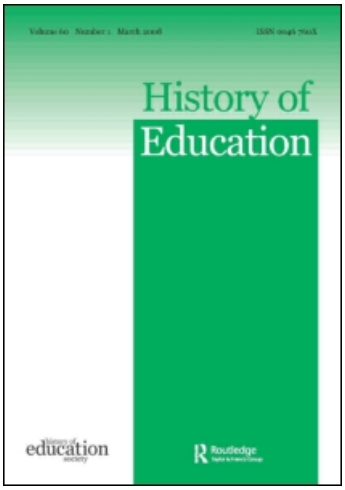

History of Education
Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:
http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~content=t713599897

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To cite this Article Gündüz, Mustafa'Sociocultural origins of Turkish educational reforms and ideological origins of late Ottoman intellectuals (1908-1930)', History of Education, 38: 2, 191 — 216
To link to this Article: DOI: 10.1080/00467600701855838
URL: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00467600701855838

History of Education
Vol. 38, No. 2, March 2009, 191–216

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Sociocultural origins of Turkish educational reforms and ideological origins of late Ottoman intellectuals (1908–1930)

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The modern Turkish state and society have been greatly influenced by reforms of the education system. Second Constitutional Period reforms can be viewed as the preparatory stage of Republican reforms and a time when many of the later reforms were planned and given limited application. In this way both periods contributed to the foundation of modern Turkey. The innovations pioneered by Late Ottoman intellectuals stemmed from various origins, mostly European positivists and materialist philosophers. American pragmatism was added as an ideological source during the foundation of the Republic. It can be observed that ideological trends took root from Ottoman times according to the degree that intellectuals were affected by them. In this paper, the ideological origins of educational reforms during the Second Constitution Period have been studied in relation to the influence of European philosophers on Ottoman intellectuals of the time and their ideological environments. Late Ottoman intellectuals were found to have been largely affected by France's positivism, German's materialism and Comte, Durkheim, Büchner and Spencer. The paper reveals how modern Turkey's educational philosophy parameters have been shaped by these intellectuals' ideas.

Keywords: Turkish Republic educational reforms; educational philosophy; educational sociology; late Ottoman intellectuals; second constitution period; positivism; materialism

Introduction

The beginning of the demise of the classical order in Ottoman state and society was marked by a set of reforms in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. There were many internal and external factors which influenced these changes. Among the most important measures taken to protect the state were re-establishing land regulations and taxation, controlling migration and the population growth, strengthening the central administration and reforming military conscription. An indicator of the modern and pragmatic approach to finding ways of solving state problems was the priority given to modernisation of the military. The objective of the reforms was to 'reinforce the power of central administration, rather than to raise the life standards of the public'.[1] Education was one of the main tools used to materialise this aim. The modernisation movement within the Ottoman Empire also gained a new philosophical,

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[1]K. Karpat, *Osmanlı Modernleşmesi; Toplum, Kurumsal Değişim ve Nüfus* [*Ottoman Modernization: Society, Institutional Change and Population*] (Ankara: İmge Press, 2002), 81.

ISSN 0046-760X print/ISSN 1464-5130 online

DOI: 10.1080/00467600701855838
http://www.informaworld.com

social and political depth with the introduction of the printing machine and the opening of new schools.

Until the seventeenth century, education within the empire was limited to classical primary schools known as *sıbyan mektepleri*, the *madrasah*, and the Palace School known as *Enderun mektebi*. Although education did not extend throughout society, receiving an education was still the gateway to a higher social class. These traditional schools of the Ottoman Empire offered a largely religious education with little emphasis on the development of rational or critical thought. The Palace School and *Madrasah* were mainly responsible for raising qualified personnel for government administration. In the early seventeenth century, Ottomans were no longer able to keep up with the innovations in Europe and the realisation of this resulted in the establishment of a new educational system. Military schools were the first to open. Following the French Revolution, new schools gained even more importance so that social order could be kept and the innovations in Europe could be followed. However, traditional educational institutions continued to exist and to offer religious education during this process; they also countered the newly opened schools which were ordering course books and recruiting teachers from Europe. This conflict persisted within society until the establishment of the Turkish Republic.

The period of reformation within the Ottoman Empire, *Tanzimat*,[2] began in 1839. It ignited a set of far-reaching changes in government administration and social life. It was innovative in terms of the legal code and introduced equality in society. The field of education also witnessed important changes in this era. The courses taught at the newly opened military and medical schools in particular brought about gradual, sustained change in the mindset of the Ottoman elite. This process saw the introduction of European rational thought, and materialist and positivist philosophy.[3] During this era Ottoman intellectuals became familiar with the ideas of the European Reformation. Berkes notes that:

> Ottoman literati had already come across the works of Montesquieu, Rousseau, Fe′nelon, Fontenelle and Voltaire by the mid-nineteenth century and 'became familiar with the ideas of the European philosophers of the Enlightenment and nineteenth century materialism, evolutionism and Darwinism by the end of the century. The names of Schopenhauer, Haeckel, Büchner, Draper, Renan, Taine, Spencer, Gustav Le Bon, Th. Tibot, Stuart Mill, Flaubert, Balzac and Zola had begun to circulate in Ottoman intellectual life.[4]

[2]The process that started in 1839 with the legal reform in the Ottoman state. Mustafa Reşit Pasha read an Imperial Order and started a set of legal reforms which marked the beginning of European-style innovations in law, conscription, industry, education, trade and social life.

[3]Some see this mental change in high-level Ottomans as the beginning of secularism in the Ottoman Empire. However Karpat views this as a 'loss of traditional and cultural identity'; Karpat, 2002, 81.

[4]N. Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1969), 295; N. İrem, 'Undercurrents of European Modernity and the Foundations of Modern Turkish Conservatism: Bergsonism in Retrospect', *Middle Eastern Studies* 40, no. 4 (2004): 84–85.

In fact, this process started 100 years earlier than the *Tanzimat*, during the first diplomatic encounters with the West. Mardin and Beydilli[5] describe the early years of positivist thought in the Ottoman Empire:

> … the reports of the envoys had a 'positivistic' flavor, which recreated another shared tacit element, that of the bureaucrats' discourse. No wonder, then, that the foundation of the nineteenth-century reform movement known as the *Tanzimat* was modeled on the theories of the Austro-German Cameralists, those reformers of state structures whose view adumbrated the later positivists and Saint-Simonians.
>
> The entire reform movement of the *Tanzimat* was based on the positivistic view of the social engineer. In the 1790s, a doorway into that worldview had been the similarly positivistic cast of military education.[6]

The first encounters of Muslim Ottoman intellectuals with the West were rather complex and are not yet fully understood. How did rational thought originate in Ottoman intellectuals who first looked down on and then defended what they had discovered in the West? What was the role of Islam in the encounter with Western thought? How did the shift to materialist and positivist thought take place and what were its reasons? How did late Ottoman thinking give birth to the fathers of the Republic who believed in and materialised rational thought, a secular educational system, and a positivist government and society? These questions constitute the main aims of this article. Discovering how it was possible for Mustafa Kemal and his friends to create a new secular state and society from the Islamic Ottoman state is critical to understanding this process. The present study attempts to understand the ideological roots of the educational reformers of the Republic through a literature survey. It is hoped that this will partly explain the intellectual transformation that created modern Turkey.

A key term in the study is 'Ottoman intellectuals'. 'The qualities attributed to people defined as "*âlim*" (scholar) or "*ârif*" (wise) in the traditional Ottoman society do not carry the same emphasis as the Western concepts of "*intellect*", "*intellectual*", "*le siècle des lumières*"'.[7] As an equivalent of the Western term 'an expert working with ideas', the term 'Ottoman intellectual' was used to refer to people who were involved in state problems, tried to voice social and political issues and strove to generate solutions within the Ottoman state. It is assumed here that people have a culture of '*critical discourse*'[8] (the understanding that any social and philosophical value could be discussed).[9] It was with the *Tanzimat* that Ottoman intellectuals with a culture of critical discourse started to emerge and the first example was Şinasi. This process continued during the second *Meşrutiyet* and peaked with Mustafa Kemal in the Republic era.

Another important concept in the study is 'influence and affect'. One of the most basic difficulties and paradoxes of historical sociological research is the difficulty in

[5]K. Beydilli, *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne Matbaası ve Kütüphanesi (1776– 1826)* [*Engineering Press and Library in the History of Turkish Science and Printing*] (İstanbul: Eren Press, 1995).
[6]Ş. Mardin, 'Turkish Islamic Exceptionalism Yesterday and Today: Continuity, Rupture and Reconstruction in Operational Codes', *Turkish Studies* 6, no. 2 (2005): 150.
[7]Ş. Mardin, *Türkiye'de Din ve Siyaset, Makaleler 3* [*Religion and Politics in Turkey, Articles 3*] (Istanbul: İletişim Press, 2000), 266.
[8]See, for 'Critics expression culture': A.W. Gouldner, *The Future of the Intellectuals and the Rise of the New Class* (London: Macmillan, 1979).
[9]Mardin, 2000, 268.

explaining the 'influence and affect' that a contemporary or a predecessor has on a writer. Many historians and sociologists may err when considering this because the 'influence and affect' seen on the most recent writer can go back a long way, making it impossible to understand who was influenced by whom, to what extent and in what way. This study has made use of Skinner's ideas to explain the concept of 'influence and affect':

> There is no doubt that the concept of 'influence', while extremely elusive (if it is to be distinguished from a cause) is far from being empty of explanatory force…. Most explanations are purely mythological, as can be readily be demonstrated simply by considering what the necessary conditions would have to be for helping to explain the appearance in any given writer B of any given doctrine, by invoking the 'influence' of some earlier given writer A. Such a set of conditions would at least have to include (a) that there should be a genuine similarity between the doctrines of A and B; (b) that B could not have found the relevant doctrine in any writer other A; (c) that the probability of the similarity being random should be very low.[10]

The 'influence and affect' of intellectuals means the following: If Ottoman intellectuals have agreed with their contemporaries or predecessors (whether these be Westerners or locals, modern or historical figures), if they have referred to them in their own works and promoted them in their books, articles or ideas, or if they have tried to materialise their ideas in their own contexts, then a positive interaction can be said to exist between the parties. Naturally, this is a conscious or unconscious process of transmission from Western intellectuals by their Ottoman counterparts. For people in whom the process of transmission cannot be tangibly identified, the issue of 'influence and affect' is therefore regarded as irrelevant.

