Islam, Morality and Public Education: Religious Elements of Ethics and Etiquette in the Uzbek School Curriculum

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Donohon Abdugafurova
Emory University
dabduga@emory.edu

Abstract

Influenced by Arabic and Persian traditions, the plural word *Ādāb* in the Uzbek language (sing. *adab*) as a social term connotes a discipline of character development in ethics and morals. As a literary term, *adab* means a concept of aesthetics that teaches morality. The prevalence of the concept in Uzbek society is evidenced by the fact that there is a school subject called *Odobnoma: adab* studies. These elementary-school classes aim to cultivate moral uprightness, social responsibility and virtue. On the surface, the subject seems to be secular, yet a closer analysis of the themes and topics of *Odobnoma* reveals indirect Islamic influence. This is partly because Central Asian cultures contain Islamic teachings, which have become a part of the national under- standing of morality, ethics and etiquette. This article explores the influence of these teachings from the Uzbek perspective of "national character."

Keywords

Odobnoma – national character – moral education – *adab* – Uzbekistan

Introduction

The best virtue among the virtues that were given to humanity is ethics.
Imām al-Bukhārī

* This article covers the period up until 2016, and does not represent the new policies of thecurrent Uzbek government.

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Proverbs, slogans and ethical messages are embedded in the posters that appear in schools, hospitals, and other public places in Uzbekistan. All these ethical responsibilities and moral values are contained in the concept of *adab*, which provides a blueprint for a vital part of an individual's ethical upbringing.[1] Instilling moral obligations and uprightness, social responsibility, and virtue is the focus of *Odobnoma* (literally "*Adab* studies" in Uzbek), a formal school subject at the elementary-school level in both secular and religious contexts. The Uzbek root of the term is *odob,* which derives from *ādāb*, the plural form of the Arabic expression *adab.*[2] Despite its plural form, it carries a singular meaning in Uzbek. In Western scholarship, the Arabic version *(adab)* is well known; for consistency with current scholarship, I will utilize *adab* hereafter.

This article concentrates on the influence of Islamic values in teaching moral education in *Odobnoma* classes. It examines the nature of ethics and etiquette training in Uzbek elementary schools. It specifically explores the moral teachings related to Islamic discourse in *Odobnoma* classes, and their usage in the Uzbek teaching context, by looking at elementary-school textbooks. I argue that *Odobnoma* and Islamic ethics are inextricably related, because the upbringing process prescribed by each emphasizes the value of the human being and the persistent struggle to equip humans with moral and ethical responsibilities and virtuous qualities.

To provide background, this article first presents the concepts related to *adab*. It then discusses the previous Jadid and Soviet teachings on morals, ethics, and etiquette, as well as the moral education teachings of independent Uzbekistan. It further investigates the contemporary period by analyzing the elementary textbooks currently used in Uzbek schools and showing the relationship between Islam and the specific moral teachings included in these textbooks. In addition, it examines topics in the Hadith tradition that are related to ethical concerns and moral obligations, such as respect for other hu- man beings, parents (especially mothers), and the elderly. In the final section, it relates current government policies to the process of bringing up young people. The article concludes with the determination that Islamic teachings are an inextricable part of Uzbekistan's cultural identity and that blending Islamic

1 I would like to express my gratitude to Professors Vincent Cornell, Adeeb Khalid and Re- bekah Ramsay for their insights and feedback during the preparation of the current work. I also thank Professor Shoshana Keller, who kindly shared some materials with me and pro- vided valuable feedback on this research.

2 The "o" in written Uzbek is pronounced like the English "ā." Thus, "Odobnoma" is pronounced "Ādābnāma."

elements with other ideological and cultural concepts serves the state goal of bringing up a worthy generation in the correct manner.

Adab and Related Concepts

Adab as a system of moral conduct has religious and secular dimensions and is open to different interpretations. What remains consistent is that it demands adherence to the requirements of underlying rules of individual ethical behavior to nurture positive characteristics that are beneficial to people and society. Barbara Daly Metcalf stresses that, "[A]dab in all its uses reflects a high valuation of the employment of the will in proper discrimination of correct order, behavior, and taste. It implicitly or explicitly distinguishes cultivated behavior from that deemed vulgar."3 In Uzbek society, the concept of *adab* acts as a framework of traditional, cultural and religious teachings to guide proper behavior and appropriate conduct.

In terms of teaching ethical responsibilities and morality in Uzbek schools, two concepts are important: *akhlāq* and *adab*. *Akhlāq* (morals), the plural of the Arabic word *khuluq*, refers to character, nature or disposition, while *adab* refers to the proper form of conduct. *Akhlāq* literature is thus "a systematic inquiry into the universal nature and necessity of morality," while *adab* literature concerns "the variety of moral principles that help define cultures and individual behavior."4 Both concepts consider individuals' ethical responsibili- ties to one another; the literature that deals with *akhlāq* and *adab* serves as a mode of inculcating proper behavior in Islamic cultures. In Uzbek discourse, the words *akhlāq* and *adab* are used interchangeably.

From the vantage point of an educator, two other Uzbek terms are of significance: *ta'lim* (education) and *tarbiya* (proper ethical training). From the early years of public education, *Odobnoma* incorporates both *ta'lim* and *tarbiya* into a comprehensive course on character development. As inseparable components of teaching and learning, these twin terms are almost always used together, and they are vehicles for delivering *adab* and *akhlāq*. *Ta'lim* is concerned with increasing intellectual potential, while *tarbiya* nurtures spiritual

3 Barbary Daly Metcalf, "Introduction," in *The Place of Adab in South Asian Islam* (London: University of California Press, 1984), 3.

