominant, in other words, the illusion that Islam has reached a dimension to be worried about.

3. The Marianne (22 May, 2015): Under the headlines of "Les Complices de l'İslamisme" (Islamism Crime Partners); manipulation, sensationalism, and bias are disguised as analysis of Islam.

4. The **Le Monde** *Diplomatique newspaper (December, 2013) "Turquie, des Ottomans aux İslamistes" (Turkey, from the Ottoman Empire to Islamists). The issues addressing Turkey and Islamism discuss secularism, democracy, The Gezi Park protest, and headscarf.*

5. The **Le Point** journal cover (28 April, 2016) "Le Monde Musulman avant les İslamistes" (The Islamic world before the Islamists): The picture on the cover shows young girls walking in a mini skirt and headscarf in Kabul. It draws attention to the association between wearing a headscarf and Islamism.

6. The **Le Monde** newspaper "Islamism, a totalitarian read of the world" (Le Monde, 5 February, 2015). The article penned by Sociologist Chahl to Chafiq reports the results of a survey conducted with 32 young people between 2008 and 2009. According to the survey results, the young people who inherit their increased "religiousness" from the ideology of Islamism choose "real Islam" leaving "ignorant Islam" coming from their families and traditions. It is also expressed that Islamic young people on the path of radicalization are turning to the option of jihad and terrorism to dominate religious rules/Sharia.

7. The **Le Figaro** newspaper heading "Today the fundamentalist Islamist threat is stronger than in 1995" (Le Figaro, 7 January, 2015): It appears that the former interior minister Charles Pasqua has created a conceptual confusion between the "Islamist threat" and the "terrorist threat". He argues that the threat that existed in 1995 today reaches a worrisome dimension.

8.The **Le Figaro** newspaper "Two faces of the Islamist radicalization in France" (Le Figaro, 16 June, 2014): It is stated that demands of the "radicalized" Muslim communities pose a threat to French society and Islamic radicalization is in an ideological war.

9. The **Mariannejournal** "Against Islamic radicalization: facts and figures" (Marianne, 6 February, 2016): The news argues that 8,250 people were officially recorded as radical Islamist in 2015, and 4,500 of these have "a worrisome profile" as fans of terrorism fan enemy of French institutions.

10. The **Le Figaro** newspaper "Islamist propaganda books in big malls" (Le Figaro, 28 July, 2014): The news story mentions Islamist books encouraging jihad and Islamic punishment besides the school books.

11. According to the **IFOP'**s report " Islam's Image" drawn up in October 2012 for the Le Figaro paper; in response to questions about the integration of Muslims into the society, 43% of the French consider Muslims a

threat to their national identities, while only 17% believe that Muslims enrich the national identity. In response to the question "Are Muslims able to adapt to the French society?", the rate of the "no" answer is 67%. In the survey, 60% of respondents think that Islam is "too active" and "visible" in France, while the percentage of those who oppose the veil and headscarf is above 60%. The percentage of those who oppose the veil and headscarf in schools is 89% while the percentage of those who are against wearing it on the street is 63%. It can be inferred that the negative perception of the use of veil and headscarf in everyday life in French society, especially in the streets, is a type of reflection of the rising anti-Islamic wave on public opinion. The visibility of Islamic symbols and Muslims' lifestyles (such as worshipping on time regardless of veil, cover or places) seems to lead to a conflict between the Muslim community and the French identity, which always aspires a homogeneous nation. The best example of this can is the ban on wearing veil imposed by the French government (Le Figaro, October, 2012).

The concept of "Islamist", which printed and visual Western media uses to describe Muslims, emerges as a means of stigmatization and exclusion. By distorting the facts, news and publications based on simple and reducible views, the door can be slightly opened to discrimination as elements of prejudice and stigmatization. The notion of "Islamist", which constitutes the source of concepts such as "jihadist, militant, radical Islamist" which have been widely used, fuels the existing fear and makes Islam and Muslim opposition vulgar.

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MOUFFE'S THEORY OF RADICAL DEMOCRACY
(The Paradoxical Hope of Living Together in the Context of We/They Discrimination)

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INTRODUCTION

The World has been ocuppied with some issues such as living tohether, pluralism, differences, identity and recogniton for many years. As is widely known, most of scientific books and articles both in the World and Turkey have lately been on this problem. Acoordingly, I deal with Mouffe's understanding of radical democracy who has different approach towards the issue.

Historical Process/Foundaitons/Concepts

The source of idea of sacredness and cosmos was tought to stem from an omni-potent (all-mighty) God in medieval times whereas the universe had been regarded as sacred in itself in ancient Greeks. (The ancient Greeks had found sacredness immanent in the universe) Thus, the meaning of life and the legitimacy of sovereignity/power, say, the order of the universe/things were referred/attirubuted/linked to God's creation. However, it was the mechanical World view and Copernican Revolution to give rise to reducing of God's role as the source of legitimacy, creating chaos. Descartes' homo cogitans ensured the necessary reliable ground to get over this problem. In this process, the faith that the reason could build a worldly heaven was established.

However, by the end of the nineteenth century, the ideals of the Enlightenment were weakened since it was understood that the reason and science were responsible for two world wars and holocaust which killed tens of millions as well as some developments shaking modern science. It was also understood that the reason which had been believed to build a worldly heaven was nothing more than being an ınstrument of desire, let alone determining objective goals. Meantime postmodernism started to dominate ıntellectual circle. Postmodernism, the most familiar definition of which is given by Lyotard as the end of grand-narratives, seemed to be against to modern universalism/exclusivism/restrictivism of reason. It also welcomed differences, plurality, localism/subsdiarity.

In this context of "postmodern condition" Mouffe developed her theory with some intense conceptual arsenal such as poststructuralism, anti-essentialism, language game, anti-foundationalism, perspectivism, deconstruction, ineradicability of differences, the lack of transcendent sources of legitimacy, deferral of meaning, friend-enemy distinction, the decentralization, fragmentation and even the death of the subject. According to her, although the universalist perspective of the enlightenment paved the way for the emergence of democracy, it has already turned to be an obstacle to grasp the postmodern conditions which should be handled from an anti-foundalist angle.[224] Because we are now living in a chaotic universe of discourses where there is no zero-point on which we can build our thoughts/actions and which the rejection

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224 Mouffe, Siyasetin Dönüşü, Epos yay., çev: F. Bakırcı, A. Çolak, Ankara, 2010, s. 25.
225 Edibe Sözen, Söylem, Birleşik Yay., Ankara, 2014, s. 9.
226 Dave Robinson, Nietzsche and Postmodernism, Icon Books, Cambridge, 1999, p. 7.
227 a.g.e., s. 15-16.

of foundationalism is essential.[225] Nietzsche who is claimed to be the harbinger of postmodernism held that the faith in science and progress collapsed just like Christian Values which had been predecessor of this faith[226] and nothing (of inherent value) was left to believe except will to power. [227]

What Mouffe has derived from these "discourses" is that since they can never have the whole truth, any individual or collective identities can't achieve superiority over others, either. Therefore politics can be formulated in a pluralistic way as the struggle of discourses for hegemony and language-games between equal parties. That is Mouffe's main objective.

Mouffe criticises the liberal obsession of absolute rationalist moral consensus as well as Marxism's lack of touch with plurality.[228] To her, that global ethnic clashes and terror attacks have been intensifying requires a flawless political theory. One of her starting point is the Schimittian claim that liberalism has a structural deficiency which resists in its rejection of ineradicability of antagonism.[229] For Schmitt, the main characteristic of the political is friend-enemy distinction.[230] Mouffe has objected to the post-political vision in which it is believed that a world without enemies is possible thanks to liberal democracy's global triumph over other worldviews. Post-political zeitgeist heralds a cosmopolitan future where the necessary consensus can be reached by means of the globalization of liberal democracy and hence possibility of dialog. Nevertheless, for her, this approach is a huge mistake in the very roots of problems democracy has been facing with instead of contributing to the democratisation of democracy.[231] According to Mouffe, it should be the goal of democracy theorists to develop a vivid public sphere in which different hegemonic paradigms will confront, not to reconcile all conflicting interests.[232] Her suggestion is the radical democracy.

The doubts about modern universal subject which has been regarded as the source of truth is also of crucial importance for Mouffe. In modern period, subject was seen as an entity that had common characteristics for all human beings.[233] However the idea of subject was shaken by various reasons. Of those displacing subject from its privileged position, structuralism was the important one. Individuals, for this theory, generally think, talk and act in accordance with the structures they are unaware of. This was "the dethronement of acting and knowing subject"[234] as well as "the purification of Descartes' ego cogito from the arrogance of unlimited Reason."[235] With the densification of attacks by post-structuralism and postmodernism, the death of Cartesian subject came to the fore. According to Mouffe, likewise, it is a must to be able to have a different understanding of subject which doesn't contain any essential relationship so as to compass the new conditions. Radical democracy wants to accept the single-plural-different-heterogeneous facts, namely, whatever modern subject has excluded.[236] Only can postmodern criticism provide such a possibility.[237] Accordingly, because of Derrida's deconstruction, the idea about what made sovereignity legitimate was human nature became questionable.[238] We are always beings in process/formation which are built by mix of discourses and sewed temporarily.[239] Hence the role of postmodernism for developing a political philosophy is that it ensures a pluralistic individualism. Radical

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228 Chantal Mouffe, The Limits of John Rawls's Pluralism, Politics, Philosophy & Economics, Sage Publications, London, 2005, p. 222-223.
229 Chantal Mouffe, On the Political, Routledge, London, 2005, p. 10.
230 a.g.e., p. 12.
231 a.g.e., p. 1-2.
232 a.g.e., p. 3-4.
233 Derda Küçükalp, Politik Nihilizm, Aktüel Yay., Bursa, 2005, s. 224.
234 G. Demir, Yerliler Arasında Bir Yapı Ustası (Levi Strauss, Mit ve Anlam içinde Önsöz), İthaki Yay., çev. G. Demir, s. 10-13.
235 a.g.e., s. 14.
236 Mouffe, Radikal Demokrasi: Modern mi, Postmodern mi?, çev. M. Küçük, Modernite versus Postmodernite (der: M. Küçük) içinde, Vadi yay., Ankara, 2000, s. 302-303.
237 a.g.m., s. 313.
238 Z. Direk, J. Derrida, Siyaset Felsefesi Tarihi içinde, ed: A. Tunçel, K. Gülenç, Doğu Batı, Ankara, 2013, s. 669.
239 Mouffe, Siyasetin Dönüşü, s. 40.

Democracy sees postmodern philosophy crucial support not a menace since it requires us to abandon the essentialist approach to unity of society and the myth of a unitary subject.[240] Besides, starting with Derrida's conception of difference which claims that there is no inside without any outside and that nothing can come into existence on its own without the differences which urges to be in touch with outside[241], Mouffe uses constitutive outside.[242]

Under these conditions, for Mouffe, the necessary consensus in a pluralistic democracy is an agonistic one.[243] Within this kind of consensus, Mouffe's parties (as opponents who accept the legitimacy of each other and see the other as members of the same political unity instead of Schimitt's parties confronting as enemies because of not having any common ground) defend different interpretations of the common principles and fight for their interpretations to become hegemonic.[244] The absence of agonistic channels to enable to articulate the discontents will cause extremism. As long as we/they tension is seen as an moral conflict, our opponent may be regarded as just an enemy to exterminate.[245] To sum up, Mouffe is worried about the possible war of moral values and essentialist identities instead of modest tensions if agonistic confrontations don't absorb the desires of the parties in a controlled way.[246] Yet, she believes, a radicalized agonistic democracy "have to play flexible democratic language games." [247]

Mouffe thinks that at the international relations especially, it is more dangerous to force to a consensus on a single truth. What should be done is to strive for a multipolar world. That western world insists to impose its own model on the entire planet (for example the modernization of Islam via westernization) strengthens terrorism. It should be accepted that the world has a pluralistic character and that it is pluriverse not universe.[248] There is no other ways to steer clear of the hegemony of a hyper-power.[249] Democracy's mission is to transform antagonism to an agonism compatible with pluralistic democracy.[250] Otherwise, it is regarded as the attempt of making a singularity global hegemonic essence which is a new totalitarianism.[251]

Assesment and Coclusion

We will value the health of radical democracy in this chapter.

We believe that the anarchist destructiveness of harsh perspectivism in radical democracy is also self-destructive. Therefore Mouffe can't tell "ought to be" without violating her own premises. Everything she offers have to be "fixed with the facts". It is "a radical democratic paradox" for her to refuse an approach which claims "ought to be". Because if one tells that those who wants "ought to be" is wrong, it is kind of essentialism which imposed his/her own fixed "ought to be" on the others. Clearly, she affirms a modest differences between the dialects and accents of the same (mother) language, not language games of totally different language families. Accordingly, so-called anti-essentialism is an essentialism which is an epiphenomena of a specific will to power.

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240 a.g.e., s. 41.
241 Niall Lucy, Derrida Sözlüğü, çev: S. Gürses, Bilgesu, Ankara, 2012, s. 22-23.
242 Mouffe, On the poitical, p. 15.
243 Chantal Mouffe, INTRODUCTION: Scmitt's Challange, in The Chllange of Carl Schmitt, ed: C. Mouffe, Verso, London, 1999, s. 228.
244 a.g.m., p. 228 and On the Political, p. 20.
245 Mouffe, The Limits of John Rawls's Pluralism, p. 230-231. Ayrıca bkz. Mouffe, On the Political, p. 5.
246 Mouffe, On the Political., p. 30.
247 a.g.e., p. 33.
248 Mouffe, The Limits of John Rawls's Pluralism, p. 230-231.
249 Mouffe, On the Political, p. 7.
250 a.g.e.,, p. 20.
251 J. Gilbert, Antikapitalizm ve Kültür, Ayrıntı yay., çev: Tuba Sağlam, İstanbul, 2012, p. 220

We have been passing through strange times in which postmodern nihilism that blesses the disintegration of the whole renders the unimportant differences of volatile identities by dignifying them so far as to be worth fighting for. It is unrealistic to hope that those who have nothing common both paradigmatically and ethnically can live together while neither children/parents nor wifes/husbands have patience enough to tolerate each other because of their atomized souls and gigantic egos. As Virno said, plurality is probably vomiting of the state of nature to civilized society.[252] In addition, postmodernism has held the religious and scientific paradigms responsible for causing massive pain and cruelty. If so, what about the postmodern/poststructuralist world which suggest us to renounce the claims such as God, truth, essence, meaning, good/evil? When we analyse theory (principles)-practice consistency and benefit-cost, does it have brilliant/perfect consequences to kill God? Have any pain/sorrow/miseries diminished/soothed? What does the world look like: Kant's kingdom of ends or Hobbes' state of nature prevailing war of all against all? Who rules: Wolfes or moral subjects? Besides, it is sort of salto mortale for Mouffe to justify radical democracy depending on Nietzsche who even himself didn't so. What is happening in the real world is radical aristocracy in which will to power of super-humans is dominant is the one in demand not radical democracy. It means that the "might makes right" approach is still valid. As Hobbes said: "The Authority, not truth, makes Law!"[253]

My another objection is about Derridaian roots: if there is no inside without outside; why the undecidability is the end of this dialectic process/history? Should everything form itself with constitutive outside, why the metaphysics of "non-presence" that took the place of metaphysics of presence is our final decision/station? The omnipotence of the adversary of truth is a kind of divine metaphysics of presence, isn't it? I think that if the monads, the smallest elements, can't be identical to themselves, then radical democrat sociology of "seamless population" is impossible. Radical democracy is impossible without fixed monads who answer the question "who I am?" in the way that "I suppose I am a radical democrat" for a very short time. However this makes it clear what is the constitutive is the sameness and identity, not difference. As a result those who are outside (system) will stay behind (outside) the walls, borders or go down in waters of Mediterranean Sea. In brief, there is (nothing to do except) a single choice for "outsiders and insiders", that is, for people who die and watch them helplessly: **"Amor Fati at home, Amor Fati in the World."**

If traditional Marxism couldn't grasp the fordist period of the capitalism, as Mouffe alleges, her post-marxist radical democracy can't penetrate that of post-fordist version. Because so called nihilistic empty center is in fact filled with the monads that the culture ındustry provides the harmony between them by homogenizing their pleasures, hence opening windows. That's why the deconstructed subject turns not to a homo politicus of pluralist political struggle, but to a-politic mankurt (kind of slave) on the hedonistic treadmill. "The empty" individual will build his/her identity with consumption and destruct it with another commodity again and again.

In CONCLUSION, homo consumer will be mere universal identity and, if you'll pardon my expression, homo esfeli safilin[254] of Hansel-Gratel Capitalism. So, a homogeneous demos Schmitt sees necessary for democracy is unavoidable in spite of all contradictory "discourses". The feeling of insufficiency and dissatisfaction is our unisex asocial anthropology that makes us (world-wide) homogeneous demos.

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252 P. Virno, Çokluğun Grameri, Otonom Yay., çev: V. Kocagül, İst., 2005, s. 28.

253 Schmitt, Siyasi İlahiyat, s. 38.

254 The term esfeli safilin is used in Quan (Surah Tin, 95). Just after pointing that he created man in the best of the stature, God says that "then we return him to the lowest of the low". So I do think that such a concept is fit for postmodernism's "desire-driven" so called subject. Again, Hansel-Gratel capitalism marks that in a world of consumption it is all about arousing desires permanently to have more. However it has no final place to stop and have a rest. Post-fordist capitalism first of all feeds us and then takes whatever it has given. (I use present perfect on purpose to notice how quick this eternal return of commodities can be.)

32.Reuters, 31.12.2016, link: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2016/12/31/islamist-terrorism-biggest-test-facing-germany-warns-angela/ (visited 9.3.2017).

As is seen from my remarks so far, I can't say optimistic words about "the world peace", for we are not in a Miss World final. Nevertheless, I can suggest that it will more reasonable to fight for a telos in which the different interpretations are determined by referring to a transcendental sphere, namely, all signifiers and signified are defined by referring to a center which is full with He/God (Hüve) and those who are right have the eternal life than one-dimensional-men's fight for this (ephemeral) world. If this is an utopia, my utopia is more "well-ordered" than "the western" dystopias which has been exterminating the entire universe and beings within. Because from doxa and epokhe don't emerge ataraxia and from Babel doesn't emerge Kudüs. (in a sense, it means the same as "ex nihilo nihil fit".) Eventually if the western world doesn't want to annihilate a modus vivendi which seems to me a sole possibility of living together, it has to stop to "talk like Kant, act Machiavelli". In other words, the west has to stop "to treat the others, even the entire planet not as ends in themselves but as means" and place itself "beyond good and evil."

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COMBATING DISCRIMINATION BY YOUTH PROJECTS

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INTRODUCTION

Hello to everyone in the room. I am Binnaz Binici, a student of Islamic studies in Germany, Tübingen.

First of all, I would like to express my deep gratitude have been accepted to this amazing Symposium with numerous important names from the academic field and my gratitude to be able to hold a presentation about a project founded by a group of students from Tübingen and me.

The project is a German-Turkish youth exchange.

Most of you right now might understandably ask yourself: Why do we need a youth exchange at all? And what is so new and innovative about her youth exchange? There are thousands of them right now realized especially under the auspices of Erasmus. Here I want to present to you my answers. Let me come to the first question: Why do we need a youth exchange between Germany and Turkey at all?

There are many reasons for a youth exchange. First: We are noticing growing racism, xenophobia and islamophobia in Europe and around the world. Non-Muslims fear the threat of Islamic terrorism. German Chancellor Angela Merkel said in her 2017 New Year's speech to the nation that „Islamist terrorism is the biggest test facing Germany" after a deadly attack before Christmas in Berlin.

Although the Europol study from 2015 reveals, that in the last five years, less than 2 percent of all terrorist attacks in the E.U. have been "religiously motivated.

Racism is not something a person is born with. Babies and little children are not making differences between race, origin and religion. It is learned, youngsters got educated to differentiate between races, sexes, religion and origin by their surrounding, the media, their families and other groups as they grow out of childhood.

As an example: I was recently in a supermarket in Germany, waiting at the till. In front of me was a father who looked quite sporty and academic who had his two kids with him. The boy was telling his father „you know my friend Paul, he still refuses to consume any sugar. He always buys sugar free chewing gums from the Turks, you know dad, from these backward Turks." I was shocked and alarmed to hear that.
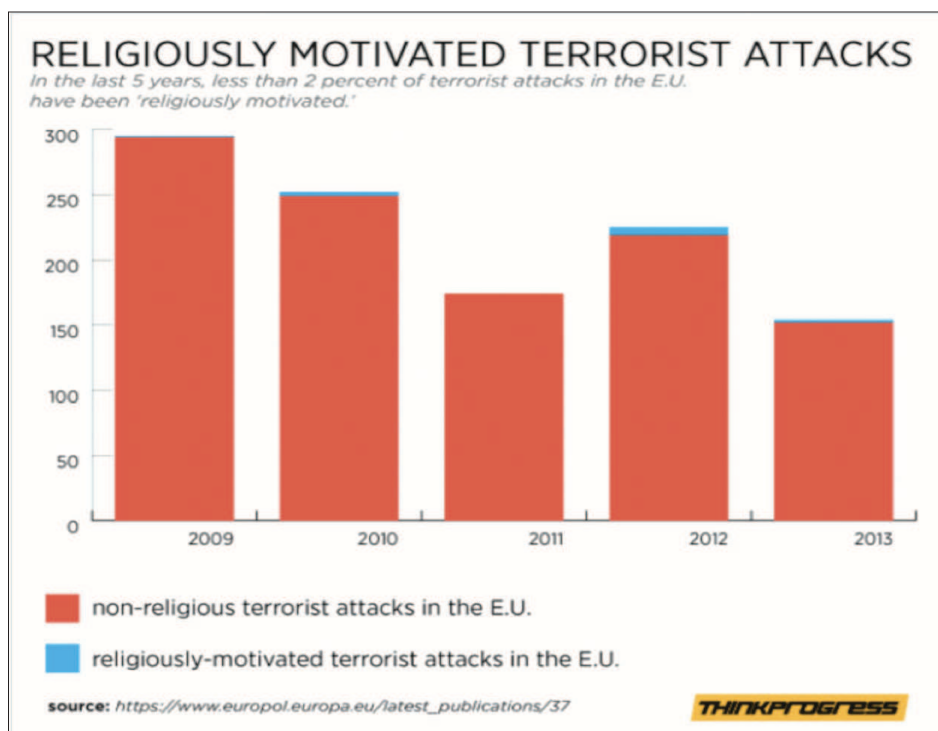
This boy labeled Turks as back-warded. And his father did not rebuke his son for labeling and insulting the Turkish people. This is why we seriously have to combat stereotypes that discriminate innocent people. Therefore it is our duty to bring youngsters with different background, religion and origin together for dialogue and sharing common values. That is why I want to plug in with my youth exchange project.