Educational reforms and their origins: the importance of education in the new Republic

In the new Republic many new reforms were made in social, cultural, economic, political and legal areas. The Republican regime and parliamentary system operated under secular and democratic rules. A mixed economic programme, new commercial treaties, acceptance of European-style clothing and measurement, and new arrangements for the provision of social and cultural activities were some of the important reforms in economic and sociocultural fields. In addition to these, important reforms were made in the area of education. On every possible occasion, political and intellectual leaders emphasised the importance of education for the new state and society. 'The new Republic era and its leadership saw education "as the most important foundation of transformation". In order to create a modern state, it was necessary to forge new values, new ideologies and new ways of looking at things'.[11] These educational reforms were the ones that affected and shaped the newly founded Republic and social life.

The Turkish Republic constituted its own laws which protected and supported new reforms. 'Republicanism', 'nationalism', 'secularism', 'populism' and 'étatism'

[10]J. Tully, *Meaning and Context, Quentin Skinner and His Critics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), 45, 46.

[11]A.M. Kazamias, *Education and Quest for Modernity in Turkey* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1966); S. Turan, 'John Dewey's Report of 1924 and his Recommendations on the Turkish Educational System Revisited', *History of Education*, *Journal of the History of the Education Society* 29, no. 6 (2000): 546–547.

(statism) were the fundamental principals of the state. Education became an important tool for both the protection and the continuation of the Republic. Even before the foundation of the new Republic, educational meetings and conferences were arranged[12] and education continued regardless of difficulties in political, military and economic areas. For these reasons, the founder of the Republic, Mustafa Kemal (1881–1938), emphasised the importance of education in social development and stated that 'regardless of what we have to do to succeed in education, this is the only way to advance'.[13] By also stating that 'education either enables a nation to be free, glorious and advanced or causes captivity, corruption and misery'[14] he emphasised the importance of education for the Republic. In this new era, the importance of education and science was to be continually emphasised.

To be able to learn about the areas that affect educational ideas and their origins, we have to examine the expectations from education, published articles and the school curriculum of this era. The main goal of the Republic's reforms was to establish a national, modern and secular society. All these aims could be achieved via a national education system. In one of his speeches, Mustafa Kemal declared his expectations of education as follows: 'to be able to use knowledge in daily life, education has to be used as a practical and useful tool'.[15] He also argued that 'a non-national education system was the reason behind the failure of the previous education system'[16] and success could only be accomplished with a new national system. For this reason, the second minister of education stated that 'the spirit of our education is patriotism, its direction is western, and its goal is nation-building'.[17] According to Mustafa Kemal, the main goal of education was to protect a nation's existence and future. In order to maintain the independence of Turkey, originality and Turkish customs needed to be taught to new generations. In his mind, 'the first duty of education is to raise individuals to function well in the society, educate them and furnish them with culture'.[18] He also thought that a powerful and healthy society could only be established with healthy individuals.

Following the foundation of the Republic many changes were enacted which impacted variously on the modernisation of education in Turkey. They include the Law of Unification of Instruction (Tevhid-i Tedrisat), the Alphabet Reforms, the foundation of Public Schools, the founding of the Turkish Historical Society and Turkish Language Society and the reformation of universities. However, it is widely held that

[12]'Maarif Kongresi', *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye* ['Congress of Education', *National Sovereignty*] (17 July 1921); Y. Akyüz, 'Atatürk ve 1921 Eğitim Kongresi', *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Eğitim* [*Education in the Republic Period*] (Ankara: A.Ü. Press, 1983), 89–103.
[13]*Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri II* [*Atatürk's Speeches and Declarations*] (Ankara: TTK Press, 1945), 196.
[14]V. Bingöl, *Atatürk'ün Mili Eğitimizle İlgili Düşünce ve Buyrukları* [*Atatürk's Ideas and Orders Dealing with National Education*] (Ankara: TDK Press, 1970), 36.
[15]E. Arslan, *Atatürkçü Düşünce Siteminde Türk Eğitimi* [*Turkish Education in Atatürk's Idea System*] (Diyarbakır: Dicle Üniversity Press, 1989), 38.
[16]Bingöl, 1970, 37.
[17]'Maarifimize Umûmi İstikamet, Hamdullah Suphi Beyefendi Ne Diyorlar?', *Hâkimiyet–i Milliye* ['General Direction For Education, What does Hamdullah Suphi Say?', *National Sovereignty*] (27 October 1922). For Mustafa Kemal's ideas about education see: Mustafa Ergün, *Atatürk Devri Türk Eğitimi* [*Turkish Education In Atatürk's Period*] (Ankara: Ocak Press, 1997), 17.
[18]*Atatürk'ün Maarife Ait Direktifleri* [*Atatürk's Directives on Education*] (İstanbul: Maarif Vekâleti Press, 1939), 11.

Figure 1. Most of the late Ottoman intellectuals graduated from the Royal Medical Academy (Mekteb-i Tıbbıye-i Şahane). New social and philosophical ideas that were developing in Europe were first taught and adopted here.

the modernisation of education in Turkey started with İbrahim Müterrefika's[19] introduction of the printing machine to the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, the formation of military schools during Sultan Selim III (1789–1807) sowed the seeds of modern education.[20] Especially during *Tanzimat* (1839–1876), modern public and military schools (Tıbbiye, Royal Medical Academy; Harbiye, Royal Military Academy; and Mülkiye, Royal School of Administration) became more widespread. Following Selim III, the reformation of education gained momentum during the reign of Mahmud II. Turkish people's efforts to look like European people started with Mahmud II (1820–1839) and were completed during Mustafa Kemal's period (1923–1938).[21] After the *Tanzimat*, the quality and quantity of education improved during Abdülhamid II (1876–1908) and the Second Constitutional Period (1908–1923). The best-known members of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) (*İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*) and the founders of the Republic all graduated from the schools which were opened during the reign of Abdülhamid II.[22] As can be seen, the new Republic inherited an education system that was open to modernisation. The intellectual basis for modern education and science was already structured before the foundation of the Republic. Hence, all these developments in education laid the basis for the educational reforms post-1923.

[19]İbrahim Müteferrika (1670?–1747), born in Erdel (Erdély), was an eighteenth-century Ottoman statesman and intellectual. He was the founder of the first Ottoman printing house.

[20]F.R. Unat, *Türkiye Eğitim Sisteminin Gelişmesine Tarihi Bir Bakış* [*A Historical Observation on the Development of the Turkish Educational System*] (Ankara: MEB Press, 1964), 1–89. E.Z. Karal, *Osmanlı Tarihi, V.5, Nizâm-ı Cedid ve Tanzimat Devirleri* (*1789–1856)* [*Ottoman History*] (Ankara: TTK Press, 1999).

[21]N. Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma* [*The Development of Secularism in Turkey*] (İstanbul: YKY, 2002), 195.

[22]B.C. Fortna, *Mekteb-i Hümayun, Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Son Döneminde İslâm, Devlet ve Eğitim* [*Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire*] (İstanbul: İletişim Press 2005), 295; the role played by CUP members in Turkish political life are well examined in E.J. Zürcher, *The Role of the Committee of Union Progress and in the Turkish Nationalist Movement* (*1905–1926)* (Leiden, 1984). Again see: M.Ş. Hanioğlu, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 3.

Prior to the Turkish Republic, many artists, scientists, engineers and politicians had already adopted European styles of science, art and philosophy. By the late 1860s the education of women and their participation in public life was under way and the importance of child education was widely recognised. In another example, the 'banning of violence and punishment in schools had started during *Tanzimat*'.[23] During this period, science and engineering had been added to the curriculum in some schools. The precursors of the Republican-era Village Institutes were also established during the Tanzimat period. By the early 1900s, the ideas of Russian literati about public education were discussed in Turkey. For this reason it can be argued that the origins of the Republic's reforms lie in the intellectual movements of the Second Constitutional Period.