4 Mana Kia, "Adab as Ethics of Literary Form and Social Conduct: Reading the *Gulistān* in Late Mughal India," in *No Tapping Around Philology: A Festschrift in Honor of Wheeler McIntosh Thackston Jr.'s 70th Birthday*, ed. Alireza Korangy and Daniel J. Sheffield (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014), 282.

strength by focusing on the inner qualities (*ma'naviyat*) and external behavior of a person.

The term *ma'naviyat* (inner consciousness) is an important concept that is also tied to Islamic tradition. Along with *ta'lim* and *tarbiya*, *ma'naviyat* has become a core element in Uzbek educational parlance and pedagogical materials related to preparing worthy citizens of the state with desired qualities and virtues. As a religious term, *ma'naviyat* comes from the Islamic mystical tradition, or Sufism, where it refers to a person's inner spirituality rather than religious dogma or prescribed practices. The term is introduced in fourth- grade *Odobnoma*, where *ma'naviyat* is defined as a collection of features that distinguish humans from animals and place them in a higher rank.5 As a comprehensive term, *Ma'naviyat* is a power that encompasses the psychological and intellectual world of the individual, cleanses one's soul, and catalyzes inner strength and perseverance.6 This emphasis on the inner potential of a person is the most important feature of the Uzbek educational system's efforts to bring up a younger generation with an ideological immune system.7 According to the Uzbek understanding, a person with the above-mentioned qualities becomes *kāmil insān* (literally "a complete human being"). In the Sufi tradition, *kāmil insān* refers to a person who has strong morals and good self-control, who is kind to others, and who appreciates the divine presence in every human being. The usage of *kāmil insān* in Uzbek discourse does not diverge from the original Sufi meaning in terms of "actualizing the potentiality of existence." However, it does not carry the Sufi metaphysical meaning of "human cosmic archetype."8 It is secularized to the point that even elementary school children who are far from Sufism can relate to the realization of the fullest potential of the self.

Ma'naviyat is a twin term used in combination with *Ma'rifat* (Knowledge). While *Ma'rifat* is a Sufi notion for metaphysical knowledge, the plural form

5 Oysha Hasanboyeva, Adolat Ne'matova and Sultonmurod Olim, *Odobnoma*, 4th grade, 7th edition (Tashkent: Milliy Ensyklopediyasi Nashriyoti, 2009), 49.

6 Sultonmurod Olim, "Ma'naviyat" in *Uzbek National Encyclopedia*, Volume 5 (Tashkent: O'zbekiston Milliy Ensyklopediyasi Nashriyoti, 2003), 334.

7 Ideological immunity is widely discussed in the writings of former Uzbek president Islam Karimov. See *Xushyorlikka Da'vat* (Tashkent: Uzbekistan, 1999). See also Obid Mamatov, "Vatanparvarlik—Milliy Istiqlol Mafkurasining Muhim Tarkibiy Qismi," *O'zbekistonda Ijtimoiy Fanlar* 6 (2001): 33–38. The author highlights the importance of the ideological immune system in the mental and physical development of youth.

8 Vincent J. Cornell, *Realm of the Saint: Power and Authority in Moroccan Sufism* (Austin, tx: University of Texas Press, 1998), 356.

ma'ārif is related to general education and public instruction.9 In Central Asia, the terms *ma'ārif* and *ma'ārifchilar* were used extensively by Jadids and later in the Soviet era to denote education and educators in public and administrative discourse. After independence, the usage of the term *ma'rifat* brought many of the connotations of the Sufi term. The pairing of *ma'naviyat* and *ma'rifat* emphasizes the intertwining of strength and secular knowledge in Uzbek citizens. To the state, moral upbringing and *adab* are central to achieving its mission of inculcating patriotism through secular moral education and proper upbringing. The direct translation of these concepts results in misunderstanding if they are not approached carefully. *Ma'naviyat* and *ma'rifat* are considered technical terms in Islamic studies, but their usage in Uzbek has secularized them into neutral words relating to the learning process, moral education and upbringing.

Adab in the Central Asian School Context

Today, the teaching of morality based on *adab* and *akhlāq* norms in Uzbekistan is somewhat different than that in Iran or Turkey, whose educational systems place heavy emphasis on religious identity.10 In Central Asian contexts, religious identity in moral education was historically prevalent in reformist and Islamic modernist Jadid teachings. Pre-Soviet Jadid schools combined the as- signed religious textbooks with observation and learning from experience in

9 In the 19th-century Ottoman empire, and later in Iran and Egypt, the formal usage of the term *ma'ārif* was initiated to refer to education. Because of political changes in the 20th century in these regions, the nationalistic approach influenced the usage of the term, and *ma'ārif* was localized into terms such as *eğitim* in Turkish, *tarbiya* and *ta'lim* in Arabic to denote formal education. See A. Elayed Winter, A. Hadj-Salah, J. Salmi, and Mahmud Sana'i, "Maʿārif", in *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Second Edition, ed. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W.P. Heinrichs, http://dx.doi.org.proxy.library.emory.edu/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_COM_0596.