Let me now come to the second question: What is so new and innovative about this youth exchange? There are thousands of them right now realized especially under the auspices of Erasmus.

To answer this question: Yes, this is true. There are many youth exchange programs. But I want all of you to give me a chance to introduce to you the innovative and essential part of my youth exchange that makes it so very unique.

I have to give you a short background of my experiences with youth exchanges:

Turkey - Spain – Bulgaria – Germany – Czech Republic

I participated myself in different youth exchanges such as Erasmus+ exchange in Spain about the refugee and migration crisis in Europe, a youth exchange in Paris with „Youth association for a Greater Europe" about expanding Europes borders in order to cooperate with Eurasien countries and Russia and lastly, a Winter School at BILGESAM in Istanbul about Turkish foreign policy just a few days ago.

RELIGIOUSLY MOTIVATED TERRORIST ATTACKS
In the last 5 years, less than 2 percent of terrorist attacks in the E.U. have been 'religiously motivated.'

■ non-religious terrorist attacks in the E.U.

■ religiously-motivated terrorist attacks in the E.U.

source: *https://www.europol.europa.eu/latest_publications/37* — THINKPROGRESS

The Erasmus youth exchange in Spain was very much about fun which was also its problem: it was only and solely about young people having fun, partying, with no academic ground at all and with no scientific approach. As a result there was no formal learning process for the participating students- just informal education. So after the exchange I went back home with mixed emotions and was not truly satisfied with the outcome.

To the opposite: I was confronted in Paris with „Youth Association for a Greater Europe". There we just had to follow and listen to the speakers (CEOs, Professors). We were not supposed to have fun - it was all about competition. No team spirit - no connecting part among the participating students. I was seriously disappointed.

That is why I came up with the idea of an own youth exchange. A youth exchange that promises an academic culture with youth activities.

An academic culture with:

Professors speaking about relevant topics

group discussions

problem-solving approaches

and activities with:

a city rally visiting important religious homes like mosques, synagogues and churches

In a nutshell, we would realize formal and information education in just 7-10 days.

Further aims are:

1. Bringing young students from Germany and Turkey together to substitute clichés and prejudices of each other with dialogue, understanding and peace. Especially nowadays where the media is presenting a

mainly negative and biased picture of Turkey, there is the need to offer an alternative and more positive picture of Turkey.

2. Creating an academic platform for German and Turkish youth and

3. Providing political, cultural and historical education for the youth.

How will it be realized?

It will be organized by the „Peace Association e.V." founded by seven German-Turkish students from Germany in cooperation with Universities - one from Germany and one from Turkey.

I would like to introduce to you shortly the founding members of the „Peace Association e.V." to demonstrate that all of the members are very much competent to organize this project.

Selcuk Binici (Undergraduate in Business Administration from Mannheim University that is the best University in Germany in the field of Business Administration, worked for PWC), Musa Binici , Mahperi Toprakyaran (Graduate from Marmara University, lecturer for Turkish literature at the University of Tübingen, Seda Cetinkaya (German and Turkish language becoming a teacher, Hilal Öztürk , Dilan Yenice (French, English, Turkish teacher student) and me.

To specify the first youth exchange that I am planning to realize in August 2018: the topic will be

"Different religion - finding common values. Inter-religious dialogue".

Let me come now to the financial part. This will cost of course. But there are many foundations who are sponsoring exchange projects such as the Mercator foundation which has a section „German Turkish youth bridge". They are giving a financial support up to 5.000 Euros.

This German-Turkish youth exchange for finding common values is feasible with persistence and the will to make it happen. Because as Benjamin Disraeli once said: „Nothing can resist the human will that will stake even its existence on its stated purpose."

Thank you very much for your attention!

RACISM, ALIENATION AND WAR

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INTRODUCTION

The race is in the TLI: "The natural community of people with inherited genetic makeup."

Racism: Racism is defined as "Sociology, The doctrine, which suggests that a race is superior to other races by reducing the social characteristics of people to biological and racial traits." In recent times, especially in Europe, racism, which has risen again, was at least practically in the first place in nationalism, which has always been involved in historical context. While the nationalist movement was a consequence of the French Revolution, events that could have been linked to racism existed in ancient Greece, even in Medieval Europe and even later.

Throughout history, all social and economic developments have been unbalanced. Transition, the birth of the product now, the end of the work division and the beginning of urbanization, in short, the birth of civilizations has led to the birth of societies with classes. Civilization has created an increasingly solid social hierarchy. This development also means that people should start seeing themselves by separating themselves from the similarities within the borders of civilization and from the communities outside of civilization. Such development means the emergence of allegations of excellence as individuals, as families, as societies, as wider social associations. The same development means the beginning of the process of claiming that these talents are transferred from father to son, from generation to generation, and the process of believing in the lie, in search of "nobility" in the blood of the families who have conquered the land, wealth and power. Myths and legends feed on the claims of "superiority" based on race and blood. This process means that social insults, pressures, slavery, social violence, political wars are born at the same time. Unreal social exaltations and insults have driven not only within the class divisions of civilizations but also the different historical levels of development in the environments of the respective civilizations, between communities and civilizations symbolizing different social categories and at the same time between different civilizations. In addition, the first sprouts of racist ideas in contemporary sense have begun to manifest themselves in Europe in the 1400s, with colonialism beginning to develop. The discovery of the American continent, the colonization of Africa, India and southeast Asia, has spurred racist ideas to flourish.

The people governing the state were not the only ones who thought that the colonialists had the right to govern because of the 'superior race' they belonged to.Philosophers, clerics and scientists also believe that this result is a kind of 'natural state'.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF RACISM

Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752-1840, a German anatomy and physiologyscientist ,made one of the first classifications related to races. Based on his skull measurements, he distinguished five groups of human races: Caucasian (white race), Mongolian, Ethiopian, Native American and Malay. Later, the Swedish biologist Carolus Linnaeus (1707-78), who categorized all living things, described four different races distinguished by their skin color. The biologists who followed him also worked on racial groups based on their physical characteristics. The French ethnologist Joseph-Arthur Gobineau (181682) and later the British political scientist H.S. Chamberlain, who later become a German, (1855-1927) wanted to make a classification among the races, turning it into a formula that would prove the superiority of the white race. Anthropology was perceived as a science that served colonialism for a long time in this

context. By arguing the concept of "Aryan race", they argued that this race is the sole creator of all civilizations realized by mankind. These theses led to racism in Western Europe.

According to racists based on such evaluations, non-white people are low intelligence, incompetent, immoral, and need to be governed. Racists practice discrimination against people, they see down on them, and they do not give equal rights and opportunities to them.

Darwin and Scientific Perspective on Racism

Darwin was the first person to gain the so-called scientific validity of racism. The writings of Darwin in his book The Origin of Species about the "protection of favored races" and especially the claims of the Book of the Human End supported the misconceptions of the Aryan race of the Germans and the Anglo Saxons of the English as a superior race. In addition, the Darwin's theory of natural selection told about a struggle for survival. When this "forest law" was applied to human societies, it was inevitable that conflicts and wars between the races and nations occurred.

There are clear expressions of racism in Darwin's books, some letters and special notes. For example, Darwin claimed that some races, such as Negroes and Aborigines, are supposedly lower races and that they would be removed from the future in the struggle for survival in his book Tropics of Humanity:

"Perhaps in the near future, which will not last for centuries, civilized human races will eradicate wild races entirely from the earth and will replace them, while humanoid apes will of course be eliminated so that the gap between man and his closest relative will expand further. As a result of this,races that are even more civilized than European races and ape-like monkeys that are even lagging behind current blacks, Australian natives and gorillas will remain. "

As a matter of fact, these disastrous "predictions" of Darwin became true, and the racists who saw the theory of evolution as a scientific support, made massacres in the 20th century. The Nazis' slaughtering 40 million people in the World War II., the Southern African governments' system of the privilegeof the European races, the racial assaults against Turks and other foreigners in Europe, the racial discrimination against the Africans in the USA and the Aboriginals in Australia, and the neo-Nazi movements that climbed occasionally in many European countries have always gained power using the support of Darwinist racism.

There is No Racial Discrimination Between Humans in Terms of Genetics

In particular, the findings of genetic science for the past 10 years have revealed that there are no racial differences between humans in terms of biology. Many of the scientists agreed on this issue. For example, at the Congress of Science in Atlanta, the scientists stated:

"Race is a social fiction which is a product of our perceptions conditioned by past events. It has no biological reality."

Imperialism and Racism

The aim of the European states spreading to different continents and countries was more commercial, especially after the Industrial Revolution, in the 16th century and beyond. The Europeans had searched for markets for the goods they had produced and thought that the solution was dominating the countries in different continents. The 19th century imperialist initiatives had different reasons.One of the reasons was the race of superiority. The British, the French, the Germans, and others who started competing were mistaken that they needed more land to prevail in the so-called "life struggle" and become the "strongest" nation. The second reason was the error of proving superiority against other races. The Anglo-Saxons and Aryans, claiming to be "superior races", viewed that it was their natural right to control Africans, Asians or Australians whom they regard as "downward races," exploiting their workforce, their sources of wealth and their possibilities.

The more ambition to seize land, which is caused by the imperialism, which is harnessed by the influence of Darwinist suggestions, caused some conflicts between the imperialist countries. Major persecutions took place in the seized territories because of the fact that the indigenous peoples were

regarded as people of the "lower race". The imperialists, who point out that they had set out to lead civilization to the lands, caused many pain and tears.

Although there are some variations among the peoples, they have determined that these variations are too small. Templeton summarizes the CONCLUSIONs that he has with preserving his belief in prejudice: "Racial is a cultural, political and economic concept in the society, but not a biological concept, and unfortunately many people have a false belief that the genetic differences is the essence of the human race. I would like to add some objectivity to the subject. According to the result of this highly unbiased analysis, there is no such thing as the division of humanity into really different subgroups."

According to Templeton's results, the genetic similarity between the Europeans and the Lower Saharan Africans and between the Europeans and the Melanesians (the inhabitants of the North East Australian islands) is greater than that between the Africans and the Melanesians. Whereas the Sub-Saharan Africans and Melanezians are black-skinned, their hair is more similar to each other with their genus, skull and face. These are the properties used to describe a race , but genetically these people are less similar to each other. Templeton states that as this indication shows, "the racial traits" are not seen in genes.

Racism in Sweden

As the Swedish researcher Mikael Widéen states, in 1882 under the leadership of Gustav Retzius, the son of Swedish Anders Retzius, the creator of skull measurement in 1840, an organization called "Swedish anthropology and geography solidarity" was established. The organization measured the skulls of 45,000 Swedish troops and published it as a final report in 1902. According to this, the cleanest example of German "race" lives in Sweden. (Http://historiesajten. tripod.com/rasbiologi.htm) Mussolini and Hitler had not yet announced their names while that happened. People were unaware of fascism yet. The Swedish Viktor Ryberg, who walked in the footsteps of Linné, Retzius, Gobineau and the like, wrote a book called "The Future of the White Race" in 1895. Ryberg explained that the Gypsies, Tatars, Samians (Arabs, Jews, Assyrians, etc.) were a danger to the future of the "white race".

Ideologies based on race and posterity bloomed in Sweden in early 1900's. Led by Herman Lundborg and NilsvonHofsten - against the future confrontations - "Swedish solidarity for pedigree" was founded in 1909. One of the main objectives of this organization is the protection of the superiority of the northern race. In 1918 Lundborg, a medical doctor, opened exhibitions on Swedish popular folk. In 1919, the same person wrote and published a book entitled "Swedish People's Tribes", which contained racist views. According to Lundbor, the main representatives of the superior north "race" are the Swedish peasants. The same person saw industry workers as elements destroying race.

When the proposal for the establishment of a Nobel institute on genealogical biology in the Karolinska Institute in Stockholm was rejected by one vote in 1918, a state-bound ancestral biology institute was established instead. The proposal for the establishment of the "Institute of pedigree biology", voted in both chambers of the Swedish Parliament, was enacted in 1921 with the support of all political parties with different views. The institute, the first official sociological biology institute in the world, started its

operations in 1922 under the name of Uppsala State Soy Biology Institute. Professor Herman Lundborg has been appointed as the chairman of the institution which started to act in Uppsala. According to Herman Lundborg, the northern people represent the superior race. On the other hand, gypsies and niggers are the most useless races.

Lundborg is not alone in these views and the immigration of the Gypsies to the country was banned in Sweden in 1914. Again in Sweden, the Gypsies, with the establishment of the Institute of Pedagogical Biology, began to be registered and filed in 1921. As a result, in 1942 all the gypsies were registered in Sweden. The Gypsies, which were introduced into Nazi Germany in 1933 by the law of the innocent criminals, were killed in the gas chambers of Birkenau and Auschwitz, the most famous Nazi concentration camps, and became victims of the sterilization law in Sweden. As much as it was proved half a million Gypsies were systematically destroyed in the Second World War. While the Jews received a large sum of compensation for property stolen by the Nazis and pledged to the Swiss banks as gold or money, nothing is paid to the Gypsies who are still deprived of their possessions.

Social Darwinism and Inter-racial Conflict

The following statements, taken from the book National Life from the Standpoint of Science of Karl Pearson, one of the 19th-century evolutionist theorists and a follower of Francis Galton, are of importance in terms of the 19th-century Darwinist views about the conflicts between races and the reasons of the new imperialism. Pearson, like other Social Darwinists, claims that racial clashes are necessary, and that racial struggle is not enough for evolution. Some of Pearson's claims without any scientific inaccuracies are as follows:

"According to me, what I said about the bad race is for the low human race. For many centuries, for thousands of years, black Africans have large lands unharmed by white men in Africa, yet their tribal conflicts did not create a civilization that could even be compared with Aryan Iris. I do not believe that you can succeed in changing the race no matter how you train them. History shows me only and only one way to create civilization at a higher level, a race's struggle against a race, and the survival of the physically and mentally fit race. " (Karl Pearson "National Life from the Standpoint of Science" , Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1900, p.11-16, 20-23, 36-37, 43-44)

This heretical logic, which believed that conflicts, wars and fights between races and nations were a way of developing and which saw the racesand nations as "low" apart from their own race and nation, dominated great lands all over the world in the 19th century. Some imperialist European states were extremely cruel to the peoples in the territories they occupied. It was clear that in their practice they did not accept these peoples as human beings, but disdainful, inferior and weak, and they didn't accept they had the equal rights. The new imperialism that developed in the 19th century was a world-wide practice of Social Darwinism.

One of the reasons why Darwinism's indoctrination is so supportive is that people in European countries of the time moved away from the moral values of religion. Religious morality requires people to live in peace. God has commanded men to be forgiving and tolerant to each other. To destroy the layout in the world and to incite conflicts are the evils which have great responsibility in the Godhead. Allah has revealed in the Qur'an that he does not love corruption on earth, or harm to people:

"When he turns his back, his aim everywhere is to spread mischief through the earth and destroy crops and cattle. But Allah loveth not mischief." (Surat al-Baqara, 205)

RACISM AND WAR

In the pre-World War I era, war was seen as the most appropriate way to eliminate the weak, to survive the strengths, to develop the human race, to destroy the people who were seen as weight and burden.

Throughout history, humanity has had many wars. However, these wars usually took place in the borders of the belligerent nations, without directly targeting the civilian population. In the wars of social Darwinist purposes, the real target was the nation. Because the goal was to destroy the people who were not "appropriate", "down", and to reduce "unnecessarily overpopulated" nation.

During the same years, General F. Von Bernhardi made propaganda for social Darwinism in his book The Next War and praised war. Claiming that war was a biological necessity, Bernhardi claimed that the best way to clear the world from the inappropriate was war. "War is a biological necessity that is a primary priority, an essential regulatory element in the life of mankind." War increases power and promotes man's progress. " Bernhardi said. (Oscar Levy,"Complete Works of Nietzsche", 1930, Vol. 2, p. 75)

Without a doubt, one of the greatest misconceptions of those who were deluded by these inculcations was that the structure of man was fit for fighting and that war was inevitable for humans. According to them, people have gained energy and vitality as they fight. But this is a big lie. Allah has created people in a structure that will find peace in a peaceful environment. Chaos and conflict cause a great tension and uneasiness in the soul of man. The fastest progress of people in terms of social, economic and cultural sides is possible in environments where peace and security prevail. War and conflict only bring destruction and loss.

According to the German philosopher Nietzsche, who was the forerunner of fascism, the ideal social system should locate the war in the center:

"Men will be trained for war, and women will work for warriors to come back to earth, and everything else is foolish." (Oscar Levy, Complete Works of Nietzsche, 1930, vol. 2, p. 75)

Hitler, combining his militarist ideas with the theory of evolution, stated:

"The whole of nature is the constant conflict between strength and weaknessand the eternal victory of the strong over the weak." (H. Enoch,"Evolutionor Creation", 1966, pp. 147-148)

These ideas, which Hitler and the others alleged, were in fact a product of great ignorance. They only deceived themselves by thinking that their militarist and aggressive minds were sitting on a scientific platform together with the theory of evolution. However, this delusion is an architecture of destruction that is rarely encountered in the history of the world with tens of thousands of people dragged from behind.

Islamic Enmity

The Jews, who are the traditional scapegoats of Christian cultism, began to be used against the Islamic societies of the Middle East with an ingenious maneuver. The racist Israeli state has been put forward as a ram head of the imperialist "utopia island" in the Middle East, while the Jewish people are once again sacrificed as the prisoners of their religion shaped on the basis of the descendants. While the poor Palestinian people are being sacrificed to an unprecedented state terror, the Christian West's traditional anti-Semitism is being tried to be skillfully transferred to the Islamic world. Parallel to this game, by spreading a new fear, the fear of "evil terrorist Islam" in the West, crowds of people are being manipulated. The current policy of the Israeli state again raises a "Jewish enemy" in the masses that cannot see the separation between the Jewish people and the Israeli people, but it is impossible to build a fascist policy on this basis. It is impossible today to successfully carry out a neo-nazism politics based on the enemy of Jews and biological "race" superiority at world level. The fascism witha"liberal" and "democratic" masculinity built on a hostile racism and anti-Islamism has taken its place.

The fear of the satanic Islam, which oppresses women and organizes terrorist acts of the postmodern fascism fills the place of Fascism's ugly, stingy and cheating Jew fear of the past.

Today, especially in the USA and in such a shrinking world, the military-industrial complexes are growing against all other production branches. The biggest profits in the system are gained with the investments in these fields and with non-productive speculative activities. In addition to these, it can also

be referred to as drug trade and other illegal activities. And in the future of this development, there is a terrible collapse that cannot be compared with the Roman Empire period or any other period.

Emerging technology now removes human predominantly large armed forces as in the past, but the same development - with the influence of the existing social structure - deepens the income gaps in the world and also pushes the growing number of people out of the system. Scientific and technological development, which should help to further liberate the human race and facilitate life, is paradoxically causing the catastrophe of a part of mankind that cannot be underestimated because of the same social structure. Because of the current imbalanced social structure, productive forces develop in restricted areas, such as the development of only certain organs of a defective person. While an increasing number of people are being pushed out of the system, the power that holds the control of the developing technology in the economy and in certain sectors, brings the lie of "cultural divisions" into the forefront in order to protect and strengthen the present socialization which is the reason for the imbalances and their power. Under the name of "conflict of civilizations", it started to fuel a new type of racism. This new racism, which will also destroy the ones shaping it, is approaching its zero point like a timed bomb.

The program that the US administration, which has managed to control the masses with a fear of Arab and Islamic terror, is trying to realize –in fact which they are currently carrying out , is nothing more than the survival of Hitler's "thousand-year world empire" dream in accordance with the changing conditions.

XENOPHOBIA

In the literature, the concept of xenophobia is derived from the union of two Greek terms such as 'xenos' for foreign and 'phobos' for fear. Master and Le Roy define xenophobia as "the distrust, fear and / or hateful expression against strangers by linking with a identity identical to a nation that contains culture". Accordingly, strangers are seen as carriers of different cultures that positively threaten the integrity of the nation.

It is also argued that problems such as anxiety or fear of strangers are caused not by the fact that they are foreigners but because of the danger of creating a danger for the future. Accordingly, racism and xenophobia are not actually related to Arab, Turkish, African or similar racial divisions but that the concepts of radicals, criminals, or drug dealers are cited with foreigners.