The Republic 'gave extra importance to education and used it to spread its ideology and reforms to the public'.[24] However, it is also thought that its excessive emphasis on ideology and utilisation of education to instil ideology 'weakened and atrophied Turkish intellectual life'.[25]

The Law of Unification of Instruction adopted in March 1924 combined all educational institutions under the control of the Ministry of Education.[26] Shortly before this in 1923 Mustafa Kemal stated in Izmir that 'our nation's educational institutions must be similar. All Turkish citizens, women and men, must graduate from these'.[27] This statement highlighted the importance of educational unity to the founders of the Republic and has been used as evidence that the objective of the law was to forge an education system with a secular ideology.[28] 'The Law of Unification of Instruction was concerned with the implementation of the policies of secularism'.[29] Indeed, this secularist ideology in education also had its roots in the *Tanzimat*. It has also been argued that secularist thought had much earlier origins among Ottoman intellectuals and governors.[30]

When the first modern schools were established, all schools except the Royal Medical and Military Academies and the Royal School of Administration were affiliated to the Ministry of Public Education (*Maarif-i Umûmiye Nezâreti*). The unity of education was first stipulated in the Regulation for Public Education (*Maarrif-i Umumiye Nizannâmesi*) in 1869. During the Second Constitutional Period, an earlier Law of Unification of Instruction was introduced. Many intellectuals regarded unity of education as the only way to succeed in the areas of education, military, science and

[23]Münif (Paşa). 'Ehemmiyet-i Terbiye-i Sıbyan', *Mecmua-yı Fünûn* ['Importance of Child Education', *The Journal of Sciences*] (Cemaziyelevvel 1279/1866), no. 5: 176–185.
[24]O. Kafadar, 'Cumhuriyet Dönemi Eğitim Tartışmaları', *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasî Düşünce*, *Modernleşme ve Batıcılık* ['Education Discussions in Republic Period', *Political Thought In Modern Turkey, Modernization and Westernization*] (İstanbul: İletişim Press, 2003), Vol. 3, 378.
[25]Y. Aktay, 'Türkiye Siyasî Düşüncesinde Kayıp Halka' [Lost Ring in Turkey's Political Thought], *Dîvân*, İstanbul (2005), Vol. 19, 39–40.
[26]G.N. Saqıb, *Modernization of Muslim Education in Egypt, Pakistan and Turkey: A Comparative Study* (Lahore, Pakistan: Islamic Book Service, 1983).
[27]*Atatürk's Directives on Education*, 15.
[28]İ. Sungu, 'Tevhidi Tedrisat' [Law of Unification of Instruction], *Belleten*, Ankara (1938), II. Vol. 7, 8, 397–431.
[29]From S. Turan, 2000, 550.
[30]'The reports of the envoys had a "positivistic" flavor, which recreated another shared tacit element, that of the bureaucrats' discourse…. The entire reform movement of the *Tanzimat* was based on the positivistic view of the social engineer.' Mardin, 2005, 150.

social life because the education system in the Ottoman Empire was much more diverse than that in other developed countries. Primary schools (*Sıbyan-Mahalle mektebleri*), *madrasah*, religious schools, military schools and foreign schools were just some of the many different institutions, all separately administered from different ministries. For this reason, Abdullah Cevdet stated that: 'We want unity, which can be achieved by having a common interest, sentiments, faith and educational unity. I would like to especially emphasise educational unity because there is no other country in the world which has a more diverse education system than Turkey'.[31]

Abdullah Cevdet stressed the significance of educational unity and made an appeal for all schools to be gathered under one umbrella. He was one of the first promoters of the Law of Unification of Instruction before the foundation of the Republic. To defend his ideas, he used examples from European and American educational systems.[32] In addition, in an educational commission in 1914, he used the terms 'unity in education (*vahdet-i terbiye*) and the Law of Unification of Instruction'.[33] Until that time, the education system had a religious context. Reformers saw this as the principal reason why new laws were necessary. Late Ottoman intellectuals, who imported Positivist and Materialist philosophies to the society after *Tanzimat*, also emphasised the importance of non-religious education for bringing about social change.

Another of the key principles of the new Republic was laicism[34] which continues to be discussed within Turkish society. Defined as separating the affairs of state and religious matters from each other,[35] its essence is that the state must keep the same distance from all religious belief systems. This principle had its origins in the late fifteenth century, when efforts were made to limit the influence of the clergy on government, and assumed its modern meaning after the establishment of the Republic.[36] The modern meaning of laicism had been discussed earlier by the intellectuals of the Second Constitutional Period. For example, Ahmed Rıza (1858–1930) who had been influenced by the French positivist sociologist August Comte, contended that the nature of education should be a 'secular ethical education'.[37] Another intellectual of the era, Abdullah Cevdet, also advocated a secular education system,

[31]Abdullah Cevdet, 'Kıvâm-ı Akvam,' *İştihâd*, İstanbul (5 February 1914), no. 90–1, 2016; Again see: M. Gündüz, *II. Meşrutiyet'in Klasik Paradigmaları, İçtihad, Sebilü'r-Reşad ve Türk Yurdu'nda Toplumsal Tezler* [*Classical Paradigms of the Second Constitution, Social Thesis in İctihat, Sebilü'r-Reşad and Türk Yurdu Journals*] (Ankara: 1997, Lotus Press).

[32]Abdullah Cevdet published extensively on American and European schools. For the best known, see: O. Buyse, *Methodes Americaines d'Education Generale et Technique* (*Umûmî ve Âli Amerika Terbiye Usûlleri*), trans. Abdullah Cevdet (İstanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1925, 1926).

[33]Y. Akyüz, 'Türk Eğitim Tarihi Açısından Öğretim Birliği ve Tevhid-i Tedrisat'ın Önemi (The Importance of the Law of Unification of Instruction for Turkish Education History) (Ankara: A.Ü. Press, 2002), 39.

[34]In Turkish *Lâiklik*, laicism is one of the basic principles underlying the political ideology of the Republican People's Party (1931) (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi CHP*) and later incorporated into the Constitution of 1937. It signifies the ideology of 'secularism' and the secularisation policies of the Republican period.

[35]Berkes, 1969, 18; B. Lewis, *The Emergency of Modern Turkey* (London: Royal Institute of International Affairs, Oxford University Press, 1961), 397.

[36]Lewis, 1961, 396.

[37]Ahmed Rıza. *Maarif-i Umûmiyenin Islahına Dair Sultan Abdülhamid Han-ı Sani Hazretlerine Takdim Kılınan Altı Layihadan Birincisi* [*The First of the Six Reports that were Presented to Abdülhamid II for General Educational Reform*] (London: 1312/1886), 5.

famously stating that receiving no education is better than receiving an education that has been affected by religion.[38] Many other intellectuals also advocated the same type of secular education. For instance, Kılıçzâde Hakkı (1872–1959), Mizancı Murad (1854–1917) and Prince Sebahattin (1877–1948) also expressed similar secular ideas, mostly the imitation of Comte and Durkheim's positivism. Durkheim defined secular education as follows: 'in our schools we decided to give secular ethics education to our children. This means not to take anything from celestial religion and to abide by feelings, ideas, applications which can be judged by wisdom, simply this is secular (laicist) education'.[39] It is therefore evident that the ideas of the late Ottoman Empire's intellectuals concerning secular education were affected by the French Positivism movement.

Apart from education, the fields of sociology, philosophy, social life, literature and culture were also influenced by French positivism and materialism. For instance, even though they had different sociological ideas, most Ottoman sociologists, namely Ali Suavi, Beşir Fuad, Ahmet Suayb, Prens Sabahattin, Ziya Gökalp, Mehmet İzzet and Ismayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, adopted French positivist philosophy. As in French positivist sociology, they mostly attributed the mission of arrangement and integration to sociology. 'They accepted sociology like positivist science such as physics and chemistry as their French colleagues did'[40] and 'accepted science as a positivist philosophy'.[41] They tried to solve social problems by using remedies from positivist sociologists such as the social theories of Comte, Spencer and Durkheim. With the influence of this movement, Baltacıoğlu argued that 'sociology must arrange social life'.[42] For this reason, during the Second Constitution and Republic periods, great importance was given to sociology and it was even added to the high school curriculum.

Relationship between nation-building, citizenship and education

Various previous studies have shown that 'state formation is a complicated project containing conflicting tasks. It reminds us that state hegemonic strategies always bring about contradictory results, and the connection between education and state formation is always dialectical'.[43] This close relationship between education and the state started after the Industrial Revolution. The use of education in building a nation, spreading nationalism and modernisation was seen openly in the nineteenth century

[38]M.Ş. Hanioğlu, *Bir Siyasal Düşünür Olarak Abdullah Cevdet ve Dönemi* [*Abdullah Cevdet as a Political Thinker and His Times*] (İstanbul: Üçdal Neşriyat, 1981), 370; Cevdet said that his ideas had occurred during Republic, see: Abdullah Cevdet, 'Mustafa Kemal Paşa ve İlgâyı Esâret', *İçtihad*, İstanbul (1 September 1925), no. 188, 3706.
[39]Emile Durkheim, *L'Education Morale* (Paris: Librairie Felix Alcan, 1925), 3: Reported by M. Korlaelçi, *Pozitivizmin Türkiye'ye Girişi ve İlk Etkileri* [*The Introduction of Positivism in Turkey and Its First Impacts*] (Ankara: Hece Press, 2002), 40.
[40]E. Yıldırım, 'Türk Sosyolojisinde Pozitivizm: Bilginin Sosyolojik Tasarımı (1908–1945)', *Sosyoloji Araştırmaları Dergisi* ['Positivism in Turkish Sociology, Sociological Design of Knowledge, 1908–1945', *Journal of Sociological Research*], Ankara (2004/1), 117.
[41]Yıldırım, 2004, 113.
[42]İ. H. Baltacıoğlu, *Batıya Doğru* [*West Wards*] (İstanbul: MEB Press, 1945), 90.
[43]T.-H. Wong, 'Education and State Formation Reconsidered: Chinese School Identity in Postwar Singapore', *Journal of Historical Sociology* 16, no. 2 (2003): 237–265.

in 'the US, UK, France',[44] 'Germany, Austria',[45] the Ottoman Empire[46] and Far Eastern[47] states.