10 See Golnar Mehran, "Ideology and Education in the Islamic Republic of Iran," *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 20, no. 1 (1990): 53–65; Sam Kaplan, *The Pedagogical State: Education and The Politics of National Culture in Post-1980 Turkey* (Stanford, ca: Stanford University Press, 2006). For early modern context, see Benjamin C. Fortna, "Islamic Morality in Late Ottoman 'Secular' Schools," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 32, no. 3 (2000): 369–93. For more on shifting the emphasis within moral values based on political and economic development (in the case of China), see Kwok Wah Cheung and Suyan Pan, "Transition of Moral Education in China: Towards Regulated Individualism," *Citizenship Teaching and Learning* 2, no. 2 (2006): 37–50.

order to develop moral values.11 Later, the Soviet system stripped education of the Islamic components important to the Jadid curriculum and replaced them with atheist ideology. Soviet education imposed secular morals and ethics; the most important task was to equip students with Marxist-Leninist ideology from an early age.12 Teachers were responsible for instilling the most important elements of the desired ideological principles.13 Independent post-Soviet Uzbekistan likewise emphasizes the importance of teachers as role models for youth, because instilling proper moral behavior goes beyond the teachingprocess.14

After independence, the upbringing of the new generation was formalized under the National Guide for Preparing Cadres. The Education Laws of 1992 and 1997 and government policies state that the objective of education is "to prepare a well-rounded new generation that can adjust to the demands of society."15 These laws center on the goal of forming *kāmil insān* (a complete human being) based on a traditional upbringing that incorporates the spiritual and physical wellbeing of youth; they require that the youth embrace patriotism, national pride, and other moral and ethical responsibilities in order to make them worthy future citizens. The school subject of *Odobnoma* serves this goal. As a result of the influence of the Soviet educational system that emphasized atheistic ideology, today's Uzbek schools teach *adab* in a secular manner.16 However, the Islamic influence that permeates Uzbek history,

11 Adeeb Khalid, *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform: Jadidism in Central Asia* (Berkeley, ca: University of California Press, 1999), 20–22, 28.

12 See Anatolii Kharchev and Valentina Alekseeva, *Obraz Zhizni, Moral', Vospitanie* (Moscow: Prosveshchenie, 1977).

13 Joseph Zajda, "The Moral Education in the Soviet School," *Comparative Education* 24, no. 3 (1993): 389.

14 *Kadrlar Tayyorlash Milliy Dasturi* (Tashkent, August 29, 1997), republished in *O'quvchi Ma'naviyatini Shakllantirish*, ed. J. Fozilov, R. Sultonov and R. Saidov (Tashkent: Ma'rifat, 2000), 26.

15 The process of inculcation of these values goes beyond school training and is strengthened by the creation of *Ma'naviyat va Ma'rifat Markazi* (Centers for Conscience and Education). Section 5 of the governmental decree that created them highlights the need for training in the essential elements of youth upbringing and specifies that upbringing has to include respect for parents, family, historical memory, national pride, ideology, and concepts related to the formation of *Kāmil Insān*. See Islam Karimov, "Milliy G'oya Targ'iboti va Ma'naviy-Ma'rifiy Ishlar Samaradorligini Oshirish To'g'risida Qaror" (decree, Tashkent, August 25, 2006/PQ-451-son).

16 Article 3.7 of the Law on Education states that education in Uzbekistan is secular. Republic of Uzbekistan, "Law on Education" (August 29, 1997), republished in Fozilov, Sultonov and Saidov, eds., *O'quvchi Ma'naviyatini Shakllantirish*, 8.

literature and everyday practice makes it impossible to separate the religious elements of life from moral teachings.

In the *Odobnoma* textbooks, there are references not only to the Qur'an, but also to the Avesta (the Zoroastrian sacred text), which advocates *good vision*, *good word,* and *good deed* as principles of life, as well as an example from the Hindu epic *Mahabharata* in the form of questions and answers between Yudishthira and the beast. All these sources are used to emphasize important moral lessons.17 These elements purportedly demonstrate that the ethics being lauded are trans-cultural and trans-religious; the textbooks emphasize the ethical traits of other traditions because ethics and etiquette possess universal characteristics. However, a closer examination of *Odobnoma* textbooks shows that although other religions are referenced, the morality expressed in them is primarily grounded in Islamic tradition rather than in a secular, pluralistic morality drawing equally from multiple traditions. Although the textbooks rarely discuss Islam as a religion, Islamic elements of ethics and etiquette are part of the essence of the everyday morality that *Odobnoma* classes aim to deliver.18

Textbooks

In Uzbekistan's elementary schools, *Odobnoma* is a school subject, just like Reading or Mathematics. The course, part of the state curriculum, is designated thirty-four hours of teaching in each academic year. Students have one hour of instruction weekly, for a total of 136 hours of *Odobnoma* instruction in the four years between first grade and fourth grade.19 Special textbooks are designed for each grade level, and they serve as books of enculturation, developing a framework within which to expand students' moral judgment through critical reasoning.20 It is important to note that the subject *Odobnoma*

17 Hasanboyeva et al., *Odobnoma*, 4th grade, 81–83, 90.

18 Mark Halstead, "An Islamic Concept of Education," *Comparative Education* 40, no. 4 (2004): 522.

19 See O'zbekiston Respublikasi Xalq Ta'limi Vazirligi Respublika Ta'lim Markazi, *Uzviylashtirilgan Davlat Ta'lim Standarti va O'quv Dasturi* (Tashkent, 2010), 9, 139. *Odobnoma* belongs to the group of subjects under the umbrella of "National Independence Ideology: Basic Terms and Principles."

20 In high school, students have the option to choose an academic lyceum or a vocational college based on their career choices. Although the content-specific emphasis is different in every vocational college and lyceum, the subject "Foundations of Conscientiousness and Knowledge," which is the higher level of moral education, is taught in higher education ethics classes.

becomes *Vatan Tuyghusi* (Patriotism) in the fifth grade, then transforms into *Milliy Istiqlol G'oyasi* (The Ideology of National Independence) in the sixth and seventh grades. In later years of study, the course develops into *Milliy Istiqlol G'oyasi va Ma'naviyat va Ma'rifat Asoslari* (The Ideology of National Independence and Basics of Inner Consciousness and Knowledge).

This research focuses on the elementary-school textbooks for *Odobnoma*, from the first grade to the fourth grade. I have selected four textbooks, one for each grade level, that are in use in public schools.21 Students rent these text- books, like others that are required for the academic year. Unlike American students, who keep their textbooks at school, Uzbek students keep their text- books at home until the end of the academic year and carry them to school when their schedule requires it. The material is thus accessible to students out- side of school hours.

As formal guides to the development of proper upbringing, ethics, and moral obligations, *Odobnoma* textbooks address a number of issues. To keep the material age-appropriate, early *Odobnoma* classes concentrate on character development. In middle school, moral training concentrates more on citizen- ship education. However, this does not mean that citizenship education and the ideology of independence are absent at the elementary level: the concept of the nation is introduced in the first-grade textbook. The textbooks emphasize a citizen's responsibilities and duties to the nation, and serve to cultivate patriotism through traditional and Islamic discourses. If we observe that the religious elements of ethics are implied in the early grades, by the third and fourth grades references to Islamic teachings are more direct. This can be explained by students' growing maturity, which enables them to engage in deeper analysis of the concepts to which they are exposed.

The textbooks, representative of state and social concerns about moral values and ethics, deal with the ethics of conversation, patriotism, and respect for parents, with special emphasis on mothers and the elderly; they also expound the virtues of being a worthy person. Six to nine chapters of the textbooks are devoted to discussing these virtues. In addressing these matters, Islamic dis- course is usually either mentioned directly or implied. Some of the chapters

21 Oysha Hasanboyeva and Muyassar Inoyatova, *Odobnoma,* 1st grade (Tashkent: O'zbekiston Milliy Ensyklopediyasi Nashriyoti, 2011); Qumri Abdullaeva, Habiba Aliqulova, and Sitoraxon Rahmonbekova, *Odobnoma*, 2nd grade (Tashkent: O'zbekiston Milliy Ensyklopediyasi Nashriyoti, 2010); Hasanboyeva, Ne'matova and Olim, *Odobnoma*, 4th grade; Oysha Hasanboyeva, Adolat Ne'matova and Mashkura Turopova, *Odobnoma*, 3rd grade, 5th edition (Tashkent: O'zbekiston Milliy Ensyklopediyasi Nashriyoti, 2010).

include Hadith (the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad) as a source of moral teachings.

Direct References to Islamic Tradition

Islamic elements are explicitly stated beginning in the third grade. Hadith tradition is introduced in the section of the third-grade textbook titled "Teachings of the Wise."22 The section explains the importance of Hadith, sayings that re- late to the Prophet Muhammad's life and deeds, as a source of moral teachings. It asserts that these sayings are considered important tools for the development of morality and ethical values, which are necessary to attain complete- ness (*kāmillik*).

The following examples of Hadith, from the third-grade textbook, deal with a wide range of topics regarding personality formation and ethical obligations:

> Do good things to your mother, again to your mother and again to your mother, and then to your father.
> Oh, how good it is to be a person who receives his parents' blessing!
> MayAllah prolong that person's lifespan.
> Those who go to sleep with an honest living wake up cleansed from their sins.
> The knowledge that is acquired in youth is like an engraving on a stone.
> Be affable with people; do not be harsh with them by saying shameless things.
> God is generous and befriends those who are generous. God likes moral people and does not like those who are immoral.
> There is no disease worse than envy.
> Gentleness is the beginning of wisdom.
> Greet one another; that way love and kindness will be kindled among you.23

Many of these Hadith teachings are already part of common discourse thanks to television, radio and newspapers. Students are advised to learn these teachings by heart.

The third-grade textbook also includes biographies of important local scholars, such as Hadith scholars Imam al-Bukhārī (d. 870) and al-Tirmīdhī (d. 869), who are prominent not only in Uzbekistan, but also in other Muslim countries thanks to their immense contribution to the Islamic intellectual heritage. The textbook also provides examples from the Hadith collections of these scholars.

22 Hasanboyeva et al., *Odobnoma*, 3rd grade, 90.
23 Ibid., 90–91.

Of the six Hadith examples listed for al-Bukhārī, two are about parents and the rest are about virtues and morals:

> The person who controls himself at the time of anger is the strongest.
> The best virtue among the virtues that were given to humanity is ethics.
> Being affable to bad people prevents trouble.
> Not acknowledging truth and straight speech, and considering others inferior, are vanity.
> Scolding one's parents is a great sin.
> The best goodness to a father is keeping ties with his close friends.

Students are encouraged to control their anger, because giving in to anger brings about unpleasant consequences. The fact that this Hadith was selected for the third-grade level implies that in everyday life there is peer pressure to prove one's strength, often using force. By contrast, the Hadith indicates that real strength is shown when anger is harnessed instead of being manifested. This example promotes proper etiquette and non-bullying among students. The next three Hadiths also serve this purpose. Because ethics is considered to be the highest virtue that humans possess, being kind to people who are not kind to you promotes harmony; considering everyone equal alleviates the disdain that may occur due to conceit. Another Hadith in the textbook encourages the student to be aware of his or her own shortcomings instead of judging others: "A person who is aware of his own inadequacies and who does not look for others' faults is upright."24

The last two Hadith are related to children's obligations to their parents. The Hadith "scolding one's parents is a great sin" opens up the topic of sin and its religious references. The Japanese scholar Toshihiko Izutsu, who studied ethico-religious concepts in the Qur'an, describes sins as religious evil acts that are considered a "violation of the moral and divine law, and consequently, as something punishable by a heavy penalty in both this world and the world to come."25 The topic of sin is introduced in the first-grade textbook. The *Odobnoma* textbook advises children to refrain from bad deeds. It states, "[T]he deeds that are considered as sin (*gunoh*) and wrongdoing (*ayb*) are regarded as bad habits. Shy away from bad habits."26 Although the textbook does not provide the exact definition of *gunoh* (Arabic *junūḥ*), the word has a religious

24 Hasanboyeva, et al., *Odobnoma*, 4th grade, 66.

25 Toshihiko Izutsu, *Ethico-Religious Concepts in the Qur'an* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1966), 241.

26 Hasanboyeva et al., *Odobnoma*, 1st grade, 49.

connotation: it is regarded as a digression from religious norms as well as from social and judicial norms.27 *Ayb* (Arabic *'ayb*—shamefulness), on the other hand, is wrongdoing that goes beyond the prescribed norms and has more secular connotations.28 By urging students to stay away from performing bad deeds, the textbook implies that breaking the law—be it divine or moral— has consequences. For Uzbek students, not showing respect to one's parents is considered a sin, because the Qur'an and Hadith explicitly command children to be nice to their parents.29

After the examples of al-Bukhārī's Hadith, the following excerpts from al-Tirmīdhī's Hadith collection are provided:

> Showing the way to lost people is also a charity.
> Even your kind attitude to the poor is a charity.
> There are two things that many people do not value. First is health and second is time.
> If a person plants a tree or something else, and people, birds and animals benefit from the fruits of it, this is also considered a charity.
> People who cut ties with relatives do not enter Paradise.

Of the five examples of Hadith provided above, three deal with charity (*sadaqa*).30 They expand the meaning of charity so that even schoolchildren can perform it. This charity is done not only in monetary form, but also in the form of good deeds, such as showing the way to people who are lost or being kind to others and to the environment. The Hadith on planting trees is very important to developing students' sense of responsibility for the environment. By planting a tree, they not only contribute to the environment but also perform

27 A. Madvaliev, ed., *O'zbek Tilining Izohli Lug'ati*, vol. 1 (Tashkent: Fan, 1981), 525.

28 Madvaliev, *O'zbek Tilining Izohli Lug'ati*, 5.

29 *Qur'an* 17: 23–24 in Mohamed M. Pickthall, *The Meaning of the Glorious Qur'an* (Beltsville, md: Amana Publications, 1994), 253.

The following Hadith saying indicates that showing no respect to others, especially to the young and elderly, is a deviation from Islamic moral practice: "The Prophet said: 'He is not one of us who does not have mercy on our young and does not respect our elders.'"

30 The Qur'ān (Q:2:263:266) talks about charity: "Kind words and the covering of faults are better than charity followed by injury. Allah is free of all wants, and He is Most-Forbearing," and "O, you who believe! Spend of the good things which you have earned, and of that which we bring forth from the earth for you, and seek not the bad (with intent) to spend thereof (in charity) when you would not take it for yourselves save with disdain; and know that Allah is absolute, Owner of Praise." Pickthall, *The Meaning of the Glorious Qur'an,* 40.

charity in a religious sense, because even birds and animals may benefit from the tree. The Hadith example that urges students to be mindful of their health and time indicates the relevance of religious teachings to the contemporary situation. Taking care of one's body and utilizing one's time productively, subjects which are also covered in the textbooks, serve as the foundations for students' success.31

Most of the virtues that are addressed in *Odobnoma* Hadith examples center around *sālihāt*, or the Islamic tradition of good deeds. Toshihiko Izutsu describes *sālihāt* as "'belief' fully expressed in outward conduct."32 Good deeds are the activities performed within religious and social norms. The fourth- grade *Odobnoma* textbook teaches students that they should perform good deeds without bragging about it. One textbook passage, "Goodness (*Yaxshilik*) is a Great Virtue," states that when helping others, one should say kind words such as, "If we do not help in this situation, when should we help? Accept this as a kindness for the sake of God;" "Goodness is Duty before God (*Yaxshilik hudoning farzi*);" and "I am doing this because I consider you close to me." These statements are meant to demonstrate the sincerity of the act.33 Mentioning God as a force for sincerity in performing kindness makes students think about their religious knowledge. It also implies that students are familiar with the concept of duty to God.

Another aspect in which we see Islamic elements in the *Odobnoma* textbooks is in the example of Luqmān. The section of the second-grade textbook called "Good Traits are Human Embellishments" provides an excerpt from the sayings of Luqmān al-hakim (Luqmān the Philosopher).34 It is assumed that the teacher will fill in background information about Luqmān before providing these excerpts. Luqmān's advice to his son is considered universal guidance that is applicable to all eras. Among his advice about moral obligations is an exhortation to respect God and other human beings. Other topics include patience, walking unpretentiously, being humble, and speaking with a low voice.35 The examples provided in the textbook are common in Uzbek cultural

31 The Decree on Creating the Ministry of Culture and Sports (Tashkent, September 27, 2017,pf #3491) highlights the young generation's need for physical education.

32 Izutsu, *Ethico-Religious Concepts*, 204.

33 Hasanboyeva and et al., *Odobnoma*, 4th grade, 22.

34 The thirty-first *surah* of the Qur'an is named after Luqmān, and it includes Luqmān's advice to his son regarding respect to parents, particularly mothers: "And We have enjoined upon man concerning his parents—His mother bears him in weakness upon weakness, and his weaning is in two years—Give thanks unto Me and unto your parents. Unto me is the journeying." *Qur'an* 31:14, in Pickthall, *The Meaning of the Glorious Qur'an*, 388.

35 *Qur'an* 31:17–19.

discourse, where people regard them as traditional moral teachings and use them as proverbs.

> Oh my son, consider goodness as opportune.
> Before you do something, first think it through.
> Do not leave any unfinished work for tomorrow.
> Know that postponed work never gets finished.
> Do not let hastiness take over in any job.
> Do not repeat what you said.
> Do not intervene in others' conversations.36

Patriotism

The introduction of the theme of homeland in *Odobnoma* textbooks serves the goal of instilling patriotism in young students. From the first grade, the textbooks locate students in the independent Republic of Uzbekistan. The questions section of the first-grade textbook asks, "When you grow up, how can you contribute to the development of our country?"37 With this question, students are urged to think about their future contribution to the nation. At the fourth-grade level, the understanding of patriotism broadens to incorporate the diversity of the people of Uzbekistan. The promotion of patriotism through attention to peace, friendship with other nationalities, traditions, cultural heritage, and the national language continues in later grades. An excerpt from Ahmad Yasavī (d. 1166), a Central Asian Sufi mystic and founder of the *Yasaviyya* Sufi order, in the fourth-grade textbook states, "[I]t is *sunnah* to not harm even an infidel. God disapproves of the callous offenders."38 This Hadith related by Yasavī promotes tolerance toward other faiths and serves to emphasize the country's religious diversity. The reference to *sunnah* (the practice of the Prophet Muhammad) indicates that based on the Prophet's example, hurting other people of faith is wrong. Another well-known Hadith, "Loving one's homeland is part of faith," is so prevalent as to have become cliché. Although Islamic scholars debate its authenticity, it is a part of Uzbek parlance that re- minds people that patriotism strengthens one's faith.39

In the fourth-grade textbook, homeland is paralleled with a mother. As a mother takes care of a child, the homeland takes care of its people. In this

36 Abdullaeva et al., *Odobnoma*, 2nd grade, 26.

37 Hasanboyeva et al., *Odobnoma,* 1st grade, 7.

38 Hasanboyeva et al., *Odobnoma*, 4th grade, 27.

39 The Jadids also utilized this Hadith in their teachings about motherland. See Abdulla Avloniy, *Tanlangan Asarlar*, vol. 2 (Tashkent: Ma'naviyat, 2006), 55.

sense, a citizen has moral responsibilities to his or her country, just as a child has filial obligations to its mother. Patriotic stories about Scythian Queen Tomyris (6th century bce) who fought against Persian king Darius, the shepherd Shiroq (6th century bce) who led Darius i and his troops into the desert by promising to guide them to his king, and fighters against the Mongol invasion such as Sufi Shaikh Najmuddin Kubrā (d. 1221), Khwarezmian Prince Jaloliddin Manguberdi (d.1231), and the founder of the Temurid Empire, Amir Timur (r. 1370–1405), glorify individuals who were prepared to give their lives for the welfare of their motherland, painting them as role models. History classes in the early grades also include historical figures, in order to create a narrative of "native *resisters* to foreign *invasion*."40

The person on this list who has the most pronounced Islamic heritage is Najmuddin Kubrā, a 13th-century Khwarezmian Sufi Shaikh who had knowledge of Islam and theology. He was the founder of the *Kubraviyya*, a prominent Sufi order in Central Asia, and a highly regarded thinker among Sufi practitioners and scholars. In the textbook, however, he is depicted without Islamic references, as a patriot who fought against the enemies of the motherland.

Mothers

The fourth-grade textbook also emphasizes the role of mothers in the development of the nation. Their duties are twofold. On the one hand, their responsibility is to participate directly in society, as doctors, teachers, scientists, poets, writers, leaders, and entrepreneurs. On the other hand, they bear the main responsibility for bringing up a worthy younger generation, both for their family and for Uzbek society. Mothers are considered pillars of the family. The textbook quotes Hadith and local wisdom as saying that even if you take your mother on the Hajj by carrying her on your head, you cannot repay a night of her sleepless worry.41 The Hadith discussed above, about doing good things for one's mother before anyone else, serves as a basis for the reverence toward mothers; other Hadith accounts about respecting mothers have also become a part of the Uzbek cultural discourse, which regards mothers as holding a venerated position in society.42

40 Shoshana Keller, "Story, Time, and Dependent Nationhood in the Uzbek History Curriculum," *Slavic Review* 66, no. 2 (2007): 257–77, 269. Italics original.

41 Hasanboyeva et al., *Odobnoma*, 4th grade, 7.

42 Muhammad ibn Ismail al Bukhārī, *Book of Muslim Morals and Manners*, trans. Yusuf Talal DeLorenzo, 2nd ed. (Alexandria, Egypt: Al Saadawi Publications, 1999), Hadith numbers 1 and 3–6, pages 2–4.

Visiting Holy Places and Cleanliness

The fourth-grade textbook defines the word *ziyorat* (Arabic *ziyāra* "pilgrim- age") as "paying a visit to holy places, shrines, and graveyards." In Uzbek, it also means performing religious rituals, such as almsgiving and praying for people who have passed away. A section about visiting holy places mentions some of the rules of religious performances.43 The textbook informs readers that the Islamic ritual of making a sacrifice for the dead is to be performed in these special places. Another meaning of *ziyorat* is visiting revered old people, parents, and teachers. Respect for these special people is also based on Islamic traditions. Reiteration of the moral obligations toward these people relates to Qur'ānic and Hadith teachings that describe respecting parents as a child's obligation.

In the fourth-grade *Odobnoma* textbook, the former policies of the Soviet regime—which demolished holy places or misused them to promote atheism—are juxtaposed with the policies of independent Uzbekistan, which preserves the historical heritage of the country. This contrast stresses the dam- age caused by the Soviet system, implying that the Soviets sought to sabotage the religious history and cultural heritage of the nation. The book indicates that modern Uzbekistan gives citizens a sense of pride in their religious and spiritual history by restoring such sites.

The book emphasizes the Islamic ritual of ablution before stepping into a holy place, since the recitation of Qur'ānic verses necessitates the ritual cleansing of the body.44 Although the textbook does not teach the practices necessary for ritually cleansing the body, there is an assumption that most students already know how to perform them, or that teachers will fill in additional back- ground information about the topic. In this section, we can see references to religious tradition and history being directly presented to students.

Islamic Elements in Illustrations

Islamic elements are also shown in the pictures of the first-grade textbook. Since children start formal education in the first grade in Uzbekistan, they are still learning to read, and so pictures (rather than texts) are utilized to convey specific concepts and topics. Under the theme of "Family Is the Citadel of Happiness," an accompanying illustration shows every member of the household busy with something. The grandfather is taking care of trees, while the grandmother is helping the daughter in-law prepare pies. She has two granddaughters, who are learning how to make pies. The elder son is carrying

43 Hasanboyeva et al., *Odobnoma*, 4th grade, 65.

44 Ibid., 66.

wood to the other side of the *tandur* (a traditional oven). The younger son is helping his father, who is carrying some groceries. The picture sends messages that confirm expectations and assumptions about the family. The father is a breadwinner who must supply the financial needs of the family. The mother is responsible for managing these resources. In other words, cooking, cleaning, and maintaining a clean and safe environment in the house are women's activities. The grandparents are seen as a resource for life skills and knowledge. The grandfather is trimming a tree to ensure that the garden is cared for, while the grandmother is teaching the granddaughters cooking skills.

Another theme in the first-grade textbook, "Family is the Source of Compassion," has two pictures: a granddaughter serving tea to her grandfather, and a grandson offering a slice of melon to his grandmother.45 Both pictures are set in the courtyard of the house. In everyday life, we may see grandparents serving the younger generation; however, these pictures emphasize that the younger generation should serve the older generation. Qur'ānic and Hadith references to serving parents and the elderly are used to justify these responsibilities. A note reminds students that respecting the elderly is a special tradition with a long history in Uzbekistan. The book does not explicitly cite the Qur'anic references, but teachers and students are aware of the filial obligations taught by Islam.

Another Islamic element that we can observe through pictures is performing a prayer after eating.46 In the first-grade textbook, a collection of four pictures under the heading "Table Manners" portrays individuals who are not exhibiting proper conduct. All the pictures depict family mealtimes with parents and young children. In one picture, the father, mother and three children are depicted. The parents and two of the children are praying at the table, while the youngest child is running away from the table without finishing the prayer. Usually, people in Uzbekistan pray at the table when someone joins the table and at the end of the meal. From the picture, students are supposed to understand that the youngest boy's table manners break the rules of Islamic practice. "Ethics of Greeting," a section of the first-grade textbook, teaches students the etiquette for exchanging greetings with others.47 It emphasizes the meaning of the expression *Assalomu aleykum* ("Peace be upon you") as wishing health and peace. A picture of a horseman saluting a person on foot corresponds to a Hadith related to the rules of greeting.48 The Prophet is reported to have

45 Hasanboyeva et al., *Odobnoma,* 1st grade, 11.

46 Ibid., 24.

47 Ibid., 14.

48 Bukhārī, *Book of Muslim Morals*, Hadith number 985, 422.

told people that they should greet each other so that their hearts would be cleansed. A related Hadith teaches a similar lesson in upper-grade textbooks.

Upbringing in State Policies

The decree on the preparation of cadres and the reform of the educational system of the Republic of Uzbekistan (1997) centers on the goal of reassessing past ideologies, thus ensuring that teachings abide by state ideology (including spiritual betterment), on the one hand, and emphasizing moral character development, on the other. Uzbekistan's Law on Education, article 3, indicates that teaching and upbringing should be based on the principles of humanity and democracy. This broad description includes national pride, patriotism, and other values.49

From 1997 onwards, government initiatives took place around a designated theme each year.50 Each year's theme was geared toward reforms focusing on certain areas—social protection, healthcare, and so on—and was accompanied by development programs, policies, and incentives in the focus area. The government agenda of emphasizing certain aspects of life involves the issue of the proper upbringing of the young generation.51 For example, The Year of Youth (2008) and The Year of the Well-Developed Generation (2015) directly emphasized the need to ensure young people's physical and spiritual well- being, and reinforced that proper upbringing meets the needs of the nation. The Year of the Family (1998), The Year of Women (1999), and The Year of the Strong Family (2012) highlighted the family as the foundation of society. The involvement of family and community in a child's upbringing is encouraged not only in traditional practices, but also at governmental level. The National Guide for Preparing Cadres (1997) indicates that in conducting the moral upbringing of the younger generation with the benefit of cultural-historical traditions, educational institutions should work closely with parents, families,

49 *Kadrlar Tayyorlash Milliy Dasturi.*

50 Starting in 1991, the government of Uzbekistan began to give symbolic names to each year. The first five years were dedicated to historical figures who were important to developing a sense of pride in and appreciation of Uzbekistan's cultural and spiritual heritage. Alish- er Nawai (1441–1501), Nadira Begum (1792–1842), Ahmad Yassaviy (c. 11th century), Mirza Ulughbek (1394–1449) Bahouddin Naqshbad (1318–1389), and Amir Temur (1336–1405) were important figures who had years named after them. Propagation of their works and ideas was conducted in school settings as well as in the public sphere.

51 A full list of the names of years and related policies to develop specific programs can be found on the official website of State Programs of Uzbekistan, "O'zbekiston Respublikasi davlat dasturlari portali," http://dd.gov.uz/uz//.

and *mahalla* (neighborhood) committees.52 In a 2010 article, Ghulom Pirnazarov, a higher education instructor, highlighted the role of family and community in instilling national ideology in young people, a role that persists even in higher educational settings. He asserted, "National ideology is inculcated in the young generations through the culture and lifestyle of the older and middle generations in the family, and through their relationship to the homeland and to national values."53 In *Odobnoma* textbooks, the interactions of three generations (grandparents, parents and children) are depicted in ways that illustrate the traditions and responsibilities of family members.

The first-grade textbook states that each person has a unique family and conceptualizes the family as a small homeland, because in Uzbekistan the family is considered an important venue for the formation of society. Presenting the family as a microcosm of the homeland in a way that connects family-grounded morality to state-grounded morality assures students that by behaving ethically in the family, they are also acting properly in society.

A.K. Munavvarov's *Pedagogy of Family* is an important manual for increasing the effectiveness of traditional Uzbek upbringing. Published in the early years of independence (1994), the book speaks of the need to define the Uzbek way of family upbringing, which lauds certain traits, such as respect for parents, gendered responsibilities, and so on. In this work, Munavvarov argues that girls' upbringing has historically been solely the responsibility of the mother, and that the father's involvement in this process results in the development of undesirable characteristics in girls. He also hints that the Soviet regime tainted the traditional upbringing of girls. He indicates that as a result, girls have become "brave, fiery, brusque, eloquent, and adept." His unstated assumption is that these qualities were unexpected in girls, and cause unease for the family and society, especially for men. Thus, there is a need to "return girls to their previous state." He asserts that in order to do this, girls need to be taught that their power is not in their equality with men, but rather in their merciful and courteous qualities.54 The revival of Islamic values after independence foregrounded women's moral values and obligations within this framework. The picture mentioned above, which depicts the father as the breadwinner and the mother as the maintainer of the household, illustrates these traditional gendered responsibilities.

The Uzbek government considers the younger generation an important part of society, and policies about their proper upbringing implicitly or explicitly

52 Fozilov, Sultonov and Saidov, *O'quvchi Ma'naviyatini Shakllantirish*, 47–8.

53 Ghulom Pirnazarov, "National Ideology and Upbringing of Youth," *Tafakkur* 1 (2010): 112.

54 A.K. Munavvarov, *Oila Pedagogikasi* (Tashkent: O'qituvchi, 1994), 18–20.

reflect this consideration. The governmental program of The Year of the Prospering Community *(Obod Mahalla Yili)* (2003) not only reinstates the traditional responsibilities of keeping communities intact, but also stresses the wellbeing of the community and community members' responsibilities to one another. The year's stated objectives, including improving care for the elderly and "propagating the values of kindness and moral-spiritual upbringing (*ma'naviy-akhloqiy tarbiya*) that are tied to customs and traditions," directly link state objectives with the school teachings of *Odobnoma*.55 Traditional upbringing stresses the influence of the neighborhood community. "It takes a village to raise a child," as the proverb goes; the *mahalla* is not only the place where proper conduct is inculcated, but also serves as a surveillance device for ensuring adherence to social obligations.56

Under the theme of "Elderliness is Wisdom," respect for the elderly is instilled in the third grade.57 People justify their obligation to care for parents and the elderly on the grounds that their children will provide responsible care for them when they grow old, as long as they themselves perform their filial obligations properly. State programs related to The Year of Respecting the Elderly *(Qariyalarni Qadrlash Yili)* (2002), The Year of Compassion and Generosity *(Mehr va Muruvvat Yili)* (2004), and The Year of Appreciating Seniors *(Keksalarni E'zozlash)* (2015) involve instilling ethical values and preparing the younger generation to be responsible and worthy caretakers of their parents and respectful heirs to the older generation. *Odobnoma* classes deal with these concerns, among other ethical responsibilities.

Conclusion

As children grow older, *Odobnoma* curricula introduce more complex topics related to obligation and responsibilities. The coherence and continuity of

55 Cabinet of Ministries of Uzbekistan, "O'zbekiston Respublikasi Vazirlar Mahkamasining Qarori 'Obod Mahalla Yili' Dasturi To'g'risida" (Tashkent, February 7, 2003), art. 6–7, http://dd.gov.uz/uz/pages/2003.

56 An Uzbek proverb holds that *bir bolaga yetti mahalla ota-ona* (seven communities are parents for a child). For a description of the complex *mahalla* system in pre-Soviet, Soviet and post-Soviet Uzbekistan, see Eric W. Sievers, "Uzbekistan's Mahalla: From Soviet to Absolutist Residential Community Associations," *The Chicago-Kent Journal of International and Comparative Law* 2 (2002): 91–155.

57 For the relationship between religious obligation and elder care in Central Asia, see Rahimjon Abdugafurov and Beverly Moran, "Islamic Law and Elder Care in the Central Asian *Edgen* System," *Journal of Law and Religion* 31, no. 2 (2016): 197–211.

teaching moral education underscores the universal nature of these values, which are regarded as vital elements in society. The Soviets built their moral education on Marxist-Leninist ideology, while the Jadids sought to promote an agenda based on the Qur'an and Hadith. The ideology of independent Uzbekistan emphasizes that education is based on humanistic values, but also revives the ethical teachings of Islam and regional traditions. Reference to morality continues beyond the classroom and is seen as part of becoming a responsible person and dependable citizen.

For Uzbek citizens, Islam is an inextricable part of their individual identities. Even in secular contexts, the concept of *adab* embodies unstated Islamic elements concerning the proper ways of being a worthy individual in the family and in society at large. The secular nature of *Odobnoma* is mixed with teachings grounded in Islamic heritage and culture that are rooted in every aspect of life. Patriotism, respect for parents, compassion, and encouragement for obtaining knowledge are examples of the moral obligations that are intertwined with Islamic ethics. These virtues are drawn from the Islamic tradition and instilled in everyday life through school training and family upbringing. Storytelling, literary and historical materials, Hadith traditions, and visual depictions in *Odobnoma* and other classes include Islamic teachings of morals, ethics and etiquette, sometimes explicitly and sometimes implicitly. Explicitness indicates that Islam is considered part of everyday life and that the Uzbek school curriculum includes Islam as part of culture, tradition and history. Implicitness suggests that Islamic values are not the only factors to be considered in moral education in schools, but must be combined with secular values.