The main indicators of xenophobia are collective fear and aggression towards individuals whose cultures are different. In this context, Vorster notes that xenophobia can be seen as racism in a broad sense and that this phenomenon is triggered by the same factors as racism. Thus, xenophobia leads to prejudices, stereotypical beliefs and discrimination as in racism. More importantly, xenophobic and racist beliefs and attitudes can be rationalized by the individual, based on the deductions and generalizations listed above.

Just as the exploitation has been legitimized based on racial traits for some time, xenophobic attitudes can also be found rationally based on the fact that the individuals are based on justifiable causes. The incorrect stereotypes and beliefs based on personal inferences of the individual at the same time make it possible to see the xenophobic and racist beliefs rationally from an individual point of view. However, on the basis of his logical CONCLUSIONs, Rydgren states generalization is obtained through possibilities instead of the facts in society and thus the stereotypical beliefs of xenophobia are placed in society. For example, after the eleventh of September their travel-blocking approaches towards individuals who have Muslim-looking and have a single ticket at the airport or who make a change in the final direction are defined as a part of ethnic or racial discrimination based on probabilities. In such an approach, it is stated that other possibilities for the situation of immigrants about whom little individual knowledge is known are not calculated and that it is only set forth from generalizations.

The issue is not race or nationality. Racism has previously been applied by pushing out of the system (killing, destroying), but then by transforming into the system and using in the lower steps inside the system.

The basic element underlying xenophobia is not recognizing the foreigner and being afraid of him. In the 21st century, the Syrian people who get terrified and flee from the war that is taking place in Syria have caused the level of xenophobia to reach the climax in the European countries. Turkey has become the country where this fear of Europeans and the fear of war of Syrians are encountered.

Since the beginning of 2016, less than 50 percent of the 130,000 immigrants who crossed the Aegean to the Greek islands were from Syria. The remaining ones are Pakistanis, Afghans, Iraqis and Iranians whom the EU defines as economic migrants. All immigrants who come from the Turkish coasts and reach the Greek islands, including the Syrian refugees, will be sent back to Turkey. In return, the EU will receive a refugee from Turkey for every Syrian sent to Turkey. In the text of the plan, it is stated that human traffickers can be intercepted and migrated to Europe regularly.

The Europeans Want No More Foreigners in their Countries.

According to the research report titled "Actions Containing Racist and Foreign Affection for Turkey's Origins in Europe" byThe Commission for the Examination of Human Rights of the Turkish Grand National Assembly, the number of racist and xenophobic motivated actions detected in 10 European countries against the Turks in 2013 is 70. More than half of the actions took place in Germany; Germany is followed by Bulgaria, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and other countries with less actions when compared to this country. The actions are recorded as "attack", "arson" and "threat letter", which are the most common methods of actions. The other actions were recorded as "other". The events involving two or more types of actions were recorded according to only one action type. It is inferred from the report that racism and xenophobia are not few in Europe.

After World War II, which was one of the biggest destructions of history, a wide world geography from Japan to France was headed for development. In particular, Europe has begun a development push with its own resources as well as Marshall aids from the United States.

Many European countries, especially Germany, opened their doors to guest workers when various problems arose at the point of meeting the human power needed for the reconstruction of the cities that were ruined. In particular,the only remedy of Germany, which was left behind in the race of having nationalism and colonialism was to open its doors to these workers.

An integration problem arose during these periods, especially when the foreign workers employed in the construction sector and factories began to become permanent in the countries they came to. The problems of integration have caused racists, especially those who have been awakened in the 90s and started to gather at the extreme right extremes, to choose a new target for them. Two distinctions are needed at this point. The first is racist violence that results in a direct physical attack; the second is less intensive racist approaches such as not hiring people, not shopping at their workplace, and ostracizing from school just because they are migrants. The groups with racist tendencies under different names entered into the process of partition in countries such as France, Germany, England, Switzerland, Austria, Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden and Denmark, which had the most crowded immigrant communities in Europe when they were compared to the population. The ethnic groups targeted by racial violence also differ from country to country. In some countries, the minorities from former colonies are targeted. The Algerian descent in France, the Asian and Caribbean descent in England are the main targets of racist attacks. The immigrants and their families in some countries, Turks in Germany, Turks and Moroccans in Belgium are the elements of the target.

In Islam, Supremacy is in accordance with Piety not Race.

In many parts of the world, racism has caused great catastrophes, hundreds of thousands of people have been killed, humiliated, humiliated, enslaved after being taken away from their homes forcibly,and treated as an animal and eventually abandoned to death, and used as lab rats in drug experiments and their lives have been disregarded completely.

"Help ye one another in righteoutness and piety, but help ye not one another in sin and rancour and fear Allah." (Surat al-Ma'idah, 2)

For a person to acquire good moral and happiness, he must give up his selfish ambitions. It is the moral values of religion, which is the command of our Allah, that teaches man how to be like this. In the Qur'an, the responsibilities of human beings towards Allah and the moral values that must be followed for his purpose have been reported.

"Nay, - whoever submits His whole self to Allah and is a doer of good,- He will get his reward with his Lord ; on such shall be no fear, nor shall they grieve." (Surat al-Baqara, 112)

If a man believes in the commandments of Allah and the Book which Allah has revealed, and if he obeys, then he will be full of love, mercy, and compassion for mankind. Those who fear Allah, love Allah and obey His commands love people as being created by God, and do not make a distinction between them according to their races, nations, types, colors, and languages. They see a beauty created by God in each of them, and enjoy this beauty. Because of their beliefs, they become loving, compassionate, protective people. Allah has forbidden discrimination according to the races in the Qur'an and has said that people can gain superiority in Allah's Faith with their morals and beliefs:

"O mankind! We created you from a single pair of a male and a female, and made you into nations and tribes, that ye may know each other (not that ye may despise each other. Verily the most honoured of you in the sight of Allah is the mostrighteous of you. And Allah has full knowledge and is well acquainted with all things"(Surat al-Hujurat, 13)

One of the wisdoms of Allah creating different races, tribes, and nations on earth is the cultural exchange between them, and therefore a global cultural wealth. Allah reveals in the Qur'an that he has created different groups of people "so as to meet one another". (Surat al-Hucurat, 13)

According to the superstitious worldview of Social Darwinismpeople exist not for meeting but for conflict. Accordingly, the most important way of human progress is the conflict between races and nations. According to the illogical predictions of Social Darwinists, new discoveries will be made in order to gain superiority in the conflict between races, the more "civilized" and "superior" will prevail as a result, and so humanity will develop. Claiming that people will advance by fighting, murdering, slaughtering, crushing others and persecuting them is nothing but advocating the savage. From time to time,various disputes or problems may occur among people or communities. However, all of the problems can be solved easily by following peaceful methods. To think that the solution can come about by resorting to violence will not do anything other than to make the problem more intractable. Or it is a legitimate application to want to take measures that will protect the interests of the nations and their future. However, it is both illogical and out of conscience to set a policy by ignoring the rights of other nations or believing that their own benefits are from destroying others.

(Translated by: Yelda GÜRBÜZ)

Turkey - Spain – Bulgaria – Germany – Czech Republic

FIFTH SESSION

Chair: Prof. Dr. Osman AYDINLI

Doç.Dr. İhsan ÇAPÇIOĞLU	Ankara University/TURKEY

Otherization, Discrimination and Xenophobia
in the Western Public Opinion:
Observations and Recommendations for 'Islamophobia'

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Muhammed Ali YILDIZ	Bartın University/TURKEY

 Racısm in Islamic Faıth, Gnostic Tradition as an Antidote
To Racısm Threat and Akşemseddin Sample

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OTHERIZATION, DISCRIMINATION AND XENOPHOBIA IN THE WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION: OBSERVATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR 'ISLAMOPHOBIA'

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ihsan ÇAPCIOĞLU

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INTRODUCTION

Islamophobia is a novel concept that has come to be frequently voiced in the Western public opinion, particularly in the wake of the 9/11 attacks. In its broadest sense, this concept is used to describe "anti-Muslim sentiments and discrimination based on the fear of Islam."[256] It can be said that the concept of Islamophobia is closely related to xenophobia, meaning 'the fear of strangers'. Thus, xenophobia against Muslim individuals or groups can be considered as part of Islamophobia. In this sense, Islamophobia comprises not only hostility, but also otherizing and discriminatory fear, discrimination, prejudice and violent attitudes and behaviors against Islam and Muslims. While it refers to a modern phenomenon in the context of this general definition, the roots of the intercultural encounters which may be considered as the source of the Islamophobic discourse can be found in the ancient cultures of Europe and Asia. The meaning attributed to the concepts of "West" and "East" is important in these encounters. For many cultural historians, Rome, Greece and Christianity forms three major pillars of the historical foundations of the Western culture.[257] In other words, the roots of the cultural capital for the values of the Western world as well as the otherizing discourse targeting Muslims can be found in these pillars.

The first encounter between the Christian communities that were built upon Roman and Greek foundations and the Muslims who were the inheritors of the ancient eastern culture occurred in the 7th century with the advent of Islam. Numerous encounters have occurred since then. A major event in this encounter was the establishment of Al-Andalus by Muslim Umayyads who disembarked in Gibraltar. The establishment of Al-Andalus in Hispania led to major disruptions in Western perceptions of Islam as Muslims started to be perceived as Europe's archenemy.[258] This perception triggered a mutual power struggle in the following centuries and this struggle continued with increasing intensity until the 17th century when Europeans started to attain economic and technological superiority over Muslim communities of the East. The flourishing of the overseas trade as a result of colonialism in the 17th century and the radical transformation of mode of production as a result of the industrial revolution constituted a new turning point in the Eastern-Western confrontation. In the following centuries, the Muslim geography gradually lost its appeal for broad masses while the Western communities emerged as centers of economic and cultural attraction for the masses.

Islamophobia or the Story of New Encounters in the West

The first major massive migration movement in history is the Migration of Tribes in which the Huns migrated toward the west and settled in northern Black Sea region to escape the Chinese domination in the mid-4th century and in response, the Germanic tribes started to flee to, and conquer, the European continent, thereby laying the foundations of contemporary European states. Mass migrations that occurred

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256 M. Ali Kirman, "İslamofobinin Kökenleri: Batılı mı Doğulu mu?" (Origins of Islamophobia: Western or Eastern?), Journal of Islamic Research, (2010), 21 (1), p. 22.

257 M. Derviş Kılınçkaya, "Batı'nın Doğu Tasavvurundaki Değişim ve Türkler" (Change in the Western Conception of the East and Turks), Hacettepe Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi, (2005), Issue 3, pp. 7-8.

258 Seyfettin Aslan et al., "İslamofobi ve Batı Dünyasındaki Yansımaları" (Islamophobia and its Repercussions in the Western World), Dicle Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi, (2016), Year 8, Issue 16, p. 452.

between different regions due to a number of reasons throughout history paved the way not only for the expansion of existing settlements, but also for the establishment of new cities and countries. Mass migrations took on an overseas dimension with the discovery of the American continent. Huge numbers of people migrated to, and settled in, this continent with hopes of starting a new a life in the 16th century. Economic factors were the primary driving force of these migration movements. Between the 15th and 18th centuries, 15 million people were taken from Africa to be employed as slaves in the American continent; and in the 19th century, millions of people were sent from China and India to the American and European continents to be hired as workers on contract. In the 20th century, millions of people were displaced due to the two great world wars. [259]

To drive their recovery efforts in the wake of the Second World War, European countries began accepting immigrants from underdeveloped and developing countries as workforce. Migration can be defined as the change of settlement, voluntarily or involuntarily and for a short or long term, and it radically affects lives of individuals in social, political, economic, cultural and religious terms.[260] A large proportion of the immigrants who have to abandon their homeland due to driving sociocultural factors, particularly including economic ones, consist of those who came from the East. Muslim immigrants have come to Europe and the United States through migrations that have increasing become massive starting from 1960s and they have had to work generally as guest workers at low-income unskilled jobs under difficult conditions. In addition to economic difficulties encountered in this process, the "culture shock" to which people who migrated into a different cultural environment has emerged as a major problem. Culture shock is a concept used to describe the reaction individuals may exhibit in the process of adaptation to a new culture.[261] The intensity of this reaction may vary depending on individual characteristics. Therefore, it may disappear as individuals learn how to cope with differences or it may be exacerbated to the detriment of their lives if the cultural adaptation process fails.[262] Accordingly, individuals who are in the adaptation process need social support more than ever.

This process may be less problematic in the societies with strong intercultural communication or in a host culture that has practices which facilitate the process for immigrants. This cultural adaptation process for the Muslims who migrated to the West, however, consisted mostly of otherizing, discriminatory and hostile policies which were based on intercultural prejudices. Starting from the 1990s in particular, the number of people who argue that Muslims threaten European values and they will undermine the European culture over time to replace it with their own values has risen. The report titled "Islamophobia: A Challenge for Us All," published in 1997 by a commission which was formed by members of various religions under the sponsorship of the UK-based Runnymede Trust in 1996, argued that Islamophobia has existed in the Western countries for centuries, but become more salient and dangerous in recent years. The report claims that the Islamic culture is monolithic, not open to change and is distinct from other cultures. For the authors of the report, Muslims have barbaric, irrational, primitive and sexist attitudes. They also suggest that Muslims use their religious beliefs to promote their political and military interests. Therefore, they conclude, the criticisms Muslims hurl at the Western culture are worthless.[263]

259 Zeynep Aksoy, "Uluslararası Göç ve Kültürlerarası İletişim" (International Migration and Intercultural Communication), Uluslararası Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi, (2012), Vol. 5, Issue 20, p. 293.
260 Aksoy, "Uluslararası Göç ve Kültürlerarası İletişim" (International Migration and Intercultural Communication), p. 294.
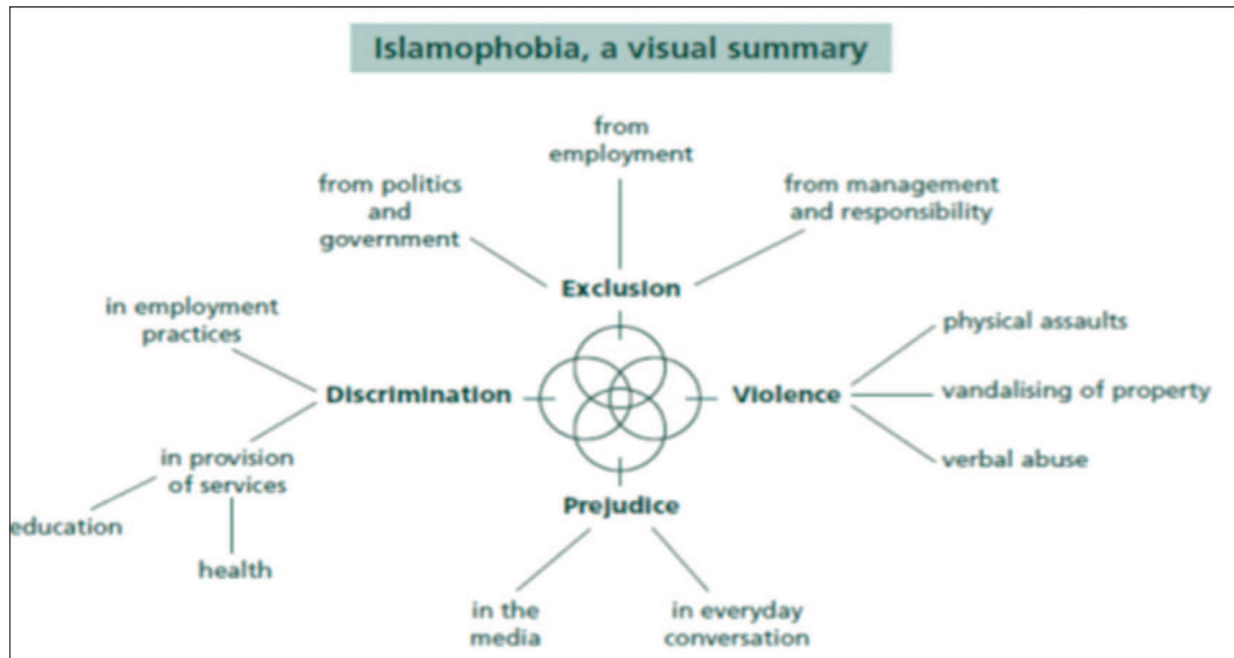261 Bozkurt Güvenç, İnsan ve Kültür (Man and Culture), Boyut Yayınları, Istanbul, 2010, p. 121.
262 Aksoy, "Uluslararası Göç ve Kültürlerarası İletişim" (International Migration and Intercultural Communication), p. 299.
263 Kadir Canatan, "İslamofobi ve Anti-İslamizm: Kavramsal ve Tarihsel Bir Yaklaşım" (Islamophobia and Anti-Islamism: A Conceptual and Historical Approach), pp. 19-62, Batı Dünyasında İslamofobi ve Anti-İslamizm (Islamophobia and Anti-Islamism in the Western World), (ed. Kadir Canatan and Özcan Hıdır), Eskiyeni Yayınları, Ankara, 2007, pp. 22-23.

The report examines not only the attacks and discriminatory policies particularly against Muslim immigrants or the Muslim minority in the 1990s in the UK, but also provides a number of solutions. It also draws attention to the problems Muslims face as a result of Islamophobia.[264]

Table 1: Overview of Islamophobia

Islamophobia, a visual summary

Exclusion
- from employment
- from politics and government
- from management and responsibility

Discrimination
- in employment practices
- in provision of services (education, health)

Violence
- physical assaults
- vandalising of property
- verbal abuse

Prejudice
- in the media
- in everyday conversation

As seen in Table 1 taken from the Runnymede Trust report, the Islamophobic issues in question can be grouped under four categories:

- Prejudice: in the media and in everyday conversation.
- Exclusion: from politics and government, from employment, and from management and responsibility.
- Violence: physical assaults, vandalizing of property, and verbal abuse.
- Discrimination: in employment practices, and in provision of services in education and health.[265]

September 11, 2011: A Turning Point

These issues of prejudice, exclusion, violence and discrimination have grown out of proportion and come to be justified with the "security concerns" in the wake of 9/11 attacks. "For instance, the distinction between "immigrants" and "host community" as used in the 1960s in the UK has evolved into a discriminatory and prejudicial perspective in the form of "strangeness" vs. "newness." Likewise, the word "auslander" was used to refer to Turkish immigrants in the 1970s in Western Germany. In the UK, Thatcher continually emphasized the privileges of the British in the 1980s. In France, Le Pen's National Front started to become more popular thanks to its anti-immigration policies."[266] To sum it up, in the 20th and 21st centuries, Europe's "aliens/others" are immigrants, refugees and cultural, religious and ethnic

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264 264 Aslan et al., "İslamofobi ve Batı Dünyasındaki Yansımaları" (Islamophobia and its Repercussions in the Western World), p. 453.

265 Founded in 1968, Runnymede Trust defines itself as a research center conducting independent studies toward the goal of a society consisting of pluralistic ethnic structures within the framework of equality- and justice-centered subjects. For the Runnymede Trust report prepared by the Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia in 1997, see http://www.runnymedetrust.org/uploads/publications/pdfs/islamophobia.pdf

266 Ahu Sumbas, "Batı Avrupa'da Yükselen Yeni-Irkçılık Üzerine Bir Deneme" (An Essay on Neo-Racism Emerging in Western Europe), Alternatif-Politika, (2009), Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 271.

minorities. Therefore, the discriminatory policies targeting aliens have been forged against these groups. In the West, ethnic groups and minorities used to be defined based on skin color until 1970s after which this classification was based on indigenousness and foreignness.

A report drafted on the status of Muslims in the Member Countries of the European Union by the European Union Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) reached the following CONCLUSIONs:[267]

- Many Muslims in Europe are faced with discrimination in employment, education and housing regardless of their ethnic identities and/or religious affiliations.

- Discrimination against Muslims can be attributed not only to Islamophobic attitudes, but also to racist and xenophobic attitudes which are intertwined with Islamophobia. Therefore, hostility against Muslims should be discussed with a broader scope, i.e., in the context of xenophobia and racism against immigrants and minorities.

- Notwithstanding the restricted data on religiously-motivated incidents, Muslims are vulnerable to manifestations of Islamophobia in the form of anything from verbal threats through to physical attacks.

- The available data show that educational achievement of Muslims in Europe falls below average and their unemployment rates are higher than average. They are disproportionately represented in areas with poor housing conditions. They are often employed in jobs that require lower qualifications and as a group they are over-represented in low-paying sectors of the economy.

- Many Muslims, particularly young people, face limited opportunities for social advancement, social exclusion and discrimination, which could give rise to hopelessness and alienation.

- Racism, discrimination and social marginalization pose serious threats to integration and social cohesion.

The report suggests that the available official figures should be reinforced in order to identify religion-based and religiously-motivated crimes. Currently, only Britain and Finland has mechanisms for collection forensic data showing the origins of victims of racist crimes. Only Britain publishes data that specifically define Muslims as victims of hate crimes. Official and unofficial information obtained from nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) indicate that Islamophobic incidents in some member states vary from verbal threats to physical attacks on people and property. The EUMC points out that it has identified Islamophobic incidents based on the internationally recognized standards on racist actions and in the context of ongoing work by the Council of Europe and the United Nations.