Following the French Revolution, nation-states started to be formed throughout the world. The Industrial Revolution which preceded the French Revolution encouraged the capitalist economic system in Europe and, parallel to this, the formation of nation-states as well. The two systems remained interdependent and developed. The survival of the capitalist economic system and the industrial society depended on qualified manpower, which could be achieved through education. Education was looked to for raising the human profile required by the Industrial Revolution and for creating the 'citizen' necessary for the nation-state. The responsibilities of education in this era were, as such: 'the task was to help people gain the skills and knowledge with which to live more productive, sufficient and healthy lives and ultimately become citizens of a modern, "progressive and democratic" state'.[48] Following the Reformation in Europe, innovations in education gained critical importance.[49] This importance was also reflected in the growing education budgets of these countries. The spread of schools and the shift to compulsory education for all started more or less at similar times in Europe and Ottoman Turkey.[50] The need for these developments emerged from the decline that the Ottoman Empire was experiencing at the time. In the 1880s the education policy of France was largely based on raising patriotic citizens. This educational policy started to be used in the Ottoman Empire to spread Ottomanism. For instance, the educational policy during the reign of Abdülhamid II was based on strengthening and conserving the central power, to give life to pan-Islamist politics and to raise Ottoman citizens.[51]

The policy of shaping citizens through education was adopted by the Turkish Republic approximately 40 years later. France was taken as a model in this process. Therefore, the French language was promoted in the Turkish high school curriculum so that the French citizenship system could be better taught.[52] The content of the courses entitled 'Turkish History', 'Turkish Geography' and 'National Studies' were also rearranged in order to raise better citizens. The main aim of these changes was to ensure social unity. Education was given the functions of social unification and talent development. This new role of education was inspired by Emile Durkheim, according to whom education had two aims: 'The first was to develop the talent needed for the industrial economy, and the second one was to achieve social unification by cultural

[44]Andrew Green, *Education and State Formation, the Rise of Education System in England, France and the USA* (London: Macmillan, 1990).
[45]M. Lamberti, *State, Society and the Elementary School in Imperial Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).
[46]S.A. Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839–1908: Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2001).
[47]Wong, 2003, 237–265.
[48]D. M. Ment,. 'Education, Nation-Building and Modernization After World War I: American Ideas for the Peace Conference', *Paedagogica Historica* 41, nos 1&2 (2005): 170.
[49]Green, 1990, 1.
[50]Green, 1990, 15–20; 'In the 17th century, the Ottoman state and social structure had as much potential as other countries for the industrial revolution and the capitalist order. However, the transition to capitalism did not happen as factors such as migration and the increasing population could not be matched to the new economic developments and the capital order could not be matched to the society.' Karpat, 2002, 38.
[51]Fortna, 2005.
[52]A.S. Barak, 'Turkish Education and Democracy, 1923–50', *Middle Eastern Studies*, USA 40, no. 2 (2004): 85.

communication'.[53] In addition, during the second Constitution, the CUP's policy of Turkification was 'a project of nation-building, transforming the whole empire into a nation-state and aiming to keep the unity of the empire under the domination of a Turkish national core'.[54] Education was used by the CUP at that time not only for nation-building but for the centralisation of the administration, with one of the first reforms being the centralisation of education itself. 'Turkish pedagogues conveyed a blueprint for the new society they felt empowered to create. At the same time, they cultivated relationships among the basic conceptual referents of Kemalism. These included nationalism, freedom, duty, equality, society-orientedness, rationality and laicism'.[55] In order to achieve these aims, Turkish educators attached a magical power to education, as they had done earlier in the Abdülhamid period, and believed that they would only be able to materialise their aims through education.

The origins of Kemalist thought

Only the education system could construct the ideal individual types for the newly founded state's society. This determination can be inferred from its leaders' expectations of education. Among those who determined educational policy in the new Turkish state were Ziya Gökalp, Yusuf Akçura, Rıza Nur, Ahmed Agayef, Hamdullah Suphi, Mustafa Necati, Avni Basman, Mehmed Emin Erişirgil, Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Mustafa Şekip Tunç, İ. Hakkı Baltacıoğlu and Rahman Öymen. These educators were rooted in the intellectual legacy of the Second Constitutional Period and influenced the ideas of the leader of the republic, Mustafa Kemal. In order to understand him, his ideas regarding the military, educational and political society system need to be examined.[56]

'Ottomanism', 'Turkism', 'Islamism' and 'Westernism' were the dominant political and ideological movements during the early twentieth century. Mustafa Kemal was influenced by all these movements. For that reason 'the ideology of Kemalist reforms is based on the ideological movements of the Second Constitutional Period'.[57] According to the well-known modern Turkish historian Zürcher, the modernisation of Turkey started during the *Tanzimat*.[58] While he was studying Kemalist thought, Zürcher first looked at the ideologies of the leaders of the Young Turks: Ahmed Rıza, Ziya Gökalp, Yusuf Akçura, Ahmed Ağaoğlu, İsmail Gaspıralı and Abdullah Cevdet. With the exception of Abdullah Cevdet and Ahmed Rıza, these intellectuals advocated Turkism and each had a different effect on Kemalist thought.

Ahmed Rıza (1858–1930) was one of the most effective positivists and laicists among Young Turks. He was effective in the adaptation of the positivist philosophy in the state. He had a keen interest in education and advocated modern and secular educational policies. His ideas were largely shaped by French positivist intellectuals.

[53]Green, 1990, 36.
[54]E. Ülker, 'Contextualising 'Turkification': Nation-building in the Late Ottoman Empire 1908–18', *Nations and Nationalism*, UK 11, no. 4 (2005): 632.
[55]Salmoni, 2004, 83.
[56]There are some studies into the origins of Kemalist thought. Andrew Mango and Erik-Jan Zurcher's studies are well known among these: A. Mango, *Atatürk*, *The Biography of the Founder of Modern Turkey* (New York: Press Overlook by Press Overlook, 2002); E.-J. Zurcher, *Turkey*, *A Modern History* (London & New York: I. B. Tauris, 1993); Lewis, 1961.
[57]Kafadar, 2003, 352.
[58]E.-J. Zürcher, 'Ottoman Sources of Kemalist Thought', in *Late Ottoman Society, The Intellectual Legacy*, ed. E. Özdalga (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), 16.

Figure 2. Yusuf Akçura, who graduated from the Ecole des Sciences Politiques, was affected by Emile Boumty and other French positivist nationalists. He was the premier theorist of Turkish nationalism.

Abdullah Cevdet also had radical and secular views. He was one of the proponents of the Law of Unification of Instruction, the Latin alphabet and women's rights and liberation. Mustafa Kemal was affected by his innovative ideas for modernisation, which had European sources. Another intellectual who influenced Kemalism was Ziya Gökalp.[59] His books entitled *The Principles of Turkism* (*Türkçülüğün Esasları*) and *Turkifying, Islamising and Westernising* (*Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak ve Muasırlaşmak*) had an effect on Mustafa Kemal, albeit not as strong as some have claimed. Mustafa Kemal differed from Gökalp concerning the concepts of 'nation, nationality, language, culture and coeducation'.[60] Ideologically, Gökalp was a Turkist while also an activist of secular thought. He was a solidarist[61] intellectual and expressed his thought as solidarism, ideas similar to the principles of Republic Populism as first

[59]U. Heyd, *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism*; *the Life and Teachings of Ziya Gokalp* (London: Luzac & Co. and the Harvill Press, 1950), 140–155; Zürcher, 'Ottoman Sources of Kemalist Thought', 17.

[60]F. Georgeon, *Osmanlı Türk Modernleşmesi* (*1900–1930)* [*The Modernization of Ottoman Turkish*], trans. Ali Berktay (İstanbul: YKY, 2006), 95.

[61]A system of labour arrangements in which labour unions and capitalists jointly set wages below market clearing levels. This arrangement is traditionally enforced through employer organisations.

introduced in the CUP's 1913 programmes, inspired by French and Russian[62] influence and the Usul-i Cedid[63] movement.

Hüseyinzâde Ali Bey (Turan)[64] was one of Ziya Gökalp's ideological sources.[65] His thoughts can be discerned in Hüsyinzâde Ali Bey's articles published in the '*Hayat* and *Füyûzat*'[66] journals. For this reason, Ali Bey became an important intellectual source of Kemalist ideology. Alongside Ziya Gökalp, Ahmed Ağaoğlu (1869–1939)[67] was also an important proponent of secular thought and an opponent of religion. Mustafa Kemal's religious ideas were similar to those of Ağaoğlu, who had been educated in Russia and France. His views on religion were influenced by Russian intellectuals, the *Usul-i Cedid* movement and French sociologist thought. Another leader of the Young Turks, Yusuf Akçura, had more influence on Mustafa Kemal's Turkist ideology than Ziya Gökalp or Ağaoğlu. Akçura's Turkism had deep effects on the ideology of the Republic. 'Kemalist nationalism[68] is different from Ziya Gökalp's cultural and Akçura's ethnic nationality definitions'.[69]

Ağaoğlu, Akçura and Ali Bey's ideas had been shaped in Russia. However, they also adopted Western education and thought. These Russian-origin intellectuals received both Western and Eastern education and combined them to form their ideas. For that reason, the effects of these intellectuals on Mustafa Kemal were different from intellectuals of Ottoman origin such as Abdullah Cevdet, Ahmed Rıza or Kılıçzâde Hakkı. All these influences show that Kemalist thought was a continuation of the Young Turks' ideology.

Filibeli Ahmed Hilmi's[70] works entitled '*History of Islâm*' and '*Is it possible to disclaim God*?' were also read by Mustafa Kemal who is known to have made several comments on them.[71] Mustafa Kemal was also influenced by many other intellectuals, poets and artists such as Namık Kemal, Tevfik Fikret and Mehmed Emin Yurdakul.

[62]Z. Toprak, 'Halkçılık İdeolojisinin Oluşumu', *Atatürk Döneminin Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarihiyle İlgili Sorunlar Sempozyumu* (İstanbul: 1977), 13–31; Ö. Gökmen, 'Tek Parti Dönemi Cumhuriyet Halk Partisinde Muhafazakâr Yönelimler', *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce* [*Political Thought in Modern Turkey*] (İstanbul: İletişim Press, 2003), Vol. 5, 147.

[63]The Tatar modernization movement in Kazan, Turkistan, Samarkand and Middle Asia during the late nineteenth century.

[64]Ali Bey was born in Baku in 1864. He came to Istanbul and taught in the Military Medical School, where he disseminated his ideas among the students who were the founders of the Young Turks movement. He wrote many poems and books. Later, he returned to Baku and published newspapers and magazines. He worked for the union of Turks and for the survival of the Ottoman State. He died in Istanbul in 1940.

[65]Abdullah Cevdet, 'İhya-yı La Yemût', *İçtihad*, Cairo no. 5 (February 1908): 294–295.

[66]Heyd, 1950, 149.

[67]For Ağaoğlu's affect on the new Turkey and his life, works; see: H. Shissler, *Between Two Empires, Ahmet Agaoglu and the New Turkey* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2003); F. Sakal, *Ağaoğlu Ahmed Bey* (Ankara: TTK Press, 1999).

[68]Kemalism: Mustafa Kemal's and the new Republic of Turkey's official ideology. There are six fundamentals of the ideology; republicanism, populism, nationalism, statism, revolutionalism and secularism.

[69]Georgeon, 1996, 95; Zürcher, 2005, 21.

[70]Ahmet Hilmi, was born in Filibe in 1865 and died in Istanbul in 1914. He was a late Ottoman Islamist intellectual. He had written the long and widely disproved 'History of İslâm' (*İslâm Tarihi*) for famous orientalist Reinhart Pieter Anne Dozy's book 'Essai Sur l'histoire de l' İslamisme' (*Tarih-i İslâmiyet*). He defended spiritualism as opposed to materialism.

[71]*Atatürk'ün Hatıra Defteri* [*The Diary of Atatürk*], prepared by Ş. Tezer (Ankara: TTK Press, 1999), 83; D. Kushner, *The Rise of Turkish Nationalism 1876–1908* (London: Frank Cass, 1977).

Poetry for example had an important influence on Mustafa Kemal's language simplification reforms. Gara de Waux, Leon Cahun, Hilarie de Barentona and Vianian Hermann F. Kvergic influenced the Sun Language Theory (Güneş Dil Teorisi).[72] Abdullah Cevdet, Mehmet Âkif, Rıza Tevfik and Kılıçzade Hakkı influenced social change, the modern educational system, language, civilisation and improvement.[73]

Mustafa Kemal's expectations of education were parallel to the ideas which were developed during European Educational History and 'equivalent to international norms'.[74] Jean Jacques Rousseau was one of the basic sources of Mustafa Kemal's views on civilisation, culture, freedom, Republic and race. For instance, Mustafa Kemal's view of freedom was affected by John Locke and Rousseau's 'nature rights'.[75] His definition of a nation was similar to that of Ernest Renan.[76] In the area of education, Mustafa Kemal was influenced by Rousseau[77] and Dewey. In 1924 the Turkish Ministry of Education invited Dewey to Turkey to report on issues facing the Turkish educational system. The report was very influential.[78] Dewey advocated 'doing and experiencing' as a learning method and brought to attention the idea of constructivism. Mustafa Kemal was also influenced by other Western educational philosophies and intellectuals, such as Rousseau and Durkheim.[79] 'It can be said that the recommendations made by Dewey are historically significant in the development of an educational system.'[80] Dewey's philosophy of education continues to influence Turkish education policy and practice.[81]

The Kemalist idea of history had been mostly shaped by French historians and philosophers. An Italian historian, Leone Caetani, had also influenced Mustafa Kemal's ideas on history. Abdullah Cevdet had offered[82] to Mustafa Kemal that he would translate Leone Caetani's book '*Annali dell' Islam*' into Turkish. This book was expected to be beneficial for people and was translated into Turkish by Hüseyin Cahid in 1924–1926. The author of '*Les Turcs Anciens et Modernes*' Mustafa Celaleddin

[72]Ş. Turan, *Atatürk'ün Düşünce Yapısını Etkileyen Olaylar, Düşünceler, Kitaplar* [*Events, Ideas and Books that Shaped Atatürk's Ideas*] (Ankara:TTK Press, 1999), 52.
[73]Abdullah Cevdet, 'Fas Hükümet-i İslâmiye'sinin İnkırâzı'('Decline of Islamic Morocco Government'), Cenevre, *İçtihad* no. 5 (April 1905): 70; Mehmed Âkif, 'Mev'ıza'('Subjects'), *Sebilü'r-Reşad*, İstanbul 9, no. 230 (6 February 1913): 375; *Atatürk'ün Söylev ve Demeçleri* [*Atatürk's Speeches and Declarations*] (Ankara: TTK Press, 1952), Vol. 2, 450, Changes in ideas can be compared in these pages.
[74]H. Umunç, 'The Universal Values of Atatürk's Educational Policy', *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi* [*Journal of Atatürk Research Center*], Ankara 8, no. 22 (November 1991): 33–37.
[75]These effects can be seen in his book (*Medenî Bilgiler*) which he wrote for middle schools. See: İnan, Afet. *Medenî Bilgiler ve Atatürk'ün El Yazıları* [*Civil Knowledge and Atatürk's Manuscripts*] (Ankara: TTK Press, 1969), 51.
[76]S. Turan, 2000, 15 and 19.
[77]İ. H. Baltacıoğlu, *Atatürk* [*Ataturk*] (Erzurum: Atatürk Üniversity Press, 1973), 12.
[78]S. Turan, 2000, 547; C. Cahen, Introduction, in *John Dewey: The Middle Work, 1899–1924*, Vol. 15, 1923–1924, ed. J.A. Boydston (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1983), xx.
[79]Mustafa Kemal's social ideas were similar to Durkheim's sociological theories. He even translated a few of his books. Compare Mustafa Kemal's social ideas with *Education Morale* and *De la Division du Travail Social*.
[80]S. Turan, 2000, 554.
[81]S. Büyükdüvenci, 'John Dewey's Impact on Turkish Education', in *The New Scholarship on Dewey*, ed. J. Garrison Dordrecht (Dordrecht: Kluwer, 1995), 230.
[82]Abdullah Cevdet, 'Tercüme Tercüme'['Translation Translation'], *İçtihad*, İstanbul no. 156 (1 August 1329/1923): 3211; again see: Berkes, 1969, 441.

Paşa (1826–1876), Leon Cohen and Deguigne were other historians who influenced Mustafa Kemal, who was particularly inspired by Deguigne's idea regarding Turkish history: that it could be taken up in an integral approach.[83] Among other contributors to Mustafa Kemal's thought were Herbert George Wells in world history; Rousseau, Eugene Pittard and Joseph Arthur de Gobineau in civilisation and race; and the Frenchmen Raymond Poincaré and Jean Paul Gaultier in contemporary ideas.

Some educators and their areas of influence during the early Republic period

The Republic's educational policy philosophy had been developed with the assistance of intellectuals such as Ziya Gökalp, Avni Başman, Mustafa Şefik, Mehmed Emin Erişirgil, İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu and Hilmi Ziya Ülken. It was Mustafa Şefik who took the first step towards pragmatism in Turkey by translating William James's *Discussion in Education* (*Terbiye Muhasebeleri*). However, the true representatives of the pragmatist approach in Turkey were Emin Erişirgil and Avni Başman. They were initially influenced by John Dewey, who 'as a philosopher of education is still continuing to influence Turkish education theoretically through his ideas on education and especially pragmatism'.[84] In the journal *Hayat*, which was first published in 1926, the implementation of pragmatism in Turkish education was advocated. 'Erişirgil with his article "Nietzsche and Knowledge theory" aimed to promote pragmatism'.[85] To be able to implement his ideas, Erişirgil helped to prepare the 1928 Elementary Education Curriculum according to these directions.

Intellectuals who grappled with educational problems during the early Second Constitutional Period put these essential problems to one side and looked for complete abstract education.[86] Essential changes were needed in the educational system so as to raise intellectuals. The most basic of these changes was to offer more observation and experiential learning opportunities to students. The ideas, inspired by Erişirgil, laid the foundations for the educational philosophy of Turkey.

Avni Başman also helped to infuse pragmatic ideas into the Turkish education system. During this process he arranged for the translation of John Dewey's *School and Child*, *Child and Society* and *Education and Democracy* and works from Bursy, Aldous Huxley and Jules Romain. Under the influence of pragmatism, he wrote *Knowledge of Nature* for junior high schools. One of the other intellectuals who contributed to pragmatism in the Turkish educational system was Ziya Ülken who was affected by *Nietzsche's Moral Philosophy*[87] in pragmatism and by Henri Lichtenberger and Richard Wagner in other areas such as educational philosophy, sociology, patriotism and Anatolianism.[88]

Hakkı Baltacıoğlu was another intellectual who made notable contributions to the Turkish educational system. 'He took the first step in incorporating handwork, art, theatre, acts of speech and educational trips into education'.[89] He played a particularly

[83]S. Turan, 2000, 29.
[84]Büyükdüvenci, 1995.
[85]S. Turan, 2000, 37, 43, 47.
[86]M.E. Erişirgil, 'Kuvvetli Münevver Zümre Nasıl Yetişir?' [How to Raise an Effective Intellectual Class?], İstanbul, *Hayat* no. 6 (6 January 1927): 105.
[87]H.Z. Ülken, 'Nietzsche Ahlakı' ['Morale of Nietzsche')], *Cogito*, İstanbul no. 25 (2001): 286.
[88]H.Z. Ülken, *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi* [*History of Modern Thought in Turkey*] (İstanbul: Ülken Press, 2001), 477.
[89]Ibid., 450.

important role in the acceptance of concepts from the French education system. He greatly influenced the official history of education, modern teaching and learning, Turkish plastic arts, religion and modernisation and secularisation of religion in the Turkish educational system. His ideas on education and sociology were mostly related to Durkheim, Le Bonn and Rousseau. He was inspired by Rousseau's *Émile ou de L'éducation*[90] and issues to do with child development and education. In sociology, Baltacıoğlu always expressed his appreciation of Durkheim's *Rules of Methodology of Sociology*.[91] In some of his articles and books, he was inspired by Bergson[92] and tried to synthesise Bergson and Durkheim's philosophies. Most Turkish pragmatists were affected by Walter James and Dewey. James's *Le Pragmatisme de la Philosophie de l'Expérience* was one of the most popular books translated by Emin Erişirgil. While Şekip Tunç advocated pragmatism, he then shifted to Bergsonism.[93]

Mustafa Rahmi (Balaban [1888–1953])[94] was also one of the architects of the new Turkish educational policy. His interest in the French education system started when he attended the Jean Jacques Rousseau Institute between 1913 and 1920. Here, he was tutored by Pierre Bovet, Eduard Claparéde and Adolphe Ferriere. Greatly influenced by these tutors, Rahmi Bey invited them to Turkey for conferences and other educational activities upon his return. Pierre Bovet and Adolphe Ferriere gave many conferences and prepared a number of education reports in Turkey between 1928 and 1930. Some of their literature was translated into Turkish by Rahmi Bey. For him, the ultimate goal of education was similar to that of Durkheim: 'preparing the individual for the society'.[95] On the other hand, Mustafa Rahmi, who was also familiar with the German education system, 'offered this as a model to Turkish education'.[96] Another educationist who was educated at the Jean Jacques Rousseau Institute was İbrahim Alaaddin Gövsa (1889–1949). Alaaddin graduated from the institute in 1912 and taught pedagogy and worked as an educational administrator upon his return. During his career, he translated the work of German and French educators for use as textbooks in schools.

Another influential educationalist, Raşit Öymen (1998–1949), was interested in German pedagogy during the early Republic. He studied pedagogy in Germany and made observations of education methods in European schools. He advocated the 'German vocational education' principle and campaigned for its implementation in Turkey. He also proposed the German patriotism system;[97] however, French and English patriotism and civic educational models became dominant in Turkey.

[90]İ.H. Baltacıoğlu, *İçtimai Mekteb Nazariyesi ve Prensipleri* [*The Theory of Social School and Principles*] (İstanbul: Suhulet Press, 1933), 53–55; For Rousseau's ideas, see: J.J. Rousseau, *Émile ou de L'éducation*.
[91]Ülken, *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi*, 452.
[92]İrem, 2004, 81.
[93]Later Mümtaz Turhan and Nurettin Topcu followed Mustafa Sekip Tunç. These two were the leaders of nationalist and conservatives groups in arranging the educational system around Bergson's philosophy which became effective after the 1970s.
[94]See: For his life and educational works: M. Şahin, *Hayatı ve Düşünceleriyle Mustafa Rahmi Balaban* [*Mustafa Rahmi Balaban's Life and Thoughts*] (Ankara: Phonix Press, 2005).
[95](M). Rahmi, *Gazi Paşa Hazretlerinin Maarif Umdesi ve Asri Terbiye* [*Education Principles of Gazi Pasha and Contemporary Education and Instruction*] (Ankara: MEB Press, 1923), 5.
[96]M. Rahmi, 'Yeni Terbiye Usûlleri', *Türk Yurdu*, İstanbul 4, no. 104 (25 February 1331/1915): 348.
[97]G. Kerschensteiner, *Vatandaşlık Terbiyesi* [*Citizenship Education*], trans. H. Raşid (İstanbul: Kanaat Library, 1931).

Ihsan Sungu (1883–1946) was another of the leaders of the Republic's education policy and philosophy. He was an educational administrator and as undersecretary to the minister helped to design the primary school curriculum of 1926. Influenced by Rousseau and Dewey, this curriculum emphasised 'unit instruction' and the 'project approach'.[98] Sungu worked actively in incorporating these methods into the curriculum and defended the idea that the education system should strive to raise individuals who would be beneficial to the country. As can be seen, he was also influenced by French positivist educationists. Others who shaped the Republic's education included Ali Haydar Taner, Hüviyet Bekir Bek, Nevzat Ayasbeyoğlu, Habib Ahmet Aytuna, Ziya Dalat, A. Fuat Baymur, Rafet İnan, Yunus Kazım Köni and İbrahim Yasa. However, their efforts were mainly concerned with how to successfully implement ideas obtained from the West.

Most of the Second Constitutional Period's intellectuals were indirectly affected by Western education and ideas. This sometimes caused them to plagiarise.[99] Until this period, Westernisation meant adherence to French culture and civilisation. Most students who had been sent abroad for their studies chose France as their destination and most translations were made from the works of French intellectuals. In the Royal Medical and Military Academies and the Royal School of Administration, the language of instruction was French. This French influence lasted until the early years of the Republic. From this perspective, the Third Republic in France and the post-1920 Turkish Republic have many similarities. Education was made compulsory for all and it was secularised in France when Jules Ferry was the minister of education. Throughout this period, 'the main aim of teaching history, geography and civic education at schools was to preach patriotism due to the traumatic effects of the 1871 Prussian disaster on the "national pride"'.[100] A similar attempt at 'pedagogical engineering' was seen in the strategic importance given by the school curriculums of the early Turkish Republic to the courses on 'Turkish History', 'Turkish Geography', and 'National Studies' (Later National Studies)'.[101] It was due to this similarity that the foreign education experts invited to Turkey during the early Republic had to be an 'organiser such as Jules Ferry' rather than a philosopher or sociologist such as John Dewey'.[102] It was claimed that an 'educational philosophy influenced by Jules Ferry's positivist approach would cause a reaction in Turkey'.[103]

One of the important features of the intellectuals of Russian origin who affected the Republic's nationalism and cultural issues was their familiarity with French

[98]Sungu, 'Proje Usulü', *Terbiye* ['Project Method', *Training*], İstanbul no. 3 (March 1927): 195.

[99]'The intellectual ideas of the Second Constitutional Period would be considered plagiarism according to today's ethics.' Hanioğlu, M. Şükrü, 'Blueprints for a Future Society: Late Ottoman Materialists on Science, Religion and Art', in *Late Ottoman Society, The Intellectual Legacy*, ed. E. Özdalga (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), 29.

[100]D. Schnappeer, *La France de l'Intégration*, trans. F. Üstel (İstanbul: Dost Press, 2002), 217.

[101]F. Üstel, 'Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Resmî Yurttaş Profilinin Evrimi', in *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasî Düşünce, Milliyetçilik* [*Political Thought in Modern Turkey, Nationalism*] (İstanbul: İletişim Press, 2002), Vol. 4, 276.

[102]İ.Hakkı. 'Ecnebî Mütehassıslar', *Akşam*, İstanbul (20 June 1924).

[103]M. Ş. Hanioğlu, 'Kavramlar Yorumlanmamalı, Tartışılmamalı mı? (II)', *Zaman*, İstanbul (19 May 2007). (To date, no study has been conducted on the impact of Jules Ferry's positivism on Turkish education and thought. No reference has been made to Ferry in either the texts of late Ottoman intellectuals or in the works of modern Turkish thought researchers).

culture. For instance, Yusuf Akçura and Ahmed Ağaoğlu had graduated from the Ecole Libre des Sciences Politiques. The positivists Emile Boumthy and Alber Sorel were among their teachers. Abdullah Cevdet was affected by Boumthy and translated some of his articles and books.[104] However, the French intellectuals Boumthy, Comte, Durkheim and Saint Simon had positivist ideas different from each other and, perhaps more importantly, Ottoman intellectuals were almost blind to these differences. This indicates that their understanding of Western intellectuals was limited. Ottoman intellectuals shared ubiquitously with these different ideas, 'anti-clericalism, scientism, biological materialism, authoritarianism and intellectual elitism'.[105]

Origins of the ideas advocated by Second Constitutional Period intellectuals

The origins of the ideas advocated by Second Constitutional Period intellectuals fall into two groups: the oriental and local precursor; and the Western precursor. The oriental and local precursor can further be divided into two parts as the Turkic world and the Islamic word. Late Ottoman intellectuals were affected by the following intellectuals of Turkish origin: Şinasi, Namık Kemal, Ali Suavi, Ahmed Mithat, Veled Çelebi, Mustafa Celalettin Paşa, Necip Asım, Bursalı Tahir, Muallim Naci, Münif Pasa, Mizancı Murad, Tevfik Fikret and the following intellectuals of Russian origin: Şehabettin Mercani, Kayyum el-Nasiri, Alimcan Barudi, İsmail Gaspıralı, Hüseyinzâde Ali and Akyiğitzâde Musa.[106] Late Ottoman intellectuals always emphasised that they had been affected by their works and ideas. Second Constitutional Period intellectuals were also influenced by Egyptian and Middle Eastern contemporary intellectuals: Musa Carullah, Reşit Rıza, Muhammed Abduh, Muhammed İkbal and Cemaleddin Efgani.[107] They used these intellectuals' ideas in their works and also translated their ideas. Mehmed Âkif, İzmirli İsmail Hakkı, E. Muhammed Hamdi, Eşref Edib, Aksekili Ahmed Hamdi and Şemseddin Günaltay were particularly interested in contemporary intellectuals whose origins lay in the Middle East. However, during the early Republic, these Second Constitutional Period Islamic intellectuals' ideas were hindered and their intellectual effects were later regarded in a narrow frame.[108]

The pro-Western intellectual Abdullah Cevdet cited in his works from el-Maarri, Mevlâna, Ömer Hayyam, Gazali, Farabi, Ibn-i Sina and Yunus Emre. By doing so, he tried to make original syntheses between oriental and Western cultures and civilisations. Gökalp, who had effects on the Second Constitutional Period's intellectuals and the

[104]Zürcher, 2005, 24.
[105]Zürcher, 2005, 25.
[106]F. Georgeon, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Kökenleri, Yusuf Akçura* (*1876–1935)* [*Aux Origines du Nationalisme Turc Yusuf Akçura* (*1876–1935)*] (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Press, 1999), 23.
[107]A. Alperen, *Sosyolojik Açıdan Türkiye'de İslâm ve Modernleşme* [*Islam and Modernisation in Turkey from a Sociological Perspective*] (Adana: Karahan Press, 2003).
[108]After the 1960s, the influence of modern Middle Eastern Islamic intellectuals became widespread in Turkey. This led to the development of a new Islamic interpretation in the country, which was different from the traditional Islamic belief. This movement started with the translation of the works of Muhammed Abduh, İkbal, Reşid Rıza and particularly Seyyid Kutub, Mevdudi and Hamidullah into Turkish. This new intellectual movement showed itself in the political arena after the 1990s. See for this subject: İ. Kara, 'Dini Düşünce Tarihimiz Açısından Hamidullah'ın Eserlerinin Türkçeye/Türkiye'ye İntikali ve Tesirleri' ['The Translation of Hamidullah's Works into Turkish/Turkey and its Impact from the Perspective of History of Religious Thought'] *Kutadgubilig, Felsefe-Bilim Araştırmaları Dergisi*, [*Journal of Philosophy-Science Research*] İstanbul no. 9 (March 2006): 235–272.

Republic's intellectual life, was mostly influenced by the European intellectual Durkheim. He translated from Durkheim especially in the fields of society and education. There are great similarities between Durkheim and Gökalp's definitions of education.[109] According to Gökalp, 'the individual exists for his society, an idea which was related to Durkheim's societal ideas. Gökalp was the representative of the *France Sociology School* which was founded by Durkheim and had Halbwacsh, Levy Bruhl, Hubert, Marcel Mausse and Granet as members'.[110] In one sense, Ziya Gökalp was the founder of modern Turkish sociology. He brought basic terms to Turkish sociology and tried to create an educational philosophy loyal to the French Sociology School. Meanwhile, he was also influenced by Alfred Fouillée and Gabriel Tarde. After 1918, though, Tarde's influence diminished. Especially after these years, he emphasised in his works 'individualism and personality'.[111] Durkheim and Renouvier influenced him in these concepts. Ziya Gökalp's ideas known as 'stratification' and 'social division of labour' had been based on Durkheim's *De la Division du Travail Social*. Besides these figures, he was influenced by Ahmed Rıza, Prince Sabahattin and Mizancı Murat in the areas of ethnicity, nationality and culture.[112]

Ahmed Rıza received agriculture education in France. However, the more important point is that he met Emile Durkheim's student Pierre Laffitte and followed his courses. Ahmed Rıza was an outstanding follower of August Comte's positivism in Turkey.[113] He was so loyal to positivism that he used the Positivist calendar in a journal which he started (*Meşveret*) and in some of his other works. He accepted Comte's ideas as faith and some of his political ideas came from 'Comte philosophy which relies on Saint Simon's ideas'.[114] In social issues, an enlightenment intellectual, D'Holbach, affected Ahmed Rıza. 'Darwin and Herbert Spencer can be seen in the origin of Ahmed Rıza's oppositional ideas of revolution.'[115]

French thinkers had a major influence on Prince Sabahattin who was one of the most important thinkers and political intellectuals of the Second Constitutional Period. The origins of his sociological ideas relied on Edmond Demolins. His idea of the changing structure of Turkish society relied mostly on Western thinkers and his sympathy for Anglo-Saxon success. Prince Sabahattin resorted to the sociological ideas of Le Play and Edmond Demolins to answer the question 'How can Turkey be rescued?'.[116] He benefited from *Science Sociale* which was founded by Le Play in 1903. Most of the articles published in this journal belonged to Henri de Tourville and Demolins. Prince Sabahattin and his colleagues also translated several works of Paule Descamps and Demolins.

Abdullah Cevdet was born in Arapgir and he graduated from Istanbul Royal Medical Academy. During his education there, he encountered and accepted materialist

[109]Ziya Gökalp, 'İnsan Terakkisi', *Küçük Mecmua* ['Progressive of Humanity', *Small Journal*], Diyarbakır no. 13 (1922): 2.
[110]N. Öner, *Fransız Sosyoloji Okuluna Göre Mantığın Menşei Problemi* [*According to France Social School Problem of Origins of Logic*] (Ankara: A.Ü. Ilahiyat Fak. Press, 1965), 5.
[111]Ziya Gökalp, 'Ferdiyet ve Şahsiyet', *Yeni Mecmua* [Individualism and Personality', *New Journal*], İstanbul no. 12 (1917): 2–3.
[112]Berkes, 1969, 393.
[113]Korlaelçi, 2002,199.
[114]Ş. Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri* [*Political Ideas of Young Turks*] (İstanbul: İletişim Press, 2001), 180.
[115]Mardin, 2001, 187.
[116]P. Sabahaddin. *Türkiye Nasıl Kurtulabilir? Meslek-i İçtimâî ve Programı* [*How can Turkey be Rescued?*] (İstanbul: Kader Press, 1334/1918), 1–20.

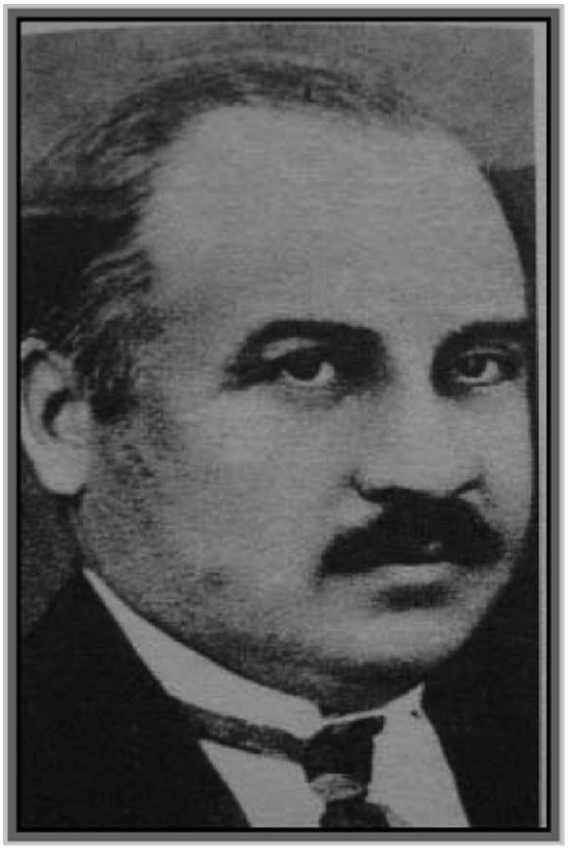

Figure 3. Z. Gökalp, who designated Turkish educational philosophy, embraced the ideas of Emile Durkheim. He was among the intellectuals by whom Mustafa Kemal was highly affected.

ideas. He was one of the founders of the CUP. However, his importance was mainly due to his intellectuality. Among Ottoman intellectuals, Cevdet was the second most important proponent of rational and secular thought after Şinasi. He understood the European lifestyle and ideas and had close relationships with European intellectuals. In his 358-volume *İctihat Journal* (1904–1932), the reforms of the Republic were first mentioned and discussed. During his student years, he was a very devout person. He wrote a eulogy (*Nât-i Serif*) to the prophet Mohammed. However, close to his graduation, he became influenced by European philosophers and theologians and changed his ideas. 'Even though he accepted Luis Büchner's scientism, he advocated till the end of his life the notion that society cannot live without religion.' Parallelism can be seen between this idea and Büchner's *ersatzreligion* concepts.[117] Cevdet was mostly influenced by European thinkers and philosophers such as Gustave Le Bonn,[118] Jean

[117]Abdullah Cevdet, 'Tarihten Bir Sahife-i Hûnîn: 'Saint Barthelemy'', *İçtihad*, İstanbul no. 147 (15 April 1922), and Hanioğlu, 2005, 40,43; Hanioğlu, M. Şükrü, 'Dindar Bir Dinsiz Ya da Dinsiz Bir Dindar: Doktor Abdullah Cevdet ve Modern Türk Toplumu (1, 2)', *Zaman*,' İstanbul (15 September 2005).
[118]Abdullah Cevdet, 'Doktor Gustave Le Bonn', *İçtihad*, İstanbul no. 5 (July 1905): 118.

Figure 4. Abdullah Cevdet, who was influenced by French Positivism and German Materialism, affected Mustafa Kemal with his social and philosophical ideas. He advocated laic and democratic education after the 1910s.

Marie Guyau, Luis Büchner, Emile Boutmy and Félix Isnard. He regarded many of them as leaders of their times and translated some of their works into Turkish. He prepared philosophical volumes compiled from Epikur, Renan, Hafiz, Şirazi, Isnard and Büchner.[119] He was also affected by Rousseau's *Social Contract*. When we look at Cevdet's ideas about education, women, the economy, the importance of religion in society, freedom of thought, covering the head (*tesettür*) and Westernisation, it can be seen that he was attempting to combine French positivism, German materialism, local values and Islam.

Abdullah Cevdet is also famous for the conflict between religion and secular ideas. While he was translating the works of D'Holbach and Voltaire, he also taught about 'Gazali'de Marifetullah'. Islamic Muslim mysticism was another source of inspiration for him. He did not support atheism; he looked for a religion which was fused with secular life. He 'used the ideas of both el-Maarri and Mevlâna to Islamicise specific modern theories such as those of Cesare Lombrosso'.[120] According to him 'Büchner's materialist ideas and Islamic rules can be fused'.[121] Abdullah Cevdet was also

[119]The first example of this was offered by Münif Paşa in the 1860s. He compiled texts from ancient Greek philosophers in his book *Muhaverât-ı Hikemiye* [*Felsefî Konuşmalar: Philosophical Speeches*].
[120]Hanioğlu, 2005, 54.
[121]Ibid., 39.

inspired by Jean Marie Guyau's *Esquisse d'une Morale sans Obligation*, *Ni Sanction* and *L'irreligion de L'avenir* in religion and secularist ideas. 'Here, it can be said that he was a loyal follower of Marie Guyau'.[122] Like Beşir Fuad, Cevdet also emphasised the need for a social class of elite that would motivate social change. He was inspired by John Stuart Mill. 'Like most Ottoman materialists, he also liked German ethic materialists such as Überwag and Straus'.[123] These realities need to be included in any investigation of the legacy of the late Ottoman intellectuals.

Whether they had personal difficulties or not in understanding the ideas that they encountered or displeasure towards the lifestyle that they left, some of the Ottoman intellectuals were engaged in an effort to form a bridge between Islam and materialism, even though materialism seemed to contradict religion. For this reason, the Second Constitutional Period witnessed an attempt to develop a new version of materialism fused with Islam. When faced with Western civilisation, Ottoman intellectuals underwent unexpected changes. The 'start of vulgar-materialist adaptation of circulation among Ottoman intellectuals in the mid-nineteenth century was the most striking one'.[124] Although German materialism only partially influenced Ottoman intellectuals, this small impact nevertheless helped shape Republican society. However, 'the Second constitutional period intellectuals could see that Büchner, Haeckel, Moleschot and Vogt scientism could not advance society or provide a moral ground. Beşir Fuad found a solution in positivism, Baha Tevfik embraced monism and Abdullah Cevdet tried to combine Islam with scientism and Guyau's moralism'.[125] Until the Second constitutional period, most Ottoman intellectuals read European materialists and were affected by them. However, most of their own work is evidence that in fact they had an incomplete understanding of materialist philosophy.

Mustafa Satı Bey (San'a 1888: Cairo 1959) was one of the most important educators who contributed to the construction of the modern Turkish educational system.[126] He advocated arrangements which started from elementary education. Satı Bey was the first Ottoman intellectual to emphasise the importance of individual education, and to attempt to introduce contemporary standards to elementary education. He contributed to the promotion of patriotism and civic education. Satı Bey was influenced by European intellectuals' works, such as Bonisse's physiology, Letourneau's sociology and ethnology, Edmond Perrier's philosophy and zoology, Albert Goudet's philosophy and ethnology.[127] 'Deniker, Verneau, Quatrefages, Topinard, Mortillet and Louise Finger'[128] were the main sources of his sociological and educational thought. Satı Bey expressed the importance of education for society by saying: 'every nation's culture is the goal of that nation's education. If a Turkish child is going to live in Turkish society, he has to be educated according to Turkish culture'.[129] Similarly, Durkheim emphasised the importance of education for society in one of his speeches:

[122]Hanioğlu, 'Dindar Bir Dinsiz Ya da Dinsiz Bir Dindar', *Zaman* (16 September 2005).
[123]Hanioğlu, 2005, 43.
[124]Ibid., 28.
[125]Hanioğlu, 'Dindar Bir Dinsiz Ya da Dinsiz Bir Dindar', *Zaman* (15, 16 September 2005).
[126]Satı Bey produced many important books and educational documents. But his philosophical contributions to the Turkish educational system have not been researched yet. It is believed that this is because of his nationalist tendency after the First World War.
[127]Ülken, *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi*, 2001, 179.
[128]Ibid., 181.
[129]Satı el-Husri, *Vatan İçin, Beş Konferans* [*Five Conferences For the Country*] (İstanbul: Konferans Press, 1329/1913), 128.

'every nation forms its educational system according to its societal and cultural conditions and the educational system fulfils needs of the society'.[130] These two very similar ideas show that Satı Bey was influenced by Durkheim. The moral education that Satı Bey mentioned in *Education Method (Fenn-i Terbiye)* reflects Durkheim's recommendations for moral education.

Nüzhet Sabit was another important intellectual in the Second Constitutional Period. He also was an admirer of Durkheim – so much so that he even accused Gökalp of not being a good follower of Durkheim. On the other hand, Montesquieu and Le Bonn had effects on the works of the well-known Westerniser Celal Nuri. Montesquieu and Le Bonn's influences can be seen in Celal Nuri's publications entitled *History of the Future* (*Tarih-i Istikbâl*) and *The Laws We Need* (*Havâic-i Kanuniyemiz*). His ideas about the law had been shaped by Montesquieu. Beşir Fuad, who was the first positivist Ottoman intellectual, 'brought scientific ideas to literature and poetry with the inspiration he got from Büchner'.[131] By adding populism to science, he made science well liked and wrote popular articles. However, his works and ideas were different than French popular scientism. 'He stated that he could not think of literature without science and he became the one who brought realism to literature'.[132] Subhi Edhem, in his article 'Lamarck and Lamarckisme',[133] mentioned the importance of Lamarckism and Lamarck's influence on himself.[134] Mizancı Murad, who was well respected by the Second Constitutional Period intellectuals, was influenced by Montesquieu's '*Esprit Des Lois* and Rousseau's *Social Contract*'.[135] One of the other important political writers, Ali Kemal, admired Danton, Condorcet, Saint Just and Robespierre.[136] He was influenced by French literature and culture and reflected this in his works.

The broad explanations given in the text and Ottoman intellectuals' adventure of being influenced by the European intellectuals are summarised in Table 1. Ideological sources of the late Ottoman intellectuals – which paved the way for the educational reforms of the Republic period – are presented in two grades. Much of the opuses of the European intellectuals presented at the first column (*First-degree influences*) are translated into Turkish. The European intellectuals presented at the second column (*Second- and third-degree influences*) are only cited in some books and other writings.

Conclusion

With this research, new discoveries have been made about the origins of the Turkish Republic's educational reforms and the pioneers of these ideas. As mentioned earlier, the intellectual preparation of the republican reforms had been made during the

[130]R. Aron, *Toplumbilim Düşüncesinde Ana Akımlar: Pareto, Weber, Durkheim* [*Basic Movements in Sociological Ideas: Pareto, Weber, Durkheim*] (Ankara: Kültür Bak. Press, 1973), 218.
[131]Hanioğlu, 2005, 37.
[132]Korlaelçi, 2002, 186.
[133]Subhi Edhem. 'Lamarck ve Lamarkism', *Felsefe Mecmuası* [*Magazine of Philosophy*], İstanbul 1, no. 6 (1914): 81–83.
[134]M. Akgün, *Materyalizmin Türkiye'ye Girişi ve İlk Etkileri* [*The Introduction of Materialism to Turkey and its First Effects*] (Ankara: Kültür Bak. Press, 1988), 286; N. Toku, *Türkiye'de Anti-Materyalist Felsefe* (*Spiritüalizm)-İlk Temsilciler* [*Anti-Materialist Philosophy in Turkey, First Representatives*] (İstanbul: Beyan Press, 1996).
[135]Berkes, 1969, 395
[136]O. Özsoy, *Gazetecinin İnfazı* [*The Execution of the Journalist*] (İstanbul: Timaş Press, 1997).

Table 1. Late Ottoman intellectuals who were influenced by Europe.

Late Ottoman intellectuals	First-degree influences	Second- and third-degree influences
Abdullah Cevdet	Luis Büchner, Marie Guyau, Gustave Le Bonn	Cabanis, Karl Wogt, