

torical and structural framework which helps the reader analyze the last decade in Turkey more systematically.

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İren Özgür. *Islamic Schools in Modern Turkey: Faith, Politics, and Education*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, xiv + 249 pages.

What are the shifting relationships between political organization and religious education in contemporary Turkey? How do these shifting relationships articulate with and reorient broader debates over secularism, Islam, and Turkish national identity? In her thorough, accessible, and meticulously argued new book, *Islamic Schools in Modern Turkey*, İren Özgür raises and troubles each of these pivotal questions on the basis of a detailed history and ethnography of Turkey's İmam Hatip schools. These are secondary public vocational schools intended to train religious functionaries; *imams*—prayer leaders at mosques—and *hatips*—preachers who offer Friday sermons at mosques.

Few nation-states have exemplified French Marxist Louis Althusser's contention that education is a key "ideological state apparatus" better than republican Turkey. From the early days of the republic through to the contemporary era, the Turkish education system has mediated and underpinned the relationship between national belonging and the legitimacy of the state. In most public schools, the narrative of nationhood hinges on Atatürk's revolution itself while Islam plays a relatively smaller role, both inherent to Turks' collective past and awkwardly situated in relation to their ostensibly modernist, secularist present. The pedagogical construction of this secular nationhood is no stranger to anthropologists and sociologists of Turkey; in recent years, monographs by Samuel Kaplan and Ayşe Gül Altınay have plumbed the processes and procedures of this national pedagogy. In spite of these valuable works, however, a major lacuna has persisted in the study of Turkish education and its attendant politics. In addition to standard public schools, Turkey also maintains a system of vocational high schools. By far the most influential, pervasive and controversial vocational schools are the İmam Hatip schools. Despite both the expansion of İmam Hatip schools in

recent decades and the vociferous public debate over their desirability and sway, scholarship on the schools has been remarkably scarce. Fortunately, however, Özgür has remedied this lacuna decisively.

Islamic Schools in Modern Turkey begins with a thorough history of the İmam Hatip Schools and their relationship to the Turkish state. As Özgür provocatively argues:

The schools have experienced periods of prosperity and decline depending on how ruling governments have viewed them. Certain governments have considered [the] schools as threats to the secularist order and have taken measures to weaken them. Other governments have viewed [them] as tools for controlling religious discourse and have taken measures to develop them (pp. 26-27).

Özgür carefully delineates the republican history of the İmam Hatip schools and contextualizes them in relation to other forms of religious education in Turkey, such as Qur'an courses sponsored by the Directorate of Religious Affairs (*Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı*) and less formal religious classes (*dersler*) organized by a variety of religious communities (*cemaatler*). In particular, she emphasizes the relationship between the İmam Hatip schools and the shifting fortunes of Turkey's Islamist movement, beginning with Necmettin Erbakan's National Vision Movement (*Milli Görüş Hareketi*) in the 1970s, extending through the brief era of the Welfare Party (*Refah Partisi*) government in the 1990s and culminating in the ongoing heyday of the Justice and Development Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*, AKP).

Özgür also sheds light on the shifting role of the schools in relation to Turkish public life more generally. Most importantly, İmam Hatip schools can no longer be comprehended as mere vocational schools; although some of their graduates do go on to careers as imams and preachers, the vast majority of their students aspire to the same educational and professional opportunities and goals as Turkish citizens educated in standard public schools. This transformation of the İmam Hatip schools has fueled political debate over the schools themselves. While secularist political powers have attempted to steer İmam Hatip graduates away from university education by maintaining a punitive "coefficient" (*katsayı*), which automatically lowered the university entrance examination scores of vocational school students, advocates for the schools from within both the Islamist political establishment and civil society have successfully lobbied to abolish this coefficient, and thereby leveled the playing field for İmam Hatip graduates who aspire to enter Turkey's universities.

The political debate over the “coefficient factor” also relates directly to the demographic transformations that the İmam Hatip schools have experienced over the past half-century. Although the religious professions that ostensibly define the schools are exclusively masculine, İmam Hatip schools now educate equal numbers of young men and women. As Özgür cogently observes, “the admission of women, who could neither become *imams* nor *hatips*, symbolized that the schools were now preparing students for a wider range of graduate opportunities” (p. 47). It is precisely this wider range of graduate opportunities that has so troubled secularist opponents of the schools in recent decades.

With this political history of the İmam Hatip Schools in hand, Özgür moves on to her most fascinating argument—at least from this reviewer’s perspective—namely, that the cultivation of a particular subculture within İmam Hatip schools defines and subtends a broader community of İmam Hatip alumni (İmam Hatipliler) and affiliates. She productively adopts and adapts French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus* in order to describe the distinctive nexus of attitudes, assumptions, comportment and sociality that defines and unites İmam Hatip students and alumni. Above all, this *habitus* constitutes and inculcates a comprehensive, explicit mode of Islamic religiosity among the “İmam Hatiplis.” In Özgür’s estimation:

The formal and informal curricula at İmam-Hatip schools transmit a *habitus* that facilitates strong ties to Islamic norms and practices. İmam-hatiplis believe that the conduct of their public and private lives should adhere, to the greatest extent possible, to the Qur’an and the Prophet’s example. They emulate the Prophet in religious practice, social interactions, and even personal hygiene (p. 102).

In this respect, İmam Hatip schools are representative of a much broader trend in global Islamic reform, as analyzed by anthropologists such as Dale Eickelmann and James Piscatori and sociologists such as Olivier Roy; the “objectification” of Islamic practice and doctrine and the explicit, reflexive concern for orthodox practice that this objectification entails. Within İmam Hatip schools, gendered social relations constitute a vivid locus of this objectification. Students debate the Islamic proprieties of gender segregation openly, and focus in particular on the question of the female headscarf (*türban*, *başörtüsü*), which is politicized in the Turkish political sphere more broadly.

In the final chapters of the book, Özgür discusses and analyzes the political implications of the İmam Hatip schools more generally, with

reference to both the vicissitudes of the Islamist political movement (and the AKP in particular) and to the various civil society organizations that fund İmam Hatip schools and lobby on their behalf. This analysis of the relationship among the schools, civil society institutions, and political society is a valuable complement and supplement to other recent works on the social bases and networks that have constituted the nexus and dynamo for the emergence of the AKP, notably those by Jenny White, Cihan Tuğal and Hakan Yavuz. As a coda to her principal argument, Özgür also gestures briefly to the comparative implications of her research, with reference to such institutions as Indonesia's *pesantren* Islamic schools and *madrasas* in South Asia. Throughout these concluding chapters, she is careful to underscore both the relationship and distinction between the Islamic *habitus* that defines the İmam Hatip community and the politicization of this *habitus* within the broader Turkish public sphere. As she aptly demonstrates through the story of Ahmet and Mehmet—two brothers from Samsun who each attended an İmam Hatip school but whose quotidian pious practice and political affiliations are radically different—the connection between an İmam Hatip education and involvement in the Turkish Islamist movement is neither simple nor singular. In other words, the relationship between İmam Hatip Schools and political parties such as the AKP and the Felicity Party (*Saadet Partisi*) is a correspondence that demands analysis and explanation, not a causality that researchers can simply assume.

Ultimately, the most crucial contribution that *Islamic Schools in Modern Turkey* makes to current scholarship on Islam, secularism, and politics within Turkey hinges on the complex relationship between Islamic education and its constitutive *habitus* on the one hand, and the politics of and about Islam on the other. And it is precisely here that I would push the book's exceptional argument even further. Özgür provides an exemplary account of *how* Turkey's İmam Hatip schools articulate with broader debates over the politics and public place of Islam in Turkey generally, but she does not ultimately suggest *why* the dichotomous logic of these debates remains so formidable and so taken-for-granted. In order to address this question, we minimally require a comparable account of the *habitus* of secular public education in Turkey and its articulation with national political debates and forms. My only moments of unease while reading *Islamic Schools in Modern Turkey* stemmed from the intuition that Özgür could have marshaled her admirable data to destabilize the hegemonic naturalness of the Islamist-secularist polarity in Turkey more than she ultimately did. But this is perhaps unfair. The puissance and irresistibility of the Islamist-secularist dichotomy is both an object

and a hurdle for most contemporary social scientists of Turkey, and it would be arch to expect a single volume to untangle this knot entirely. Rather, as scholars of Turkey, our primary response to *Islamic Schools in Modern Turkey* should be one of grateful thanks. Özgür has written a definitive, magisterial text on Turkey's İmam Hatip schools; one that will intrigue and provoke any scholar concerned with broader questions of Islam, politics and Turkish public life.

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Aslıhan Sanal. *New Organs within Us: Transplants and the Moral Economy*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2011, xx + 264 pages.

Aslıhan Sanal's *New Organs within Us: Transplants and the Moral Economy* provides an ethnographic analysis of organ transplantation in Turkey, relating it to cultural and medical conceptions of body, death, and life, as well as to historical and current debates around Turkish modernization and multiple modernities. The book gives examples of Islamic discourses and practices which have shaped the conceptualization of organ transplants and displays the close interaction between religion and medicine in different contexts, such as in the illness narratives of kidney-transplant patients. It also addresses the political economy of organ transplantation, investigating patients' different strategies of finding a new organ depending on their economic conditions and social networks, as well as the ways in which doctors interpret and negotiate the existing laws on organ transplants. Through a close reading of the transplant narratives and debates, Sanal helps the reader understand how major political and economic problems and inequalities are reflected and reproduced in the Turkish health sector. She explores how the social actors involved in organ transplantations—dialysis and transplant patients, their relatives, doctors of various specializations, and business-people who import grafts—"attribute, transfer, translate, or lose" organ transplantation's particular meanings.

In the 2000s, organ transplants became a popular topic among social scientists working on health and illness thanks to the issue's close connections with patterns of health inequalities at local, national and global levels and the global phenomenon of illegal organ transplants. In 1999, a