The cases of Islamophobia skyrocketed particularly after the 9/11 attacks and are on ascendancy in our time and we see that a negative image of Islam is getting stronger in the Western public opinion. The crisis that erupted when Prophet Muhammad was caricatured as a terrorist in a Danish newspaper named Jyllands-Posten on September 30, 2005 soon led to unfavorable incidents in Muslim countries. Likewise, the attempt by pastor Terry Jones to burn the Holy Qur'an and some other Islamic tokens in a church in Gainesville, Florida, in order to protest 9/11 attacks came to be remembered as one of the contemporary examples of hostile and otherizing attitudes of the West against Muslim symbols. Yet another example of this discriminatory and exclusionary attitude was the caricature depicting Prophet Muhammad in French weekly Charlie Hebdo. While examples can be multiplied, it would be better if causes of the discriminatory, otherizing and exclusionary attitudes against Muslims were discussed at this point. One of the major causes is certainly the increasing population of Muslims in the West.
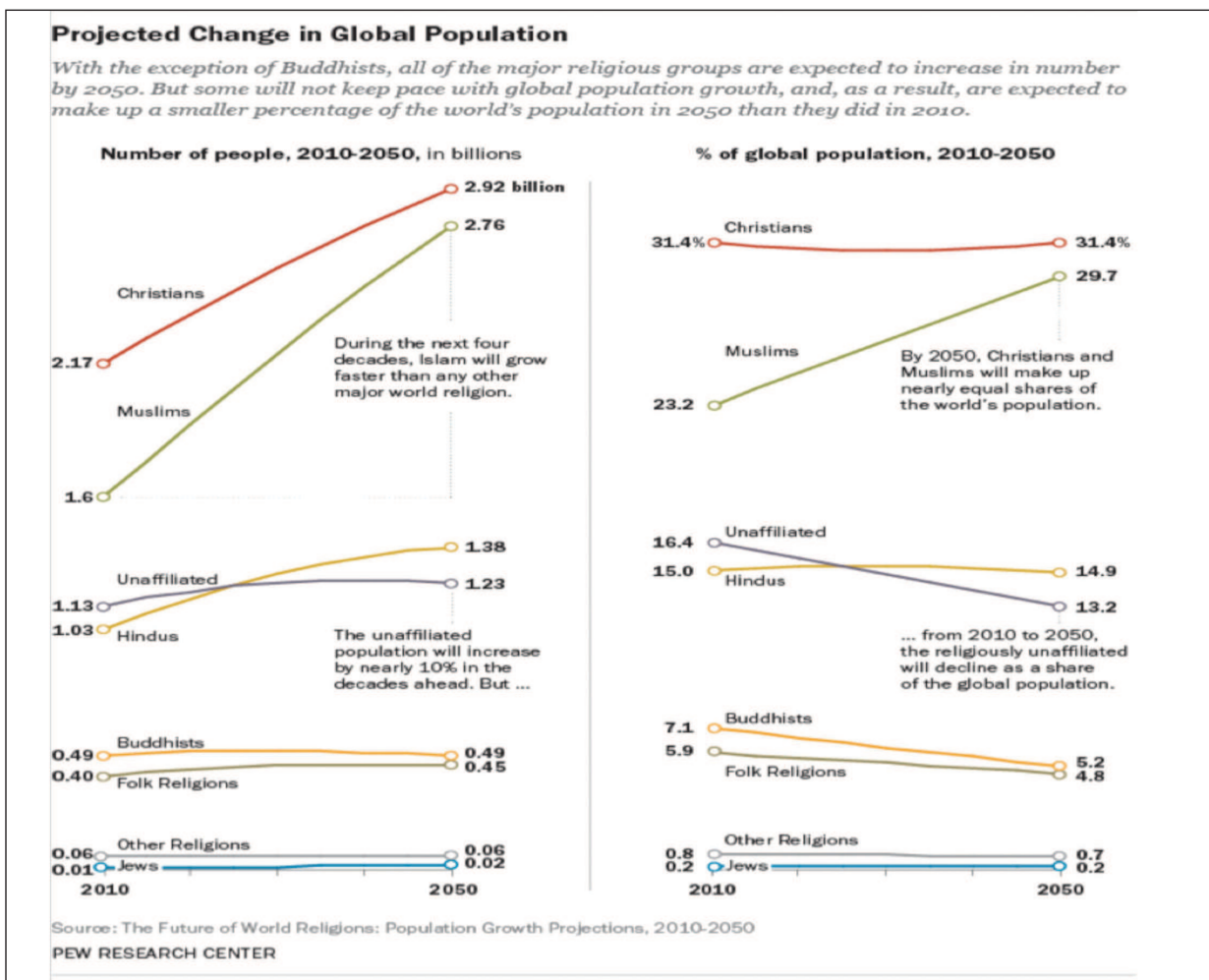
Today, 6% of Europe's population is Muslim and this rate continues to rise with each passing day. A recent study predicted that based on the current rate of increase, 8% of Europe's population will

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267 Muslims in the European Union - Discrimination and Islamophobia, European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, EUMC, 2006, pp. 7-8.

be Muslim by 2030.[268] As seen in the graph below, the report titled "The Future of World Religions: Population Growth Projections, 2010-2050," published by the Pew Research Center (PRC), predicts that the number of Muslims will nearly equal the number of Christians around the world. High fertility rates of Muslims are suggested as the main reason for this. Muslims have the highest fertility rate, an average of 3.1 children per woman, while Christians are second, at 2.7 children per woman. It is further suggested that by 2050, Muslims will make up 10% of the overall population in Europe and Muslims will be more numerous in the US than people who identify as Jewish on the basis of religion and India will retain a Hindu majority but also will have the largest Muslim population of any country in the world.

   As seen in the graph below, as of 2010, Christianity was by far the world's largest religion, with an estimated 2.2 billion adherents, nearly a third (31%) of all 6.9 billion people on Earth while Islam was second, with 1.6 billion adherents, or 23% of the global population. By 2070, the world's total population is expected to rise to 9.3 billion, and of this population, there will be 2,918,070,000 Christians and 2,761,480,000 Muslims. In other words, Christians and Muslims will make up 31% and 30% of the world population, respectively. By 2100, the total Muslim population will be 35% while Christians will make up 34% of the world population.

Graph 1: Population Growth Projections of World Religions, 2010-2050

Projected Change in Global Population

With the exception of Buddhists, all of the major religious groups are expected to increase in number by 2050. But some will not keep pace with global population growth, and, as a result, are expected to make up a smaller percentage of the world's population in 2050 than they did in 2010.

Source: The Future of World Religions: Population Growth Projections, 2010-2050
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

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268 PEW, "The Future of World Religions: Population Growth Projections, 2010-2050", Pew Research Center, http://www.pewforum.org/2015/04/02/religious-projections-2010-2050 Accessed on 20.03.2017.

Another reason for increased Islamophobia today is that Muslims have become more visible in Western societies in line with their increasing population. The resulting fears, concerns and antagonism have given rise to a new process. It is possible to find an attitude of anxiety in the face of Islam and Muslims among citizens of Western societies. This attitude apparently stems from global fears and concerns against Muslims. In essence, the source of the problem is not Islam, but the negative Muslim image which has proliferated in the Western public opinion in the wake of the 9/11 attacks. In this image, Muslims are virtually identified with violence and terror. In propagating this image, the traditional and modern media outlets emerge as effective propaganda mouthpieces (Arı, 2006: 382). These outlets are known to manipulate broad masses and their behaviors on a global scale using various propaganda techniques and written, verbal and behavioral symbols. At this point, the role of the media should be briefly mentioned. A study titled "Religion in the News: 2010," conducted by the US-based The Peace Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life, established in 2001, found that Islam and Muslims dominated that US press coverage of religion in 2010. The study results are noteworthy in two respects. First, the number of news stories that appeared on the US press about Muslims skyrocketed in the wake of the 9/11 attacks. Second, the news stories about Muslims contained more violence compared to those about other faiths. Indeed, virtually all the news coverage about Muslims in the US media focused on the September 11 terrorist attacks, the Middle East, the Arab Spring and Florida pastor Terry Jones.[269] With the manipulative power of this coverage, Islam has come to be perceived by an average Westerner as an essentially violent, irrational religion that has spread through wars and seeks to assimilate and eventually destroy the others. As noted by Kalın,[270] the underlying message of the setup is always the same: Islam is a threat to the very existence of the West. The fear of Islam (Islamophobia) in the Western subconscious has been fresh since the 9/11 attacks and it is continuously refreshed. So, what can be done to overcome this culture of fear which hardly contributes to the building of a common future, but fuels intercultural conflicts?

CONCLUSION and Suggestions

- First of all, we must note that Islamophobia --call it the Islamic threat, the anxiety of Islam, the fear of Islam or anti-Islam stance-- is a problem of Muslims, not of Islam. Therefore, Muslims urgently need to restore their image. This process of restoration should be supported by Westerners as well. This is because the current Muslim image that steams from intercultural prejudices is detrimental not only to Muslims, but also it makes permanent damages to the hopes of building a common future for humanity.

- Today, the total population of Muslims who live in Europe and most of whom are European Union citizens is larger than those of many European countries. Muslims have long been Europeans and European citizens. Therefore, Europe has to protect its Muslim citizens and treat them on an equal footing with other citizens and prohibit racist and discriminatory policies in order to preserve its common values.

- Europeans should protect them by advocating for human dignity, freedom, equality and solidarity, which are stated in the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union

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269 Melih Özsöz, 13 Dakika 51 Saniye'de İslamofobi (Islamophobia in 13 Minutes and 51 Seconds), İktisadi Kalkınma Vakfı Yayınları, Istanbul, 2012, p. 6.
270 İbrahim Kalın, İslam ve Batı (Islam and the West), İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi Yayınları, Istanbul, 2007.

as the values on which the EU is built. This is a fundamental requirement for the EU ideals that aim to place individuals at the very center of activities by creating zones of freedom, security and justice within the framework of the values that rely on democracy and rule of law. In this context, the fundamental rights and freedoms for ensuring that people can live with human dignity should be treated with an egalitarian and fair approach so as to inhibit any otherization, discrimination or exclusion among citizens.

- The measures that would facilitate intercultural exchange for eliminating the culture shock and identity problems Muslim immigrants may face in the process of integration with the European Union are needed. These measures should promote the beliefs, norms and values of the host culture while they are being supported with context that would facilitate the cultural adaptation process. This will pave the way for the opportunity of tolerant response to intercultural differences.

- As seen in the cartoon crisis, there are intercultural challenges in defining freedom of speech and hate crime. Sensibilities of practitioners of different religions must be taken into consideration in efforts to prevent intercultural and inter-religious conflicts. In this sense, insulting, humiliating and abusive manners and behaviors against the sacred values of religions must be avoided. This would contribute to the development a culture of mutual reconciliation among diverse cultures.

- It is not likely for any religion to endorse violence or terrorism. Given this fact, any insistence on efforts to associate Islam, Muslims and their cultures with violence will be to the detriment not only of Muslims, but also of Western values. Indeed, keeping silent in the face of proliferation of the violence rhetoric or, at least, failing to show sufficiently strong reaction against it would mean endorsing the threats against the very foundations of social trust and peace culture. Accordingly, any sensible person who cares about the future of humanity has to protest all sorts of violence without distinguishing between religions or cultures. A task for policy-makers would be to encourage masses to refuse all sorts of violence and save them from the grip of intercultural prejudices while formulating policies for raising their awareness for promoting high moral values.

- NGOs and voluntary organizations that act with a sense of social responsibility should continue to contribute to the elimination of intercultural prejudices with their projects. Such projects will pave the way for the establishment of mutual trust and peace by raising awareness about common values while mitigating the prejudicial, exclusionary, violent and discriminatory rhetoric.

- If steps are taken to facilitate mutual sharing of intercultural encounters, all differences will find an opportunity to come together under a common roof regardless of their language, religion, race, color, or gender. This will make us realize that we are not mindless masses brought together by necessities and coincidence, but we are part of a whole that share a common fate as the family of humanity. Eventually, we will stop perceiving each other as burdens, but understand that we are entrusted to each other as closely intermingling arms of the tree of humanity and that life is an invaluable gift to us as a tool for testing who will perform good and beneficial deeds.

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RACISM IN ISLAMIC FAITH, GNOSTIC TRADITION AS AN ANTIDOTE TO RACISM THREAT AND AKŞEMSEDDIN SAMPLE

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SHORT SUMMARY OF RACISM AND ETHNOCENTRISM

Since the first human Adam, historical sources clearly show us the existence of racial ties in small human communities as well as in large social masses. The fact that Israelites, who distorted the divine message sent by God and made it peculiar to their race, is one of the obvious historical examples of this situation. Racısm and the wars stemming from it before Islam were not easily overwhelmed even after Islam. Racial fanaticism, which slowly showed itself after the death of Mohammad (SAWS), rose again in the Rashidun caliphate. Thus, leaving the Islamic values aside, the efforts to establish a reign taking heart from racial ties re-emerged. Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphates are a bare example of this case. As for the Christian Europe, nationalism and chauvinism as a supplementary factor of haughty individualism emerged from the renaissance arose as a result of unbearable persecution of the medieval church. The nationalist movements peculiar to the West, which started to take shape within the European culture at the beginning of 19th century, found chance to become more systematized under the pressure of negative status. Moreover, these movements went so far in Hitlerite Germany under the harsh conditions of First World War that "fascist Hitlerite racism" which might be called blood tie-based racism was able to arise. Thus, this strict discriminatory racism imprinted the inhuman images of those who burned in the ovens on the minds of all. Likewise, Turanism movement that occurred as a hope of salvation during the fall of the Ottoman Empire also left misery, tears and death to thousands of people. Since we have given enough examples of countless murder and barbarity stemming from nationalist fanaticism that Human history witnessed to, now we deem it suitable to dwell on Islam's views on racism and ethnocentrism.

Islam's View on Racism and Ethnocentrism

Nationalism, in fact, means people's othering each other and supporting those people in all cases who are from his/her own faction, race, blood, clan, sect and disposition even though they are unjust. Besides, nationalism is thinking himself, his nation, his culture, his values and his language superior and distinguished than others. This kind of nationalism is strictly banned by Allah since it discriminates humanity. No doubt, the most dangerous type of nationalism that will lead to disintegration of humanity is blood, clan and race-based nationalism and this has occurred in different ways throughout the history. However, nobody has freedom of choosing his/her family, clan etc. According to Koran, the main source of Islam, Allah (God) created the mankind from male and female and made them peoples and tribes so we may know each other.[271] Allah did not create the people in tribes to fight and kill each other to establish superiority. Islam is a religion [272] appealing to all humanity and does not address to a certain race or nation. Islam is not a local religion. Islam does not classify people according to their sex, statute or nation. According to Islamic faith, superiority is only about man's intimacy/closeness to Allah in other words, it is about piousness (taqwa). This is the most important feature of Islam which makes it different than other

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271 Quran, Hucurat, 49/13.
272 Quran, Sebe' , 34/ 28.

religions. Allah says in many places of Holly Koran that the divine messages were not only sent for whole humanity but also sent for all universes.[273] From this aspect, Islam is a universal holly message which seems to have sent for all universes beyond human race. And yet, it is not true to make ethnocentrism hiding behind the statement of Arab nationalism, Turkish nationalism while Allah created the mankind in tribes/nations so they may know each other. Hence, Mohammad (SAWS) bluntly rejected the nationalism in his Farewell Sermon. Allah (cc) banned any kind of nationalism in order to unify humanity and orders us to avoid being divided.[274] There is an enormous analogy between this clear approach to racism and ethnocentrism and gnostic tradition which is existed within Islamic tradition and known as Sufism. Mevlana, who is famous for his word: "Come, come again no matter what you are infidel or magi, whether it be idolatrous come again. Our convent is not a place of despair, even if you broke your penitence a hundred times, come again", is an obvious example of gnostic tradition which is formed within the centre of Koran and Sunnah. At this stage, we would like to dwell on formation of gnostic tradition.

Formation of Gnostic Tradition and Akşemseddin Sample

Formation processes of gnostic tradition, which means Islam's spiritual and moral life, can be dealt in three periods, the first of these is "piety (zühd)", the second is "Sufism" and the last one is "sects (tarikat)". "Piety" is a period which covers the age of Mohammed (SAWS), companions of prophet Mohammed (SAWS), rashidun caliphate and "Tebeut tabiin"; in other words: "the golden age". In that age, Sufism wasn't existed yet. The second period, which is also known as Sufism, covers a three or four century starting from end of second century (hijri/exilic). The third period, which is named "sects", covers the age of hijri fourth century and later in which İbn-i Arabi, one of the biggest representatives of Sufism, was grown. Sufism is the essence and spiritual and moral aspect of Islam. In Sufi culture spiritual and moral perfection of a person is the base. Racial origin and ethnic group are not considered important in Sufi culture. While piety and piousness life that Sufism teaches had already been lived in "golden age"; in the following years, people fell into negligence and Muslim saints became spiritual leaders with their extraordinary efforts in order to awaken those people. Akşemseddin is one of the eminent Sufis who sophisticated within gnostic tradition and maintained Bayramiyye-Şemsiyye branch/order of Hacı Bayram's Bayramiyye sect. Akşemseddin was born in 1389 in Damascus. In the following years, Akşemseddin met Hacı Bayram Veli and won his favour in a short time. Upon the request of Murat II, the father of Fatih the Conqueror, Akşemseddin was employed for the tutorage of Fatih by Hacı Bayram Veli. He has given him the horizon about the conquest of Constantinople since his childhood. Finally, Constantinople was conquered and Akşemseddin was commemorated as the spiritual conqueror of Constantinople. Anatolia welcomed Akşemseddin and showed him a great respect. Akşemseddin visited many provinces of Anatolia such as Amasya, Çorum, Ankara, İstanbul etc. and educated many people. Besides, he managed to be a renowned doctor on these lands. Five hundred years before Pasteur, who is claimed to be the founder of microbe, Akşemseddin described the microbe in his work "Maddat ul-Hayat.[275]   Besides, he lived in Anatolia until the end of his life which welcomed him. He left numerous works. He deceased in Anatolia and was buried in Göynük, Bolu. Akşemseddin has never met ethnocentrism in these lands nor did he impose his race. Even hardly anybody knows the fact that he migrated from Damascus and settled in Anatolia. The Anatolians, who loves his heart and devoutness, adopted him as a part of themselves.

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273 Quran, Furkân, 25/1.
274 Quran, Âl-i İmrân, 3/103
275 Akşemseddin, Maddetü'l-Hayat, Library of Millet, Ali Emiri, Number: 126, İstanbul.

CONCLUSION

Racism and chauvinism are negative attitudes in terms of their consequences. Because they have brought nothing but cruelty, blood and tear through the human history. These attitudes have otherised the people. Especially the massacres and genocides because of the strict racist approaches and ethnocentrism are clearly known by everyone. When evaluated in the light of Koran and Hadiths, the main sources of Islam, error of racism and ethnocentrism are obviously seen. Notwithstanding that it is mentioned in the Koran that Allah created the mankind in different tribes and nations, the intention is people's knowing each other socializing. According to Islam, the existence of different culture and civilizations is richness. However, this should not lead establishing superiority over others. According to Islamic belief all the believers are brothers and sisters. Being Turk, Arab, English or German is not a measure of superiority. Superiority, in the presence of Allah, is about believing him and obedience to his orders; in other words, it is about piousness and closeness to him. Allah says in the Koran that: "We have not sent you, [O Mohammad], except as a mercy to the worlds." "O People!" addresses in Koran prove that Islam is supranational. The life stories and experiences of many Sufis who were sophisticated within gnostic tradition that revealed in the centre of Koran and Sunnah clearly show us that there is no room for racism and ethnocentrism in Islam. Sufi Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi, who became famous for his tolerance and embracement, is a universal personality with his globally known and widely read works. Besides, the life story of Sufi Akşemseddin, the spiritual conqueror of Constantinople, undoubtedly shows us how racism and ethnocentrism are contrast to Islam, Sufi and Anatolian culture. Akşemseddin, who migrated from Damascus and settled in Anatolia, was able to rise until the tutorage of president without being exposed to any racial discrimination and ethnocentrism. Even nowadays Anatolia, the motherland of Sufi culture, is embracing millions of refugees just to spite refugee crisis and ethnocentrism which is a reflection of this experience coming from the past.

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A REVIEW ABOUT THE EFFECT OF CORPORATE RELIGIOSNESS ON SELF-PERCEPTION OF DEVOTEE

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INTRODUCTION

Man is a social entity as much as it is in the mind. The presence of the person in a socio-cultural environment forces them to adopt the relationship styles that exist in the environment. In the process of socialization, human being adopts by learning the roles that are imposed on him by the society and he perceives himself through these roles. This role allows one to gain a position and respect in society as well as to contribute to self-awareness. Community / group "is a group of individuals with reciprocal duties and organizational ties that share certain values and behaviors; A group of people living together in a particular geographical area and in a common culture, within the framework of the basic aims and interests[276] " The learning of values that determine the background of people's choices and actions takes place through the social and cultural environment in which one was born and grew up. Because every person is influenced by the social structure in which he lives while building his own individual history, he is also influencing this structure and plays a role in the history of the society. Being a member of a society / group determines what one means to understand oneself, other people, the outside world, God, events, processes. In this meaningful process, each group focuses on the differences that distinguish oneself from the others, and this difference guarantees its continuity. In this respect, the group members describe themselves more "what they are" than "what they aren't". This identification process also determines how other community / group members will be perceived. Because the information formed in the group about the other group members takes place not based on the real and correct knowledge of the world, but which evolves within their own group. Thus, this means that prejudices and judgments are determinative and a false reality about the other is created in the process of judging the other. The group members who move with this perception locate the relationship that they have established with the other group / other through exclusionism, humiliation, and sometimes they can resort to hostility and physical violence. [277]

These findings, reflecting group psychology, are based on religion, sect, community, etc. It is also possible to say that it applies to religious structures / groups such as. What distinguishes religious group members from others is their own religious beliefs and ways of understanding. These groups are imposing and adopting the claim that their members have attained the truthful and perfect understanding of religion, as if they are staying at the point of life perceptions and judges. This understanding causes the other to be perceived negatively.[278] The fact that both the groups formed by different religions as well as the groups formed within the same religion operate on a negative perception of the relationship established with the other necessarily entails the question of "what is the function of religion?". Because religion itself, which establishes itself through the struggle for conflict, also presents its beliefs as an entity that is fed from the conflict, which it will draw with the other; Or on the basis of a consensus, which refers to human and moral ground, does it offer a worldview in which the religious people seek peace, peace and reconciliation? This question necessarily raises the question of the nature of religion. Religion can

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276 Türkçe Bilim Terimleri Sözlüğü Sosyal Bilimler, Turkish Academy of Sciences, Ankara 2011, p.1142

277 Hayati Hökelekli, "Müslüman ve Öteki: Farklı Dini Grupların Birbirini Anlama Biçimi", Kur'an-ı Kerimde Ehl-i Kitap Tartışmalı İlmi Toplantısı, İstanbul 2007, p. 405-406

278 Asım Yapıcı, Kadir Albayrak, "Ötekini Algılama Bağlamında Dini Gruplar Arası İlişkiler", Dini Araştırmalar, 2002, Vol:5, No:14, p.37.

be defined in the most general sense as the totality of the principles set by God for the happiness of man in the world and hereafter. In this respect, religions constitute one of the indispensable elements of both individual and social well-being. It is also a historical fact that a phenomenon based on happiness, peace, and peace is used as an element of conflict, separation, exclusion, and othering. In the process, religion has lost its primary function and has been transformed into a source of conflict, alienation and violence. In this context, the primary question is the nature of the nature of the question and its function, and the other important question is the reason for the inversion of meanings / expressions and actions for the purpose of the existence of religion.

"The main reason for the revelation of religion is to rebuild social within the framework of fundamental universal values such as justice, freedom, equality of rights, mutual respect. In this respect, religions are modernizing, innovating and transforming.[279] " Religion is also a part of change because people in the process change the communities through people and depend on people's understanding. The problem is that any form of this change is institutionalized and absoluteized at any time. This institutionalization and absoluteization poses a problem for both members of the same religion, other religions and who do not recognize God. Being in the religious circle in this factual situation does not solve the problem and if you do not think in accordance with the "understanding of the right sect", it causes your deviant to be treated as a disbeliever and to implement some of the laws and regulations determined in the name of religion.[280] Contrary to the internalization process based on a rational basis on which religion, voluntarism and individual persuasive processes are operated, religion is transformed into formal applications devoid of content with fear of criminal sanction. This discourse of idolatry and its action, which has become evident through institutionalization in religion, reflects the related discourses and actions established with the persons and groups considered outside religion.

Believers have made through by these institutional religious structures in society and potential othering everybody who is non-believer to understand of religion they have come. The decisive element in corporate religiousness processes belongs to this person, and this person builds self / self consciousness on the basis of this belonging. Those existing within the same group / structure describe relations with each other through common structures and experiences, and identify differences and differences on the relationship within the other. It is obvious that in the process institutional religiousness is more accepted and supported in the process, depending on the power of the political authority. Persons must gain not only the belief that they are members / members of a sect / church and but also must live the requirements of their religion under the guidance of this work. The individual beliefs of persons are only legitimized and approved, depending on the membership of any institutional religion / sect / church.[281] This is true for Judaism, Christianity and Islam in the tradition of the covenant.[282] It should not be overlooked that this situation is closely related to the understanding of religion, state, society and freedom at the time. Because the institutional religiosity is the result of subjecting sacred books to an ideological reading. From this point of view, institutional religions build themselves on ideology and show radical tendencies.

Othering through institutional religion is the practice of all mankind, nations, religions; In particular, the neighbors, the families, the individual, the human being, the meaning and the value of human being. The actual situation we are in is the fact that some people do not see as many people as themselves and do not accept as much as they have the right to life. What is the way to accept others as much as we are? Is it because people are human beings, or is it because they think, behave and live like us? What

279 Şaban Ali Düzgün, Çağdaş Dünyada Din ve Dindarlar, Lotus Publishing., Ankara 2012, p. 17-18
280 Muammer Esen, "Tekfir Söyleminin Dinî ve İdeolojik Boyutları", Journal of Theology Faculty of Ankara University, Vol:.52, No:.2, 2011, pp. 97-110.
281 Niyazi Akyüz ve İhsan Çapcıoğlu, "Dini Tecrübenin İfade Şekilleri", Din Sosyolojisi El Kitabı, (ed. Niyazi Akyüz ve İhsan Çapcıoğlu), 3. Baskı, Grafiker Publihing, Ankara 2015, ss. 53-56.
282 Hans Freyer, Din Sosyolojisi,Trans.. Turgut Kalpsüz, Ankara University Printing House, Ankara 1964, ss. 52-6; Joachim Wach, Din Sosyolojisi, Trans. Ünver Günay, Erciyes University Divinity Faculty Publishing, Kayseri 1990, ss. 296-308.

This process, meaning the reconstruction of man, deeply affected the environment, culture and the world of mind. Now, instead of describing itself as relative to ancestry, it has begun to define itself through its own identity. In the process, we have a language, some belongings and have acquired a secondary meaning. It seems that a change of paradigm that traditional identification and other consciousness has become the place of the individual and the individual differences is beginning.[287] Accordingly, the "we and the other" area of discourse and action becomes the discourse and action of " I and you".

This transformation that takes place in the human mind that emerged with the idea of enlightenment is also compatible with the basic paradigm of Islam. Islam is addressing the individual and aims to develop behavioral change depending on volunteerism. On the basis of this goal are the concepts of mind, freedom, individual responsibility and account that God gives to human beings and human beings.

This refraction created by the Illumination has gained momentum with modernity and globalization. However, this change and transformation has not always occurred in the form of positive evolution. On the contrary, the most important demonstration of evolution that is violence and acts of terror have gained a global dimension. Just as in the historical process, religion is also used as a means of preventing and legitimizing violence. There is no direct connection between religion, violence and terrorism. However, today, religion, violence and terrorism are linked more to victimization. Victims who are unable or unwilling to adapt to social change perceive the changing environment and processes as unsafe and perceive them as threats to their own being. The way to get rid of this insecure environment or to be able to survive in this environment is manifesting itself through radical religious tendencies. The difficulties suffered by the victims ensure that the relationship they establish with themselves is legitimized on the basis of prejudice, othering, hindrance, deprivation and self-justification.[288] The future perspectives of those who perceive themselves as victims are based on fear / uncertainty. The most important manifestation of this existential void is to create fear. The most important effect of the institutional religious structures is that it allows people to legitimize their actions. In fact, this is not the religion but the problem of man.

Religion, which is one of the means of realizing people's assets, is seen as the sole responsibility of the process, creating a negative discourse about religion and believers. In this process, the most important task usually is on all believers, especially on Muslims. For this reason, all Muslims have to consider what they believe, how they transform their religious beliefs they believe into, and how these behaviors are reflected in society. This process will enable religious people to re-encounter "religion" and to re-open their understanding of religion. This possibility will manifest in the eyes of the religious understandings imposed by institutional religious structures and the separation of religion and religious understandings.

The social reality we live in provides us the opportunity to live together from people of different ethnic backgrounds and cultures. This possibility and diversity are a wealth. The Qur'an presents this diversity as evidence of God's existence.[289] From the perspective of the future of mankind, it is important that this evidence is perceived by Muslims. Being based on the same ancestor and belonging to the revelation tradition represented by this appointment is our common value. A relationship form based on these common values will not only allow us to recognize each other and but also contribute to each other. In this context, it is important that each individual has a relationship with other religions. This relationship will either be determined by the perspective of institutional religion, or it will be found on a human and moral basis. Religious individuals who perceive themselves through institutional religiosity

287 Celal Türer, "Ortak Yaşamlar Ortak Ölçütler" Ortak Yaşama Kültürü ve Felsefesi, edt. Celal Türer, Turkish Philosophical Society, Ankara 2015, p. 365

288 Hasan Onat, "Küresel Şiddet ve Terör: İnsan Olma Onuruna Vurulan Darbe", Dini Araştırmalar, 2004, Vol: VII, No: 20, pp. 19-30.

289 THE INNER APARTMENTS (AL-HUJURÁT) 49/13

live with people who do not adopt the same religious belief, lifestyle as their social reality. Today, when people with different ideas have much more interaction, it seems that this is a big dilemma.[290] In this case, the individuals will have to limit himself or herself within the framework of principles that institutional religions have established, or re-examine the theological background given to him based on reason, conscience and common sense, based on social reality.

Discretionary, conscientious and moral religious people who are aware that the confrontation proposed by corporate religiousism which does not produce a solution realizes that the basic paradigm of this process is to protect humanity and human dignity. This awareness is to come across the religion with the sacred book of which the individual belongs. This encounter is directed at asserting that the person proposes that religion is conflict or consensus. These process and effort can be perceived as a process that works in favor of individual religiosity, which contributes to the consciousness of religiosity of religions. This knowledge-based criticism activity will also help religion protect its own reality. The main point of movement in reaching this consciousness is the separation of religion and religious beliefs / corporate religiousness. The common value of all of us is to be primarily human beings and that we consider our religious acceptance in particularly our means of realizing our existence. Being based on the same ancestor and belonging to the revelation tradition represented by this appointment is enough to leave no space for another partnership. This partnership offers the possibility of building a more livable world based on human dignity for all people.

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290 See more information . Asım Yapıcı, Din, Kimlik ve Önyargı, Karahan Bookstore Adana 2004.

QUR'ANIC PERSPECTIVE ON RACISM AND XENOPHOBIA

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INTRODUCTION

The Holy Qur'an is the last divine book sent down 14 centuries ago to address all humanity. While the Qur'an was being sent down in parts, the Companions of the Prophet would implement the verses in their lives with the guidance of the Prophet. The gradual revelation of the Qur'an lasted for approximately 23 years. In this lengthy process, the content of the divine message was shaped according to people's varying ways of life as the first addressees of the Qur'an went through an educational process. Consequently, the first addressees necessarily changed their habits, customs and traditions. These people were offered a new way of life and they can be considered as the people who understood the Qur'an most correctly and applied its injunctions in their lives in the most fitting manner. In this regard, in making any assessment regarding any matter related to the Qur'an, we need to understand these people in their historical setting and draw parallels between their time and ours. Considering the fact that the Qur'anic verses "were revealed in parallel to the varying and dynamic structure in the life experiences of the first addressees,"[291] we need to make use of the Qur'anic exegesis as performed by those who understood it in the most accurate manner and find out the meaning of the Qur'an's verses in the very historical setting when they were revealed.[292] This requirement aside, we cannot make definite deductions from any verse in the Qur'an in order to "identify the connotative framework and lexical meanings of words within diverse sentences and comprehend new senses they acquire in the Qur'anic system." Therefore, it is essential that we take other verses on the same matter into consideration so that the integrity of the Qur'an is respected.[293]

Based on these principles, the Qur'an's verses related on racism and xenophobia should be assessed in the light of the views of Qur'an commentators. Sura al-Hujurat notes that human beings were created so that they can get to know and mingle with each other, stressing that no difference can be asserted among people. In addition, Sura al-Maidah prescribes that hatred or antagonism one may feel toward any social or other group should not keep one from treating that group fairly. These verses generally draw attention to equality, fraternity and friendship on an individual basis while placing emphasis on solidarity and trust on a societal basis. However, a holistic approach to the Qur'an would reveal the existence of the verses that may lend support to counterarguments against the connotations of the concepts such as fraternity, friendship and equality. In this context, the existence of the verses enjoining war against polytheists paves the way for the argument that Islam is a religion that encourages war. The war the Qur'an refers to should be correctly interpreted by taking into consideration the verses describing the very conditions when such a war can be waged. Therefore, the Qur'an's teachings on this important matter should be considered with two different perspectives.

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291 Halis Albayrak, Tarihin İçinden Kur'an'ı Algılamak (Perceiving the Qur'an through History), (Istanbul, Şule yay., 2011), p. 9.

292 Halis Albayrak, Tarihin İçinden Kur'an'ı Algılamak (Perceiving the Qur'an through History), p. 9; Mustafa Öztürk, Tefsirin Halleri (States of Qur'an Commentary) (Ankara, Ankara Okulu yay, 2013), p. 30.

293 Halis Albayrak, Kur'an'ın Bütünlüğü Üzerine (On the Qur'an's Integrity),, (Istanbul, Şule yay., 2009), p. 48.

1. Interpretation of Verses 13 of Sura al-Hujurat and Verse 8 of Sura al-Maidah in terms of Fraternity

In the Qur'anic verse where fraternity among people who were created in clans, Glorious God enjoins: "O humankind! Surely We have created you from a single (pair of) male and female, and made you into tribes and families so that you may know one another (and so build mutuality and co-operative relationships, not so that you may take pride in your differences of race or social rank, or breed enmities). Surely the noblest, most honorable of you in God's sight is the one best in piety, righteousness, and reverence for God. Surely God is All-Knowing, All-Aware." [294]

Commenting on this verse, Tabari argues that man is created from a male and a female, namely Adam and Eve. He notes that all human beings have descended from the same lineage. Here, he adds, Glorious God draws attention to the fact that the reason why He created lineal affinity or distance and tribes or nations is that He wants us to get to know each other and intermingle, not that we should act as if we were superior to others or oppress them. Tabari underlines the verse's emphasis on the fact that all human beings are sisters and brothers of each other as they have all descended from the same parents. Thus, he indicates that no nation can claim superiority over another in terms of lineage or racial factors. Supremacy is something that can be attained in the eyes of God only by obeying God's commandments and injunctions. Therefore, Islam strictly prohibits racism or tribalism.[295]

Tabari narrates that the Prophet uttered the following in this connection: "Verily All-Glorious and All-Majestic God prohibited you from acting with arrogance or boasting with your ancestors as you would do in Age of Ignorance (jahiliyya). People are either pious believers or rebellious dissolute ones. You are descendants of Adam, and Adam descended from soil. Certain people should stop boasting with their tribes as they are nothing but coals for Hell."[296]

"Whoever deviates from submission, leaves the community and dies in this manner dies the death of the Age of Ignorance (jahiliyya). Whoever dies by calling for tribalism, supporting tribalism and fighting under a blind flag dies the death of the Age of Ignorance."[297] In his commentary on the verse, Tabari uses the hadith to reinforce his view that all people are sisters and brothers of each other through a lineal union. In this regard, racism, tribalism or any claim of supremacy of one group over other are strictly prohibited. Another verse on the matter reads:

"O you who believe! Be upholders and standard-bearers of right for God's sake, being witnesses for (the establishment of) absolute justice. And by no means let your detestation for a people (or their detestation for you) move you to (commit the sin of) deviating from justice. Be just: this is nearer and more suited to righteousness and piety. Seek righteousness and piety, and always act in reverence for God. Surely God is fully aware of all that you do."[298] Racism and adoption of racist perspectives may lead to injustice in a society. It follows that God forbids racism as it breeds injustice.

Razi explains that the verse's injunction is universal as it concerns all human beings. He lists a number of possibilities why this verse was revealed. This verse was sent down to teach believers how to treat unbelievers. God cautions Muslims about the way they may treat polytheists, given the fact that unbelievers from the Quraysh prevented Muslims from visiting the Sacred Mosque (Masjid al-Haram). At this point, Razi discusses several possibilities about how Muslims may oppress polytheists. Muslims may oppress unbelievers if they do not believe them when they declare that they become Muslims. They oppress un-

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294 Sura al-Hujurat, 49: 13.

295 Tabari, Jami'a'l-Bayan 'an Ta'wili Ayi'l-Qur'an, (Daru'l Hijr, Cairo, 2001), vol. 21, pp. 383-387.

296 Tabari, Jami'a'l-Bayan, vol. 21, p. 384; Abu Dawud, K. al-Adab, chapter 110, Hadith no. 5116; Tirmidhi, K. al-Manakib, chapter 75, Hadith no. 3955, 3956; Ahmad b. Hanbal, Musnad, vol. 2, p. 361.

297 Tabari, Jami'a'l-Bayan, vol. 21, p. 384; Muslim, K. al-lmara, chapter 53, Hadith no: 1848.

298 Sura al-Maidah, 5: 8.

believers by killing their small kids to cause sorrow for their parents. They may victimize polytheists by mutilating their organs. They may tyrannize unbelievers by not abiding by the agreements they make with them. [299]

"Be just: this is nearer and more suited to righteousness and piety," God enjoins in this context. God prohibits Muslims from treating any group unfairly even if they have been mistreated by them. In this way, Muslims are banned from letting their negative attitudes toward a group do injustice to them and they are clearly ordered to be just. Razi notes that the sentence "this is nearer and more suited to righteousness and piety" is similar to the sentence in another verse, "this is nearer and more suited to piety."[300-301] In other words, it is nearer and more suited to avoiding rebellion against God. Or it protects from God's torment better. It is more pious to treat unbelievers with justice and refrain from treating them differently just because their disbelief.[302]

2. Discussion of Verses on War in terms of Xenophobia

The Holy Qur'an underlines that all human beings have descended from the same parents. It points out that this bond is antidote to racism and xenophobia. In discussing this matter, the existence of verses on war in the Qur'an poses a challenge for explaining how war can be justified. How can the Qur'an wage war against unbelievers while stressing fraternity and friendship in other verses? The answer to this question can be found by identifying the very conditions in which war can be opted for.

"Fight in God's cause (in order to exalt His Name) against those who fight against you, but do not exceed the bounds (set by God), for surely God loves not those who exceed the bounds." (While at war) kill them wherever you come upon them, and drive them out from where they drove you out (thus recovering your lands from their usurpation). (Though killing is something you feel aversion to,) disorder (rooted in rebellion against God and recognizing no laws) is worse than killing. Do not fight against them in the vicinities of the Sacred Mosque unless they fight against you there; but if they fight against you (there), kill them — such is the recompense of the (rebellious) unbelievers." [303]

In the foregoing verses, God lists the reasons for fighting polytheists. Referring to the sentence, "but if they fight against you (there), kill them," Nasafi argues that this is an injunction on Muslims not to be the first to start war.[304] In other verses, Muslims are called on to fight against the polytheists who wage war on them. The following verse confirms this: "Nevertheless, fight all together against those who associate partners with God just as they fight against you all together." Indeed, in this verse, it is the polytheists who declare war on Muslims. Of course, Muslims are entitled to protect themselves when they are attacked.[305]

One of the most controversial verses regarding war is: "And (if they still persist in unbelief and hostilities) fight against them until there is no longer disorder and oppression rooted in rebellion against God, and the whole of religion (the full authority to order the way of life is recognized) for God exclusively."[306] At first glance, it appears that this verse calls on Muslims to be in continuous war against unbelievers. However, identifying the correct meaning of the word "disorder" (fitnah) is crucial for correctly making

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299 Razi, Tafsir-i Kabir, (Daru'l Kitabul Ilmiyye, Tehran, undated), vol. 11, p. 180.
300 Sura al-Baqarah, 2: 237.
301 Razi, Tafsir-i Kabir, vol. 11, p. 180.
302 Razi, Tafsir-i Kabir, vol. 11, p. 180.-181.
303 Sura al-Baqarah, 2: 190-191.
304 Nasafi, Madariku't-Tanzil wa Hakaiku't-Ta'wil, ed. Yusuf Bideyvi, (Dar-u Ibn-i Kathir, Beirut, 2011) vol. 1, p. 165; see Mehmet Akın, Nesefi Tefsirinde Müşkilu-l Kur'an (Challenges in Nasafi's Qur'an Commentary), unpublished doctoral dissertation, Ankara, 2016, pp. 101-104.
305 Sura at-Tawbah, 9: 36.
306 Sura al-Anfal, 8: 39.

sense of this verse. "Fitnah consists of associating partners with God, disbelief and polytheists' pressures on Muslims to make them jettison their belief."[307] Fitnah can further be defined as the discourse, acts and behaviors which may lead to chaos or turmoil in society. In this context, if acts of unbelievers amount to wars or attacks, then Muslims can wage war against them.[308] In such cases, it is the unbelievers who start the war by engaging in fitnah. The verse condones the war against polytheists in such a setting.

Tabari is of the opinion that the "fitnah" in this verse means associating partners with Allah and indulging in disbelief. However, he suggests, polytheists did this not for their own sake, but in order to make believers go astray. Thus, they urged believers to abandon the religion and deny Allah and exerted pressures on them to this end. In response, Allah ordained war against polytheists for their acts that led to fitnah. What Tabari narrates from Urwah ibn Zubayr is crucial for understanding the very environment when this verse was revealed: "When our Prophet was assigned by Allah as His Messenger, Qurayshis initially treated him leniently. However, when our Prophet rejected what they were worshiping, their attitude toward him became cruel. In addition, they started to oppress believers and exerted pressures on them to make them apostatize. In the face of this persecution, our Prophet ensured that some believers migrated to Abyssinia (Ethiopia). After a while, these believers returned to Mecca and as their number grew, the polytheists resumed their campaign to forcefully make believers jettison their faith. This time, the Prophet gave believers permission to migrate to Medina. Then, Allah revealed His commandment to fight against unbelievers. Glorious Allah enjoined war against the polytheists who forced believers to abandon the religion until the end of this fitnah.[309]

War is waged against the polytheists not because of their disbelief, but because they compelled believers to apostatize through sedition. By doing so, this compulsion amounts to war waged against believers. If God had really wanted believers to fight unbelievers on account of their disbelief, then He would not have revealed the following verses:

"The truth from your Lord (has come in this Qur'an). Then, whoever wills (to believe), let him believe; and whoever wills (to disbelieve), let him disbelieve." [310]

"If your Lord had so willed (and, denying them free will, compelled humankind to believe), all who are on the earth would surely have believed, all of them. Would you, then, force people until they become believers?" [311]

"There is no compulsion in the Religion."[312]

In these verses, God guarantees that all people can make up their mind in believing or not in their own will. Therefore, no one can be subject to compulsion for his disbelief. Moreover, such a compulsion would be unacceptable in terms of purpose of creation of human beings or assessing their deeds as sins and good deeds. Accordingly, the verses in the Qur'an cannot be interpreted as allowing believers to attack others without their being attacked or convert unbelievers to Islam by force.

CONCLUSION

The Qur'an defined man as the most meritorious of all creation. Despite this merit, people may fall prey to arrogance and start to think themselves and their race as superior to others. However, the Qur'an forbids people from claiming superiority over other people or groups or adopting hostile attitudes toward them in human relations. Verse 13 of Sura al-Hujurat underlines that all human beings have descended from the same lineage and they bonded to each other in fraternity. Verse 8 of Sura al-Maidah cautions us to stick to justice even in the face of the unfavorable behaviors from others. Thus, we are denied the

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307 Mustafa Çağrıcı, "fitne" (dissention), DİA, TDV yay., vol. 13, p. 156.

308 Mualla Selçuk, Halis Albayrak, Nahide Bozkurt, Kur'an ve Birey (Qur'an and Individual), (Ankara, Turhan Kitabevi, 2010), pp. 78-106.

309 Tabari, Jami'a'l-Bayan, vol. 11, pp. 180-182.

310 Sura al-Kahf, 18: 29.

311 Sura Yunus, 10: 99.

312 Sura al-Baqarah, 2: 256.

right to adopt hostile attitudes as regards attitudes or behaviors we do not like. War can be waged against unbelievers only if they start war against believers by engaging in fitnah (dissension) to make believers apostatize by compulsion. In this case, it is the unbelievers who start the war. By setting people free in making their minds for belief or disbelief in a number of verses, the Qur'an eliminates potential hostilities among people. In this context, the Qur'an prohibits attitudes, behaviors and tendencies related to racism and xenophobia. Instead, people are told to develop emotions of friendship, fraternity and compassion as all people are created by Allah.

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DIVERSITY IN THE EUROMEDITERRANEAN REGION – A CHALLEGE OR AN OPPORUNITY FOR DEVELOPMENT

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INTRODUCTION

The Euro- Mediterranean region is characterized by its complexity, diversity and plurality being either a thread or an opportunity for leading an intercultural dialogue and sharing a common space for peaceful co-existence.

Centuries of living and interacting together have steadily built and defined common virtues and values that nations and communities throughout the Euro-Med Region share. The Region has always been a cross road of cultures, religions, ethnicities and does not simply refer to a geographical location. It's much more than that as it implies very distinct cultural identities, a set of virtues and values underlying the social behavior and the political mindset.

The region has always been in the center of rapid changes (political, social and economic) and dynamic transformation deeply impacting all fields of life and leaving a trace on communities' and personal life.
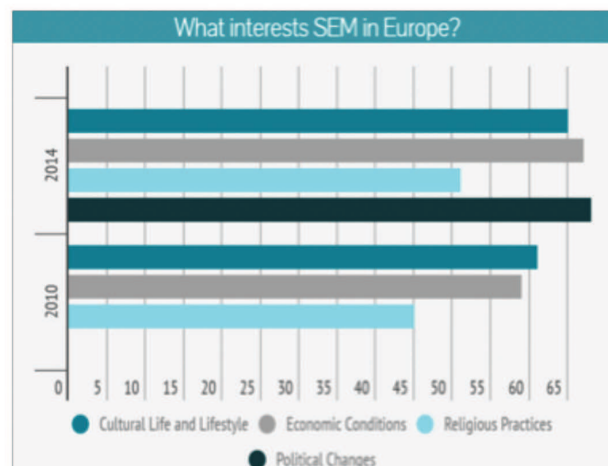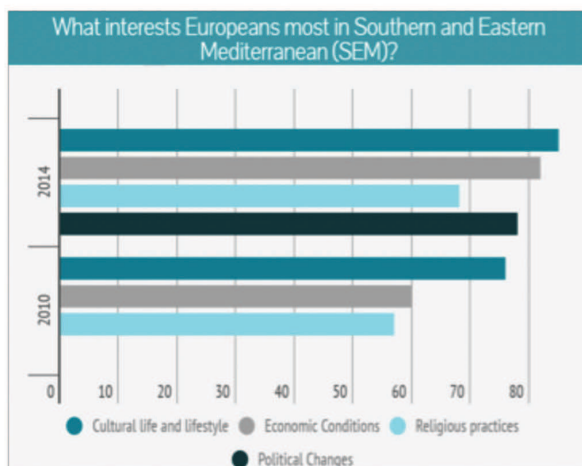
I will present the Region throughout the prism of the recent historic events – the Arab Spring on the south shore and the economic and political crises on the north. Anna Lindh Foundation, being a major instrument for leading an intercultural dialogue, is surveying the attitudes and perceptions of the Euro-Mediterranean citizens every three year trying to answer crucial questions raised by the 2010 Report: Is the Mediterranean a popular and social reality? Can we talk about convergence of values or conflict of values? What is the nature of interactions between Euro-Mediterranean citizens? The second edition of the Anna Lindh Report tackles this paradoxical situation with scientific data and in-depth analysis on the evolution of values and perceptions in the region. Conceived from the very beginning as a tool for knowledge but also as an instrument for the intercultural action of the Foundation and its Networks, the Report confirms that, within most of the countries and in the region as a whole, the values-set is experiencing a positive and converging evolution. It tells us about the complexity of the current context, with cultural trends showing new opportunities for dialogue and coexistence and others which might fuel exclusion if they are not reversed.

As Claire Spencer underlines in her contribution, the Survey carried out in 2014 by Gallup in 13 Euro-Mediterranean[313] countries shows that 'there is a growing appetite for mutual knowledge and understanding'. This renewed appetite, which is in line with the growing demand for exchanges, mobility, and personal contact, is a very encouraging trend. It shows that despite the scarce results of the process of regional integration, and the political tensions existing at the sub regional level, what prevails at the bottom of the societies is a movement in favour of knowing more about the others and sharing with them concerns and possible solutions. This interest in approaching the other is particularly relevant in the religious field where the Survey shows a growth of mutual interest in the religious beliefs of those living on the opposite shore of the Mediterranean.

This CONCLUSION confirms one of the main findings of the first Report (2010) which established that the region is not victim of a 'clash of civilisations' but rather a 'clash of ignorances' based on historical stereotypes and the 'culturalisation' of social and political conflicts promoted by some media and political discourses.

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313 Albania, Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Ireland, Italy, Poland, Spain, Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Tunisia and Turkey

A GROWING APPETITE TO KNOW MORE ABOUT THE MEDITERRANEAN

What interests Europeans most in Southern and Eastern Mediterranean (SEM)?

● Cultural life and lifestyle ● Economic Conditions ● Religious practices
● Political Changes

What interests SEM in Europe?

● Cultural Life and Lifestyle ● Economic Conditions ● Religious Practices
● Political Changes

Nevertheless, this 'growing appetite' for interacting with the other appears beside another data which might constitute a challenge for fostering dialogue and cooperation. It is the fact, identified by Sara Silvestri, that 'half of the population of the entire region thinks that diversity is a threat for social stability'. Such a result, which seems to have increased slightly in the last years, on both shores of the Mediterranean, is particularly worrying bearing in mind that diversity is a growing reality in all the region, fuelled by human movements, technological changes and social and cultural transformations. Considering diversity a peril will make more challenging the work of those, like the Anna Lindh Foundation and all the civil and institutional actors, who are trying to present diversity as a potential richness. The perception of diversity within the societies as a threat is a reality in some European countries, fuelled by the lack of common and efficient policies to manage migration flows, and by the rising of populist approaches which are exploiting the complexity of migrants' integration. It is also a growing reality in most of the southern countries of the Mediterranean basin, which are becoming net receivers of migrants coming from sub-Saharan Africa. Attitudes against the other who lives in our neighborhood and communities are on the rise on both shores, and they affect not only migrants, but also other minorities - ethnic, religious or cultural.

Both trends, the positive one, expressing the desire of more cross Mediterranean interaction, and the one which shows suspicion and fear about the neighbour who is different, should be read carefully by all involved stakeholders with the purpose to adapt their strategies and programmes to the evolving cultural context.

We should not avoid the fact that intercultural dialogue starts in the neighborhood. Without this 'local' dimension, intercultural dialogue will lack coherence and credibility. As Amin Malouf said bluntly, 'it is with those closest to us that we fight most bitterly'. In 2004, the 'founding fathers' of the Anna Lindh Foundation anticipated this challenge stating that the relationship with the other is most problematic with those who are closest. Now, in light of some of the data of the Anna Lindh Report on Intercultural Trends, their advice is more important than ever: *'The question of cultural relationship in the Euro-Mediterranean area begins for each individual at his own door, for the southern as much as the northern countries'*.

As mentioned before the European citizens and those in countries on the southern and eastern shores of the Mediterranean have a growing appetite for mutual knowledge, but face the reality of an alarming rise of xenophobic trends impacting on social cohesion across the region.
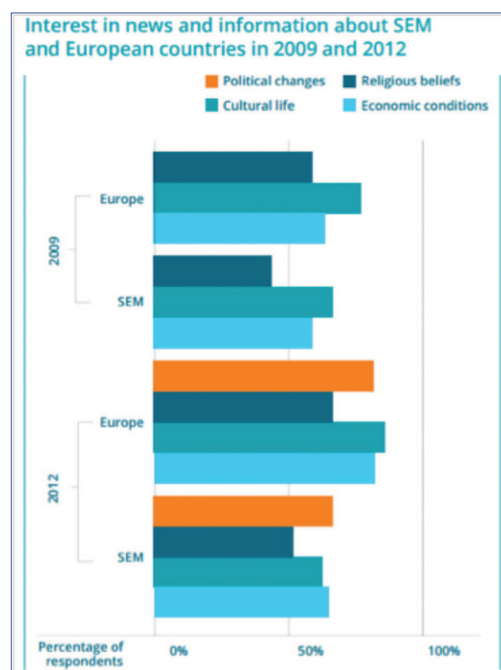
However, the Euro-Mediterranean value map emerging from the Poll as well as the level of mutual interest among people from the two shores of the Mediterranean constitutes a strong social basis for future cooperation around the region.

Besides the central importance recognised to the family (especially for 54.6% of women in South Euro-Mediterranean (SEM) countries and 60.8% in Europe), young people and women identify respect for other cultures as the second most important value for Europeans and third for SEM. What is interesting to remark is that respect for other cultures has a slightly lower importance for European youth compared to adults and the other way round for SEM youth. This could reflect the fact that diversity is a reality in the lives of European youth who experience it since their early school stages and through the new technologies while older generations having fewer opportunities for intercultural encounter consider it an aspiration-driven value. On the other hand, SEM younger generations could be motivated by their awareness of the diversity in the region and within their societies and wish to see more social integration (86%). This view is consolidated by their largely positive response to the guarantee of equal rights to minority groups within society and the awareness that diversity is a source of prosperity for their society (86%); however, 48% of youth from SEM countries and 45% of European youth also consider that diversity might have a negative impact on the stability of society. The highest level of youth skepticism was registered in Germany 59%, Ireland 50% and Poland 48% Turkey 71%, Morocco 52%.

Youth dynamism and openness also emerges from the value they put on curiosity and independence and the high level of interest they have in news and information about countries on the other shore of the Mediterranean. Young Europeans expressed a major interest in the cultural life and lifestyle of SEM countries (84% in 2012 compared to 75% in 2009). This data is further supported by other studies (Eurostat, 2009) underlining young Europeans' inclination to engage with foreign cultures mainly through foreign cuisine, reading foreign-language newspapers or books, watching foreign television or movies, making friends and travelling. Younger people in SEM countries show a higher relative interest than adults in all aspects of life in Europe ranging from its economy (70% in 2012 - 63,2% in 2009), to the political life (68,5% of youth), to culture (68% in 2012 - 62% in 2009) to religion (52,4% in 2012 - 47% in 2009).

Women emerge a bit more introverted since in comparison to men they show less cross cultural interest; how-

ever, their overall level of interest has increased between 2009 and 2012 (of 4% for SEM women towards European culture, 5% for religious trends and of 9% about the economy; while European women's interest in SEM cultural life and lifestyle has increased of 6%) . Compared to youth and men women are also less exposed to intercultural exchanges.

A final wake-up bell is addressed to the international and national communities because despite the relatively important numbers of individuals believing in the potential of social action a strident minority (~20%) thinks that there is nothing which could be done to improve their society neither at the institutional nor at the individual level and a majority shows an important lack of knowledge of others' priorities.
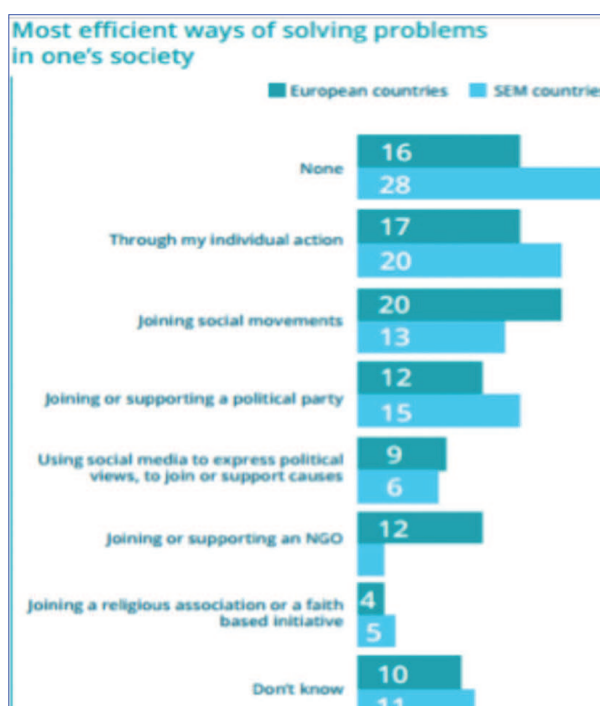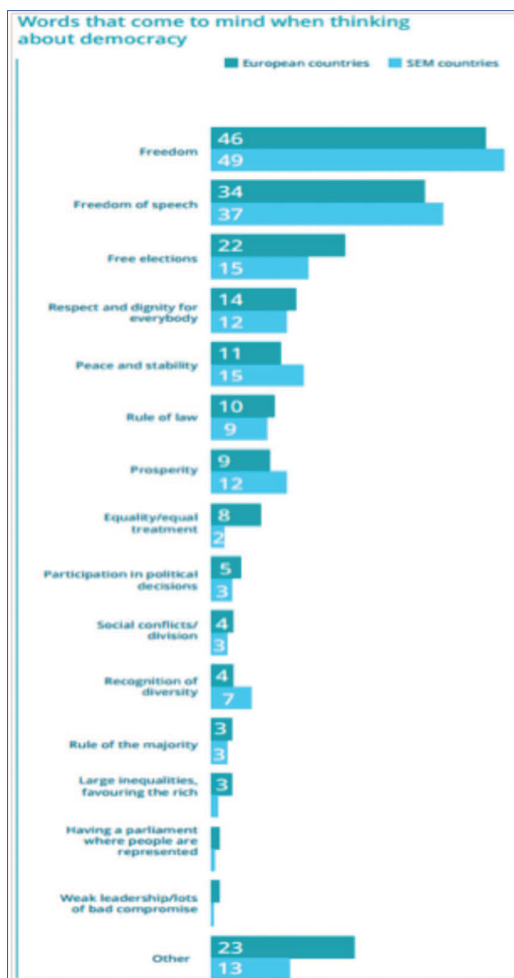
Regarding the perception of the Mediterranean region, the positive image is confirmed, even if, as it happened in the first Survey, there is a certain ambivalence.
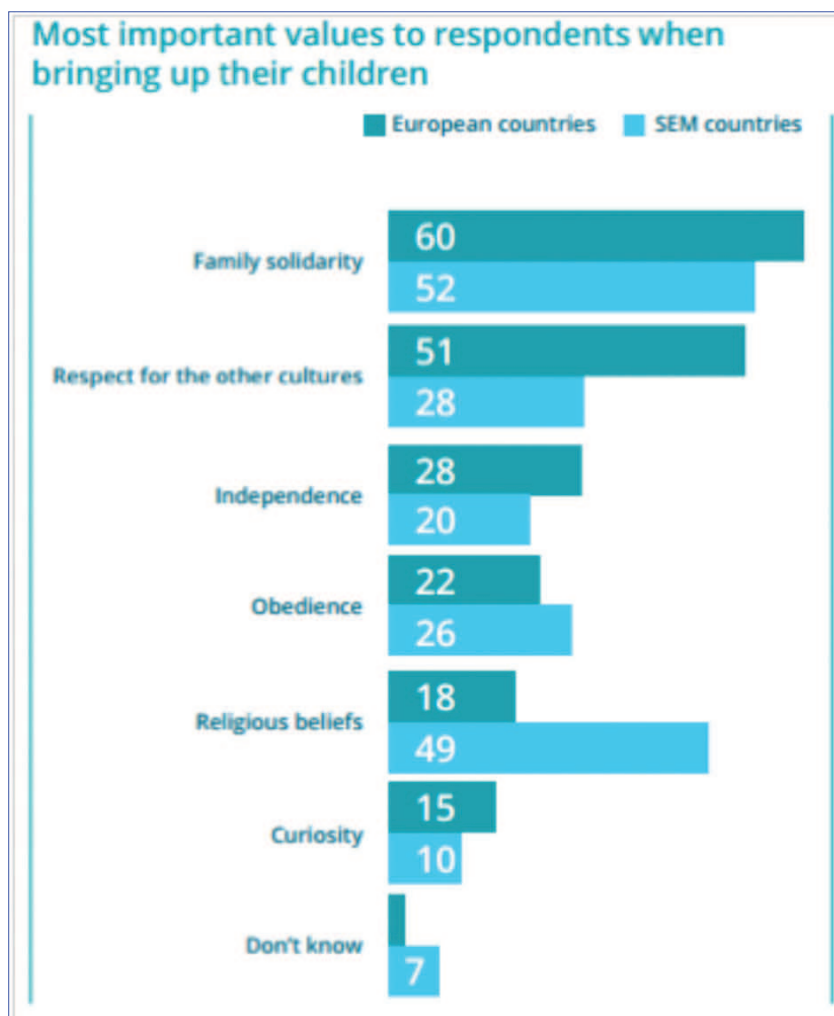
The Mediterranean is mainly associated with positive values: hospitality (50.5%), food and Mediterranean lifestyle (56.4%) and a common history (49.5%), with higher percentages than in 2010. At the same time the Mediterranean is scary. It is considered as a source of insecurity and restlessness even if comparatively this appreciation is lower with 32% of Europeans and 27% of SEM considering a source of conflict.

Opportunities and modes of interaction between the North and South are largely determined by the standard of living and the legal possibilities of movement. Principal modes of interaction that arrive first in the Poll are business and tourism for Europeans (35%) while for SEM citizens the interaction is mainly virtual, and the Internet is the tool for 19% of them.

Politically speaking, the results confirm the idea that democracy is a shared horizon and carries the same values for all. It means freedom, freedom of expression, free elections, respect of human dignity and prosperity mainly for SEM.

But the opportunities of the implementation of democracy are not the same, as civic commitment to solve problems of society for Europeans is considered the best way to achieve efficiency, including integrating social movements (19%), while SEM respondents prefer individual action (22%).

Words that come to mind when thinking about democracy

■ European countries ■ SEM countries

	European	SEM
Freedom	46	49
Freedom of speech	34	37
Free elections	22	15
Respect and dignity for everybody	14	12
Peace and stability	11	15
Rule of law	10	9
Prosperity	9	12
Equality/equal treatment	8	2
Participation in political decisions	5	3
Social conflicts/division	4	3
Recognition of diversity	4	7
Rule of the majority	3	3
Large inequalities, favouring the rich		3
Having a parliament where people are represented		
Weak leadership/lots of bad compromise		
Other	23	13

Most efficient ways of solving problems in one's society

■ European countries ■ SEM countries

	European	SEM
None	16	28
Through my individual action	17	20
Joining social movements	20	13
Joining or supporting a political party	12	15
Using social media to express political views, to join or support causes	9	6
Joining or supporting an NGO	12	
Joining a religious association or a faith based initiative	4	5
Don't know	10	11

Most important values to respondents when bringing up their children

European countries   **SEM countries**

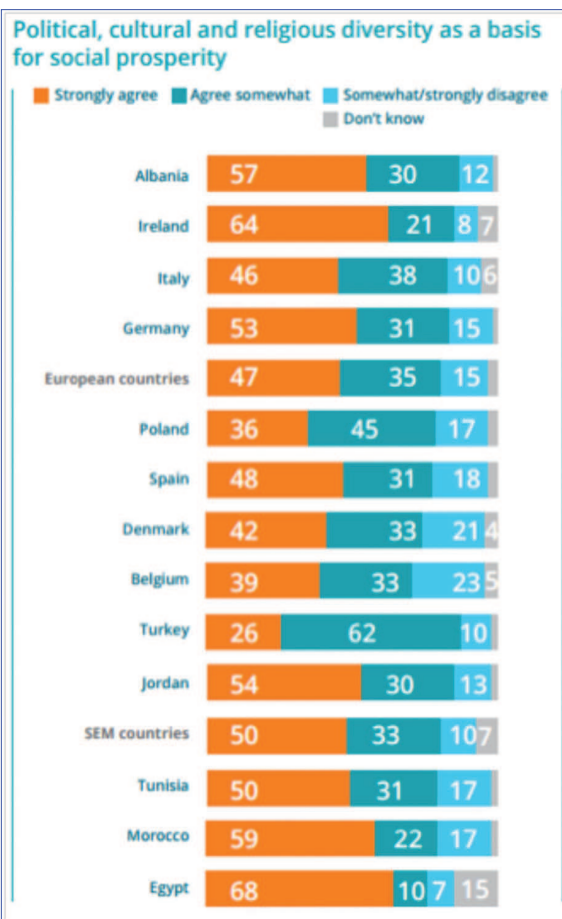| Value	European countries	SEM countries
Family solidarity	60	52
Respect for the other cultures	51	28
Independence	28	20
Obedience	22	26
Religious beliefs	18	49
Curiosity	15	10
Don't know		7

Two types of proposed values according to an implicit categorisation developed by pollsters were identified: values of 'progress' (curiosity, independence, freedom and respect for other cultures) and values of conservatism (obedience, commitment to family, religion).

Concerning those set of values, however, some of the answers by the pollsters were responded and defined through the perceptions they have on others from the point of view of their national identity and belonging. This idea is influenced by the ratio of emigration, the colonial past and sometimes the long-term historical memory between those countries. For example the scores of Spain and Belgium have a more negative bias to their perception of SEM countries compared to Ireland. (Spain having a very recent and clear historic memory and relations of dependence with Morocco and Belgium, a country with a less confrontational experience with the southern Mediterranean in its distant past, but which has a rather difficult relationship with migration groups originating from SEM countries). A resurgence of confrontation is observed between countries that share a common history or present including through current interactions through tourism or migration. Contrary, Ireland in its relationship with the southern shore has a different sensitivity compared to other European countries which have a strong interaction with the Mediterranean through tourism or migration. The Irish perception about SEM is more neutral. The Irish see very little difference between SEM and European countries in terms of the values transmitted.

Racism, xenophobia and extremist ideologies are on the rise in the Euro-Mediterranean, demonstrated by a number of racially motivated hate crimes reported in connection to the arrival of refugees in Europe in the last years. Societies with high unemployment rates especially refugee hosting ones are dissatisfied and frustrated not only towards local economies but also towards the incoming population flows now seen as exhausters of local resources and competitors at the local labor market.

Communities faced by a sudden shift in their ethnic, cultural and language compositions are known to be a fertile soil for the emergence of racism, xenophobia and extremist ideologies. Welcoming a large number of 'strangers' to reside along with the locals challenge the local people to think about their identities overwhelmed by the worries about the sufficiency of living space and local resources, most particularly employment. The incomers, who often fled war and persecution, on the other hand, feel extreme pressure to find a safe place to stay and start rebuilding their lives, and therefore might find it difficult to understand the locals' reservations towards assisting and accepting them.

Following the philosophy of Anna Lindh Foundation differences are examined in order to break down stereotypes and to improve the different understanding between each other. Diversity is understood and perceived as a source of development, learning and even prosperity.

Political, cultural and religious diversity as a basis for social prosperity

■ Strongly agree ■ Agree somewhat ■ Somewhat/strongly disagree ■ Don't know

Country	Strongly agree	Agree somewhat	Somewhat/strongly disagree	Don't know
Albania	57	30	12	
Ireland	64	21	8	7
Italy	46	38	10	6
Germany	53	31	15	
European countries	47	35	15	
Poland	36	45	17	
Spain	48	31	18	
Denmark	42	33	21	4
Belgium	39	33	23	5
Turkey	26	62	10	
Jordan	54	30	13	
SEM countries	50	33	10	7
Tunisia	50	31	17	
Morocco	59	22	17	
Egypt	68	10	7	15

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Turkey - Spain – Bulgaria – Germany – Czech Republic

SIXTH SESSION

Chair: Prof. Dr. İbrahim ÖZDEMİR

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Cemil KUTLUTÜRK   Ankara Universty/TURKEY
Akbar's Religious and Imperal
Implements in the Context of Contribution
of Culture of Living Together

İsa CEYLAN   Ankara Universty/TURKEY
Relation of Spiritual
Values to Human
Relations and Coexistence

Emine YİĞİT   Trabzon Akçabat Yıldızlı Anatolian High School/TURKEY
To Make Effectıve of Latent Learnıng
At Islamıc Sufızm on Preventing Violence
And Discrimination

Ceylan Coşkuner KALIN   Necmettin Erbakan Universty/TURKEY
Hegel: The Other of West,
Socıetıes Wıthout History

AKBAR'S RELIGIOUS AND IMPERAL IMPLEMENTS IN THE CONTEXT OF CONTRİBUTION OF CULTURE OF LIVING TOGETHER

Cemil KUTLUTÜRK

Assist. Prof., Ankara University, Faculty of Divinity

Ankara/TURKEY

INTRODUCTION

After the arrival of Muslim traders in India in the seventh and eighth centuries, interactions and interrelations of Muslims and Hindus have been commenced. In fact the earliest accounts of encounters between Arab Muslims and South Asian Hindus demonstrate a wide range of interactions and mutual relations. Up to today Muslims and Hindus in many places and times shaped communities in which there were commercial issues, places of collective worship, shared political and economic institutions, and other forms of exchange such as intermarriages. On the other hand, it is clear that at times the interactions have been contentious and violent, yet without understanding the full range of encounters, it is not easy to make sense of either the dissension or the cooperation that compose the fullness of history.

From the time of Mahmud of Ghazni in the eleventh century until the nineteenth century, beginning of British direct rule, almost whole of the Indian subcontinent was ruled under sovereignty of Muslims. Muslim–Hindu relations improved and took many forms during the Gurkani/Gurkaniyan period (1526–1857). Certain hukumdars (rulers, emperor) were quite open not to employing and strategically allying with one another but to pursuing deeper engagement and comprehending at the regional, imperial as well as religious level. Such an attitude taken by competent hukumdars in a measure can be seen as relevant to benefits of dynasty. When both imperial sources and historical records that have been kept by not only Muslims but other adherents belong to different religious traditions, are examined, many samples of intimate interest and genuine attempts can be found (Mahmud 1949, 31-39; Bayur 1946; Abdurrahman 2008). The most famous model of such interest and tolerance to other religions is the Gurkani hukumdar Akbar, who not only spoke local languages but also was a master of Hindu poets writing in the Indic language of Brajbhasha, which was, along with Persian, the literary language of north India during his period (Busch 2010, 274).

Abu'l Fath Jalal-al-Din Muhammad Akbar, commonly known as Akbar I, literally "the great", was the son of Nasiruddin Humayun whom he succeeded as ruler of the Gurkani dynasty in India from 1556 to 1605 (Smith, Akbar, 1917). He, as a strong personality and a notable ruler, gradually enlarged his empire to include Afghanistan and nearly the entire Indian peninsula. Akbar considered himself the ruler of all of his subjects, including Muslims, Hindus, and followers of other faiths. Therefore, as soon as he ascent to throne, committed to the policy of universal tolerance and peace. Akbar firstly founded his control and sovereignty over the scattered land then weld his collection of different states, races and religions into a whole. For achieving this goal he made outstanding and unusual decisions and fulfilled them through his political and socio-cultural reforms. For instance, Akbar took the most revolutionary step in 1564 by granting religious freedom to Hindus by abolishing jizia tax throughout his dominions. He also removed all restrictions on the construction and maintenance of Hindu temples, churches and other places of worship (Khan 2003, 118). Hence Akbar's legal measures, socio-cultural reforms and operations and innovations such as Sulh-i Kul, Khotba, Mahzar, Din-i Ilahi and Ibadat Khana, the last one is main subject

of this paper, have been a significant role in the sense of consolidation and accomplishment of religious and imperial tolerance in his court.

Based on a review of literature on his rule and philosophy, this paper attempts to illustrate by emphasizing on Akbar's Ibadat Khana, how a Muslim ruler Jalal-ad-din Muhammad Akbar established imperial freedom, social peace and religious tolerance among his all people in the sixteenth century in India; whereas at the same period religious debates and conflicts were deeply felt in most parts of world, especially West (Sen 2005, 18). It firstly deals with emerging and basic features of such a religious structure then examines its significant and function in the sense of achieving of religious and imperial tolerance.

1. Process of Formation of Ibadat Khana

Various factors, both internal and external, such as religious background of Gurkani dynasty, sufi thought, vedanta philosophy, bhakti tradition, religious movements, Akbar's himself mystical experiments, intelligence, truth-finding nature have been impacted on his religious policy. by harmonizing these kinds of components and backgrounds, Akbar finalized his underlying religious policy, centered on the doctrine of Sulh-i Kul (absolute, universal peace), which comprised of some dynamics, one of them was Ibadat Khana.

In Akbarnama, which is the official chronicle of the reign of Akbar, commissioned by Akbar himself by his court historian and biographer, Abul Fazl who was one of the outstanding well educated person in Akbar's court, Akbar's himself stresses on this idea by arguing "even though an ideal hukumdar possess some qualities, he cannot be fit for this lofty office if he does not adopt the principal of universal peace. If he does not admit all conditions of humanity and sects of religion with the single eye for favor he shall not gain the status of eminent glory" (Abul Fazl 1897, II/421).

After evaluating his both socio-cultural and religious-philosophical accumulation, Akbar desired to understand the principles of his religious ideas. On the other hand, driven by a strong desire for truth and knowledge, passionately interested in the mystery of the relation between God and man, he promoted at his court religious debates on a very large ground. From this point of view, he erected a building at Fatahpur Sikri, early in 1575, entitled Ibadat Khana, "house of worship", in which regular religious discussions were held on Thursdays evenings (Abul Fazl 1897, III/113-119; Ghodrarollahi 2007, 12).

Furthermore, in Akbarname the explaining of hukumdar on building of Ibadat Khana was cited as fallows: 'I have organized this gathering (majlis) for this aim only that the facts of every religion, whether Hindu or Muslim, be brought out in the open. The closed hearts of our (religious) leaders and scholars be opened so that the Muslims should come to know (essentially) who they are. Because most of them unfortunately are unaware about their religion. They only think of themselves, in a word Muslims, as those who recite kalimah, consume meat and perform sajda on the earth. Whereas; they should know that Muslims are those who wage war or struggle on their 'self" (jihad bin nafs), which was described by prophet Muhammad as the biggest jihad, and control their desires and anger; and surrender (themselves) to the rule of law (Abul Fazl 1897; Rezavi 2008, 197).

Abul Fazl also made a statement regarding the establishment of Ibada Khana and religious discussions taking place in this building. Hereunder such a structure was built to found a feast of truth. In other words trough religious discussion it was aimed that while the essence of manhood and knowledge would be revealed, truth and actions would be examined. Those whose explanations were reasonable and were based on truth accepted the hall of recognition. Those whose arguments depended on just a mannered plane were far from reality were not acknowledged. It is understood that there was a feast of theology and worship in such a structure (Abul Fazl 1897, 112).

2. Functional Aspect of Ibadat Khana

Until the modern time Akbar's Ibadat Khana has been wondered particularly by scholars and there have been various suggestions and attempts concerning its situation, location, structural qualities etc. such as made by Edmund W. Smith during the last decades of the nineteenth century, Sayyid Ahmad Marahrawi, Rizvi and Aligarh University team under the directorship of Prof. R.C. Gaur (Rizvi 1972, 37; Rizvi and Flynn 1975, 43–44). But these issues were not handled in this paper on account of their secondary importance in terms of main purpose of this article which is to bring its socio-religious function into the forefront.

When building imarat (complex) was completed in 1576 (Badauni 1865, 200), in the earlier stages discussions and assemblies were confined to Muslim theologians then Shia ulamas (learned) also were included. However, such weekly meetings were interrupted at times and they were regularly resumed in 1578. It is regarded that after this date, 1578 onward, theologians of many faiths and sects attended in the Ibadat Khana discussions (Rizvi (1975, 125–28).

As a result of such a broader participation, according to Abul Fazl, discussions were not limited to scholars of any one sect or creed. Abul Fazl has clarified this situation by arguing that "the lamp of the privy chamber of detachment was kindled in the banqueting-hall of social life that was Ibadat Khana (house of worship). The coin of the givers of intelligence in colleges was brought to the test. Pure coin, hence, was distinguished from the impure side. The boundless capacity and the toleration of the shadow of God were appeared. Sunni, Shia, Brahman, Jati, Jain monks, Charbak, Nazarene, Jew, Sabian, Zoroastrian, and others enjoyed exquisite pleasure by beholding the calmness of the assembly, and the adornment of the pleasant abode of impartiality. The treasures of secrets were opened out without fear of hostile seekers after battle. The just and truth perceiving ones of each sect emerged from arrogance, and began their search anew. They exhibited profundity and meditation, and gained eternal bliss on the divan of greatness (Abul Fazl 1897, 252–53).

Even though after 1581 there is no any clear evidence on the Ibadat Khana discussions, it can be put forward that the religious discussions might have continued even after the capital was shifted back to Agra due to the continued reference to the term Ibadat Khana in the literature. But it is understood that as a result of these religious and social discussions the general atmosphere of Akbar reign became more conducive to imperial and religious tolerance.

Ibadat Khana, a place for the reception of individuals of learning, genius, and solid acquirement, was divided into four halls. While the northern to be used by shaikhs and men of ecstasy those venerable for their wisdom and their subjection to inspiration, the eastern side was allocated to the nobles and officers of dynasty. The third hall, the western, to be utilized by sayyids, descendants of the Prophet Muhammad (puh), and the fourth, southern hall by the ulama, people who had possessed and attained knowledge. Hukumdar Akbar graced each of the four halls with his presence, and supported them with his bounty and presents. Once the Ibadat Khana or hall/house of worship was completed, Akbar instituted weekly meetings, which were held on every Friday evening/nights (it means Thursday after sunset) and on the nights of holy days. These meetings used frequently to last beyond mid-day on Fridays. Hukumdar would go from time to time to these various assemblies, and converse with them and discuss philosophical and religious topics (Smith, The Site, 1917, 716). In case of hukumdar's physical and mental power decreased due to other imperial affairs, one of the companions of the court, in whose kindness and gentleness he had confidence, was deputed to carry out this important duty (Smith, The Site, 1917, 719). In these assemblies declaration of members of each hall to hukumdar one of their number had become an essential practice and even a rule (Malleson 1899, 123).

Akbar's religious idea and tolerance that have revealed in a various formats, like Ibadat Khana, nonplussed many scholars both in past and present. An outstanding theologian Sheikh Nur al-Haq mentioned that wise and well-informed men from Khorasan and Iraq and Transoxiania and India, both experts and theologians, Shias and Sunnis, Christians, philosophers and Brahmins came together at the exalted court of Akbar. The people who assemble together in Ibadat Khana, discussed the rational and traditional methods of discourse, travel and histories and each others prophecies in here. They expanded the field and scope of discussion by arguing their different religious and social thoughts. In this process each of them not only intent to testify his own argument or assertion but demanded to the propagation of his school, tradition or sect in which he grew up (Syed 2010, 406). In this sense it is understood that main object of hukumdar's was to search the truth and reliable and reasonable knowledge.

The contribution of Ibadet Khana meetings and discussions on a peaceful and respectful attitude towards all religious groups can be seen a wide range of socio-religious ground. For instance, the position and manner of Shias in Akbar period is a good example regarding with this issue. The confident assertion of Shia during the reign of Akbar was probably the result of an atmosphere of open debates and tolerance. Qazi Nurullah Shustari, a well-known Shi'i scholar in Akbar's court, repeatedly asserted his position as a mujtahid and opposed the observance of taqiyya (dissimulation of sectarian identity) in India. In a similar manner a qasida, "Blessed be the Emperor whose patronage in Hind has not made my faith dependent on taqiyya" (Khan 1979, 439; Rezavi 2008, 202), written by a Shia Mulla demonstrates importance of Akbar's Ibadat Khana.

Akbar's period, therefore, became the meeting place of the leaders, prominent and learned men of all creeds and religious sects, who were all acknowledged on an equal ground. By fitting such a principle Akbar established the earliest known multi-religious and multi-cultural discussion group, where representatives of Muslims (Sunni, Shia, and Sufi traditions), Hindus (Shaivite and Vaishnavite), Jains, Zoroastrians, Christians and Jews gathered to discuss and comprehend their disagreements and agreements. In the light of historical documents it is known that in the Ibadat Khana an atheistic group, septic Charvaka School, dating back to 6th century BC, also represented whose basic doctrine was based on the very non-existence of God (Sen, 2005).

Akbar shaped his court with craftsmen and intellectuals, Muslim and non-Muslim alike. Furthermore non-Muslims, mostly Hindus, were employed both by Muslim administrator and the entire Muslim ruling class, particularly by giving a significant position and responsibility. For instance, it is known that although Raja Todar Mal was an adherent of Hindu religion, became a finance minister and like this command of Akbar's army was given to a Hindu. Hindus also served as craftsmen, artisans, soldiers, entertainers, and servants at the time of Akbar's court (Hambly 1968). Therefore the two communities, both Muslims and Hindus, mostly approved and respected each other's rights in imperial, political, social and religious life.

Akbar permitted the ranks of his dynasty to Muslims and Hindus alike, and public offices could be achieved by Hindus, Zoroastrians, and others. Various opportunities including imperial and official institutions were provided to whole people of dynasty without regarding their socio-religious back grounds. It is stated in the Dabistan-i Mazahib, literal meaning "School of Religions," written around 1655, that Akbar employed in his service "men of all nations, Firengis, Jews, Iranians and Turanians. . . and without showing partiality to lineage or religion he promoted the skilled in science and law" (Shea & Troyer 1843, 138). These reforms committed by Akbar, resulted in Hindu-Muslim reconciliation, and created one great commonwealth of India. Therefore the elimination of the religious, social, and civic discrimination, and the financial disadvantages of the non-Muslims, put an end with Islam as the state religion, particularly by determined decisions of Akbar Shah. It is understood that he constituted a common citizenship with

equality for all and with merit, loyalty, and devotion as the only test for distinction and promotion through his policy of tolerance which developed and come to be known with building of Ibadat Khana (Fischel, 1948).

From the records of some historical sources it is also understood that some traditional scholars criticized Akbar because of his such a new commitment. Scholars who did not come to terms with Akbar's this kind of implement, argued that he, being a hukumdar, should have busied himself with the affairs of the dawlah, state, instead of the organizing or dealing with a large number of religious gathering at the Ibatat Khana. However, as the writer of Akbarname also stated that by means of these assemblies and discussions various educated people concluded that Akbar's approach was a right intention. Indeed, God has given to him the power and ability of ijtihad, a process of legal reasoning and hermeneutics through which the jurist derives or rationalizes law on the basis of the Qur'an and the Sunna (Abul Fazl 1897, 298). Along with this as clarified and emphasized above, by building of Ibadat Khana, in a short span of time a great deal of achievements in the fields of imperial, political, social, cultural and religious proficiently accomplished. The evidences mentioned until here indicates that this building was not just a place in which an organized religious or sectarian debates were done. Akbar's Ibadet Khana, further to that, had a unique functional aspect at the time of Akbar's period by which the principle of reason and tolerance and peace in the socio-religious context of the time was raised.

CONCLUSION

Akbar was the son of Nasiruddin Humayun whom he succeeded as ruler of the Gurkani Dynasty in India from 1556 to 1605. A foresighted leader and a lofty hukumdar, Akbar committed to the policy of universal tolerance and peace since he considered himself the governor of all of his subjects, including Muslims, Hindus, and followers of other religious thoughts. His wise tolerance in religious matters, sought to put down the practice of sati, or widow burning, and abolished the jizia, a tax on all not holding the tenets of Islam. By using his power accomplishedly and properly he achieved to provide harmony and peace by reconciling the various opposing religious groups and different cultures in the dawlah, state.

It is clear that Akbar's some political and religious implements or innovations such as Din-i Ilahi, removing of kalimah, Muslim profession of faith, on current coin, can be criticized due to in-consonant with classical Islamic thought. However, in this article Akbar's notable and commendable philosophies and achievements are mentioned under sample of Ibadat Khana. In this sense it must be emphasized that even though he had a enormous power, he acknowledged human rights of various kinds, including freedom of worship and religious practice, that would not have been so easily tolerated in other parts of the world in his time. He also stressed the acceptability of diverse forms of social and religious deeds. The period of Akbar's rule has therefore, been regarded as one of the most incomparable and important periods in Indian history involving very unique accomplishments on socio-cultural and religious tolerance and harmony.

Akbar implemented his religious policy that depends on tolerance and peace, by means of performing different innovations or commitments. He believed that misunderstanding and ignorance in matters of religion caused to discords and conflicts. In this sense he instituted weekly meetings, which were held every Friday evening in the Ibadat Khana (house of worship) in Fatehpur Sikri near Agra. While outstanding leaders of different religious groups such as Sunni, Shia, Jain, Brahmin, Jesuit missionaries, Buddhist, sadhu and yogi propounded their beliefs and refutations in heated, hukumdar himself most of time was present in there. Particularly, designed for accommodating the selected persons representing various schools of theological and philosophical thought, where, under his patronage, religious discussions were held over a period of almost one decade (1575–1584), interrupted only when he so tired and the

necessity of war caused his absence from his residence. Therefore it is understood that discussions were regulated not only among the leaders of the different Islamic philosophical schools but, beginning in 1578, among outstanding figures of various non-Muslim groups, such as Hindus, Jains, Zoroastrians, and Christians. This functional aspect of Ibadat Khana exhibits either its contribution to improving of religious tolerance and progressing of using of reason, aql, or a Muslim hukumdar's religious and imperial policies that is utterly based on peace, tolerance, mutual understanding and equality among entire subjects of state.

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RELATION OF SPIRITUAL VALUES TO HUMAN RELATIONS AND COEXISTENCE

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INTRODUCTION

Purpose:

The aim of this research is to examine the feelings and thoughts of university students living in Ankara on the relationship between spiritual values, human relations and coexistence culture. In the qualitative research conducted for this purpose, the universe of the research is the university students living in Ankara.

The feelings and thoughts of the students intended for the relationship between spiritual values, human relations and coexistence culture are interpreted.

Method:

This study is the phenomenological study. An announcement was made about this study to the selected theology students.

Twenty-six participants were randomly selected as volunteers to participate in the study. Students were asked open-ended questions about spiritual values.

The questions are about identifying the participants' feelings and thoughts about human relationships and coexistence. The questions are listed below.

The answers and students' experiences are coded in terms of data analysis methods by structural and descriptive coding from the first and second loop encodings. Subsequently the proposals about these answers are written.

Afterwards, these proposals were interpreted in terms of human values and coexistence culture.

Research Questions:

- Do you think that religious belief is a unifying and integral aspect? How?
- Which spiritual values do you think are important in terms of coexistence culture?
- What does the concept of trust mean for you in terms of influence to global peace?
- How does it feel to get together with someone who has a different belief or race? How will you treat him/her? Why?
- Would you suggest solutions for the development of human relationships? How?

Findings:

Religion has a unifying aspect in both positive and negative sense. Religion encourages life in a collective way. Religion; collects people with different racial and political backgrounds under a common roof. Religious belief is one of the basic common points among people. Different people who think and live meet in the same point with a common religion. Those who are connected to the same belief system have similar or close minds. The fact that the Syrians, who have lived in troubles in recent times, quickly adapt to Turkey shows the unifying direction of common religion.

It must be utilized in the unifying aspect of religion to become a self-realized individual. People get closer as they share the same feelings. They feel more comfortable with each other and express themselves better. At this point religious faith is unifying and integrative. Religious holidays bring people together. Religion provides a thought and a world view that will show certain attitudes and behaviors in the face of events. Religious belief is more effective than other types of beliefs when combining people. People who believe in the same religion want to live together.

For a person who believes in a higher authority, religion has a unifying and integrative influence.

Allah, the only god, brings peace and unity together with the thought that all people have created. People who believe in the same God are said to be united under the same values. To believe in a religion is to help a person to establish a spiritual bond with himself and with other people and with the Supreme Creator. It is stated that people should live in peace and unity according to the understanding that they are created for better recognition of differences. The approach to "I love created for the Creator" is should to be widespread in Muslim countries.

The elements of religious belief influence culture. Religion allows people to converge with people who believe in the same religion in the collective ritual. Religion is a social phenomenon and the individual is affected by it. Religious activities increase solidarity. The unity messages mentioned in the Qur'an and the Sunnah, which are the main sources of Islamic religion, greatly influence the living culture. The character of any religion influences the way that religion believes, the emotional state, give meaning to life and the individual.

Solidarity, belonging and accepting feelings develop among the believers of the same religion. Religion is a sociological concept that builds social order and moral values, provides individual development, leads the way of goodness, and unifying and integrative role. Religion provides coexistence by offering common feelings, thoughts, attitudes and goals to Believers. Muslims, who believe in the same religion, are in some cases worried about each other's problems. Religious days and ceremonies have unifying characteristics. People who believe in the same religion have common feelings, thoughts, attitudes and means of communication.

Religious belief, in essence, holds universal values. People who believe in the same religion have the same common values. Religious beliefs enable human values to emerge. The influence of Islamic religion is great in bringing values such as tolerance and forgiveness into public life. Islamic religion revitalizes values; The believers that come together share the same feelings and communicate with each other. Common values make life meaningful and at this point religious faith is unifying and integrating. The values of religious belief have a unifying and integrative influence.

Cultural, spiritual and religious values are intertwined in Turkey. Values vary according to individual development periods and emotional worlds. The value of trust is thought to be a value above other spiritual values. The mention of the Prophet Muhammad as "al-Emin" is given as an example of the importance of trust value. Because "al-Emin" means very reliable.

In terms of spiritual values, it is stated that the most felt lack of value in the society is respect. Much work must be done to put respectful value in society. In addition, justice has been described as an essential value in front of all other values. The prominent feature of the bright periods in Islamic history is described as justice.

The need for the presence of values at the point where modern humanity brings humanity is felt. The integration of human values with the concept of faith is regarded as spiritual value.

When the answers given in the question of which spiritual values are important in terms of culture of coexistence, we are faced with the following table when the first ten spiritual values are ranked according to the most expressed ones:

Spiritual Values		
Respect (30 times)	6.	Assistance (11 times)
Tolerance (29 times)	7.	Confidence (10 times)
Morality (22 times)	8.	Altruism (8 times)
Love (12 times)	9.	Compassion (5 times)
Justice (11 times)	10.	Forgiveness (4 times)

RESULTS:

Values, especially spiritual values, have been expressed in terms of their unifying and integrative dimensions. Unifying dimension of value is explained through religion. However, the influence of the national and spiritual values on the coexistence culture has also been emphasized. Individuals have different feelings, thoughts and behavioral qualities in accordance with their creation. But beliefs and values meet these differences together on a common ground and bring the people together. It is stated that especially worship and religious rituals contribute to social partnership, coexistence and consciousness to act together.

The values that make up the world of the human being are highly influenced by the religion and religious values and spiritual values are seen as the same. It has also been pointed out that, with much emphasis on the unifying direction of religion, it may be a separating element of different religions or religious group memberships. It has been pointed out that faith in the same God often leads to common thought and action. It is emphasized that in the formation of identity, religious documents can often come before national and cultural documents. Therefore, the common sense of religion can become more important for the individual than for national and cultural common codes.

The values mentioned in terms of human relations play an extremely important role in terms of being a qualified human being, adapting to universal moral values, becoming the ideal believer desired by the Creator, acting in accordance with social norms, etc. In the absence of the mentioned values, it is stated that the continuity of life in the world can be in great danger.

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TO MAKE EFFECTIVE OF LATENT LEARNING AT ISLAMIC SUFIZM ON PREVENTİNG VİOLENCE AND DISCRIMINATION

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The eyes which do not look at the seventy two nations from the same side
Whether he is a wisdom for the public or not, he is rebellious in reality

Yunus EMRE

INTRODUCTION

Certainly, the greatest trait that separates man from other beings is the ability to learn complex things and to bring things different from what he has learned. Learning: Life is a relatively constant change in behavior that results in behavior. (Yeşilyaprak, 2003, p.142) It is the product of life and very little permanent change of behavior. (Demirel, 2003, p.7)

Education, in general, is a process that brings change in behavior in individuals. In other words, "Education is defined as the process of bringing the terminal behaviour changing in the individual through his own experience and deliberately " (Demirel, 2003, p.6).From this point of view,there is the fact that desired and intentional education or learning takes place more in schools and in families.

Human beings are a social entity and they continue their lives as a dynamic, constantly changing, different time chain from each other. In these different time chains from each other, one doesn't learn intentionally and at will what is ideal only in school and in family. That the human is a sociable entity and his psychology,which is focused on learning and being able to change,brings about learning unconsciously, unwittingly, secretly, unqualified, and sometimes harmful things about his nature. This learning does not need the school or any place,it is in life,and we can say that latent learning is influential in all developmental processes, especially in the adolescent period. Hence, latent learning has the power to affect on human life in a positive or negative way,according to the quality of learning human life.

According to Tolman, the founder of latent learning theory, latent learning is learning acquired unconsciously, unwittingly and inadvertently. Accordingly, some learning occurs without the purpose of learning, even without the person being aware. New learning is unconscious learning and these learnings are settled unconsciously. Studies show that the latent learning is stored as a mental image or a cognitive map. When the organism encounters a problem, it applies to these maps and uses the necessary knowledge. (Talent Learning, (t.y.),https://kpssevi.wordpress.com/tag/ortuk-gizil-ogrenme/) ''The cognitive map is formed in the mind without being aware of it. For example; The individual may be stunned in determining the direction in which he will go in a city for the first time. Because there is not a cognitive map about this city yet. In an experiment done in this way, it was seen that monkeys roamed in a private area randomly for a certain period of time per day found the food stored in a hidden part of the area easier than monkeys that were not circulated in the field. (Implicit Learning, (t.y.), Http://egitimvaktim.com/gizil-ortuk-ogrenme) It can be explained only by latent learning that the number of female murders in our country has increased after news of the murder of women published on television. Here another truth emerges. In the cognitive map,non-resistant people who haven't sense of defensive can turn what they learn into behavior. Prophet Muhammad (SA) said: "All believers are forgiven, except those who explain their sin to others ..."

(Bukhari).This Hadith-i Sharif is related to latent learning. The negative attitude,that is, the manifestation of sin,embodies the truth that it can teach adverse behavior through disguised learning.

In that delicate time, in which the individual succumbs to the initiative of the suicidal attempt and the human conscience struggles with itself and the most delicate judgement is made, can an event of the past dissuading him from a crime which he determines to make real in the memory or cognitive map of the individual,a tale influenced, a film, a fairy tale he listens in his childhood, an anecdote, an exemplary a story of life influenced have the power to give up abstinence from committing crime? At this point in time, throughout the ages, can not the memoirs of Sufi hand influencing not only our nationality, but all mankind with their wisdom and tolerance, their anecdotes and their written stories including the plots of the philosophy of the Prophets, be presented to children and teenages' mind, in other words, to their cognitive maps consciously in the dynamics of contemporary life by being allowed for social life?

Sufism has more than one definition. Sufism is morality and science of ihlas. Another way to describe Sufism: "The knowledge that teaches what to do with heart and what to avoid and the ways of cleansing the heart and soul from evil " (New Guide Encyclopedia 1994: vol: 18, page 355)"Sufism is a deep experience, a religious experience, or a spiritual saint ... a good morality ... decency ... cleansing the heart, glorifying God and compassion for people" (Çubukçu 1995: 103)."Sufism is the way of knowing and finding God" (Anadol 1993: 94).From all these definitions, we see that sufism is a doctrine with religious foundations that allows man to be cleansed from all evil. Sufism is a teaching that is contemporary, wondered by both the young generation and other segments, considerable,over-headed, written books and read, a sound from past to future, and also a social reality, religious and philosophical foundations.

The learning that will take place under the guidance of Sufis', Saints', exemplary people's life and their teaching of the eternal philosophy can be effective in determining the nature of memory of the cognitive map and in directing the direction of the behavior to positive in the aftermath. The teaching of eternal philosophy is the revelatory teaching that our Lord sent to us under the guidance of our beloved Prophet Muhammad Mustafa (S.A.).

"The teachings of the great Sufi and poet Yunus call humans friendship and brotherhood, understanding each other, not persecuting each other, tolerance, peace and serenity. In this time when Samuel Huntington's thesis about clash of civilizations gains importance and it is seen some signs which will justify him, when we escape from these conflicts and gray area and leave ourselves in the cry of Yunus, we realize how far human beings are away love and compassion and they loose themselves and go down on themselves. Yet, it is not in despair, and we invite the ones who are loveless, intolerant and quarrelsome to the Yunus' life. How nice Yunus, who even sees his enemy as a friendly eye and wishes to use enmity against the feeling of hostility within us, said:"

(Ay Vakti, (t.y.), '' http://www.ayvakti.net/ayvakti/item/yunus-emrenin-yirmibirinci-asra-mesaj-sevgi-hogoerue-ve-bar)

The one not looking with a look to seventy-two nationales

If he is the mudarris to public,he is rebellious to the truth

I didn't come to create any problems / I'm only here to love.

A heart makes a good home for the Friend / I've come to build some hearts.

Because we read Elif / We made Sunday by the piece

We love the created / For the Creator's sake

Come, let us be friends for once/ Let us make life easy on us

Let us be lovers and loved ones/ The earth shall be left to no one

The secret that Yunus Emre has lived for seven centuries is the deep human love in the above sentences. He is a bouncer who expresses his philosophy in action and appropriates for a day-to-day and practical philosophy.(Özbay, Tatci, p.36)

The values that Yunus discourses in his poems are the values of humanity, and the essence resource of these values is the love expressing a profound commitment to the Supreme Creator. What he says is the true promises that every age will accept. (Özbay, Tatçı, p.36) Therefore, the presentation of the teaching of love and divine love based on the poems of Yunus to the understanding of today's young people will bring a world in which violence and discrimination will not take place.

"Come, come, whoever you are. Wanderer, worshipper, lover of leaving- it doesn't matter, Ours is not a caravan of despair. Come, even if you have broken your vow a hundred times, Come, come again,come."

It is necessary to give place in today's education to the thought system of Mevlana which is accepted by the whole world and the works of this system of thought. Otherwise, this information in our garden will rot away. (Erkek, 2008: 15).

The deep truth of divine love which is gathered by the teachings,advice and philosophies of Hz.Mevlana and Yunus Emre and of course these extraordinary personalities who have been the representative of all mankind through the eras of the ages in Turkish and world history and who have been accepted in every age with their beliefs and ideas and who advise love, peace and tolerance to people can be embodied in people's cognitive map, memory, and subconscious, making latent learning effective in an implicit program that will be prepared consciously and deliberately

People learn from the cradle up to the vista. In this process, people also learn with implicit learning. The violence and negative messages in the violence scene, the computer games are increasing the criminal tendency of today's generation. An individual who is struggling to overcome his anger is well advised to commit a crime. It is necessary to create a conscientious subdivision that will give up people who are suicidal before everything else. In social life, communication means consist of a combination of many things, such as media channels, education given by the family, peer influence. The cognitive map or memory to be targeted consciously in a good and nice in determining the quality of learning formed by implicit learning channels will make the person immune not to fall into a trap of violence and discrimination. Negative intrinsic tendencies will enable the individual to take a stand on these tendencies without transforming into behavior. In this respect, education policies to be applied in childhood and youth age which have a decisive character in the learning of human life are of a great importance. Negative messages sent to the cognitive map with implicit learning by implicit programs to be created can be set them to come to light as negative behaviors by including them in these maps. A defensive system which can react positively to the negative effects with the implicit programs can be created in the cognitive maps. The life story of the wise figures who lived in the past and advised wisely, loving, indulgent and archaic truths to the people with wise personalities and the teachings of the philosophy of the Messenger by writing in a fairy tale style can be portrayed in children's consciousness, memory or, in other words, cognitive map. Within the implicit programs, the necessity of the age and the accumulation of the beautiful old age together can be presented to the world of today with the artistic activities such as film, theater, cinema by gathering beauty of the spiritual heritage. Apart from the school, the State may establish an implicit learning program and create conscious and deliberate training centers to keep children and young people away from violence and discrimination. In these settings, it is possible for children and young people to meet with exemplary character and educators in every sense. With implicit learning programs,an abstract early warning mechanism which will show a tendency towards positive ones in the most sophisticated decision of the

human psyche can be created by injecting a spiritual vaccine against violence and discrimination into the cognitive map. Immunity with spiritual immunization in an individual can help an individual to recognize the negative things and gain the inner struggle against them.

CONCLUSION

Implicit educational programs,which will be formed as required by the age in preventing violence and discrimination,should be able to produce universal solutions with a universal quality. These programs should make individuals, but especially children and adolescents, have a readiness to react to negative learning that can occur in their cognitive maps with latent learning. In order to neutralize negative learning which is formed by implicit or latent learning, it is also necessary to create secretive, conscious, planned, programmed education processes. Thus,this will lead to negative maps with implicit learning in mind and an early warning mechanism that will give rise to imaginary intrinsic struggle. The suifs suc as Yunus Emre, Hz. Mevlânâ, AHMET Yesevi, Hacı Bektaş- ı Veli and a cognitive map to be formed by revelation-based Messenger teachings of philosophy of the other exemplary characters,a cognitive structure to be shaped will bring prone to be true, beautiful and good. The individual who internalizes Yunus Emre likes people,nature,goods. Because he sees the one he sees it as having it in everything that exists. Undoubtedly, this inner feelings derived from the Messenger philosophy bring with it an enormous love and tolerance. Individuals who embody this teaching in their cognitive maps can not harm anyone. Violence and discrimination are not part of their cognitive maps. Because they know that those who bear feelings of hatred in their hearts can taste neither human nor divine love. In this respect,hatred, violence and discrimination will not take place because the feelings like love and tolerance will be internalized in the cognitive maps formed by the teachings of Sufis such as Yunus Emre, Hz. Mevlânâ, Ahmet Yesevi, Hacı Bektash-i Veli. Humanity will feel love, peace, tolerance and the peace that it misses in the world of these wise characters.

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HEGEL: THE OTHER OF WEST, SOCIETIES WITHOUT HISTORY

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INTRODUCTION

Since the 17th century, Europeans were able to gather information about the other cultures through the travelling books written by European travelers. This improvement had a heavy influence on the perspective in which the other/not known and Euro-centric view was highly credited. Though this mediation also aims at defining the concept proposed by authors of travelling books and guide books on how that country (good, colorful and inexpensive) is collecting the info of people, places and experiences in a book, it is viewed that the reality in a book also transcends the compatibility, and definition beyond the genuine form even redefined the object that they are not intended to so. In fact, these European texts forged through culturally biased ideas, and travelling books inflicted huge havoc in creating beyond a disillusioned image of the East rather than displaying the reality. For instance, travelling books have become an important means of producing "differentiated understandings about oneself" in connection with the notion that Europe has later become "the rest of the world". On the other hand, philosophers who do not travel a lot but who read their travels have been provided by them with a foreign culture or thought. One of these philosophers is Hegel.

Hegel, having seen world history as a courtroom in Lessons on World History, judges Africans as cannibals, people whose minds are full of fetishes in which Robert Bernasconi is used as a source of these findings about Africans demonstrating that the use of travelling books of European travelers mentioned above by exaggerating and even distorting the travel notes by these travelers. In this context, it must be argued how much faithfully Hegel used and reflected these resources and to what extent his articles redefined the information. However, these and similar examples are based on Bernasconi about the travel literature of 17th and the 18th centuries were turned into a racial discourse, and this discourse was also passed on to the philosophy of history in order to use to legitimize the destructive and violent colonialism of the 20th century. This study aims at investigating the thoughts of Hegel which turned out to be a precept of racist discourse and the mission of traveler books that triggered these ideas.

It should be noted that Hegel's attitude that bordered on racism and his associated remarks were not restricted to Africa only. We can say that he nurtured, at least, "antipathetic" perspective against Islam and Eastern societies in general, and Turks in particular.

A common interest of European states was against Turks who constituted a horrible power threatening Europe with waves of invasion from the East. At that time, Turks were a powerful nation, believing in conquests, and therefore, they frequently waged wars and made only armistices. Like the Franks, they would portion out the conquered land to the warriors as personal property, which was not inheritable; when heritage emerge, the nation had already lost is power. The very freshness of the Ottoman power, i.e., the Janissary, was a source of horror for Europeans. To this end, handsome and powerful Christian children were brought together in the Greek subjects mainly through recruitment, reconciled, and forcibly converted to Islam; when they were young, they would be trained in weapons; they constituted a completely unbound and horrible horde of people who were without family, sisters or brothers or women like the monks.

Eastern European powers, namely Austria, Hungary, Venice and Poland had to cooperate in resisting the Turks. The Battle of Lepanto saved Italy and perhaps entire Europe from the invasion of barbarians.[314]

In literature, novel is referred to as the most concise narration of "experiences"; actually, the same may be said of history; historians are perhaps naive narrators. For instance, Herodotus and Thucydides, who were such history narrators in the West, wrote based on their experiences. Herodotus wrote down what he saw and heard in his travels abroad while Thucydides penned down what he witnessed near his home. Hegel described them as original authors and believed that they fell into the category of historians who personally witnessed and experienced the events they described. Therefore, placing experience at the very center of the narrative means claiming truth for the novel in the name of realism and likeness to reality and for the historiography in the name of authenticity and accuracy. What matters in both examples is the narrator's testimony, and therefore, satisfaction and impression of the readers from the narrative. Otherwise, emergence of any doubt will make readers think that the narrative is false and the narrator is a liar. It follows that experience corresponds to truth in the European narration. Indeed, the narrator has the most direct and most thorough relationship with the European narration; everything or every story s/he will testify as a witness will claim to true. The experience that places the world into the narration will ensure that the narration looks at the work with perseverance. Thus, what is narrated may serve for a discourse that borders on racism by ensuring that the reader can externalize/otherify what is narrated; at the same time, it may help undermine existing prejudice of people and mediate for cross-cultural conciliation by positively influencing the reader. [315-316]

CONCLUSION

Consequently, travel writings and travel books by itinerants played a major role in the development and establishment of the Eurocentric perspective. In this connection, the impressions of the itinerants and the way they convey them to the readers are important, but the mediation of the thinkers and authors who are other conveyors of them is equally or even more important. Indeed, if narration/description is done in a neutral manner without influencing the readers negatively and without otherifying them, this shapes the way others/readers perceive the people/culture in question. In this context, the way Hegel conveyed Africa in particular had an adverse effect on the readers, causing a shift in the shaping of the dominant mindset. Indeed, these distortions --although there is no proof of Hegel's direct contribution to emergence of racism-- indirectly nurtured/nurtures a colonialist mentality which was essentially racist. However, every culture should be assessed in its uniqueness and under its specific conditions; it should not be compared or benchmarked to no other culture or thing.

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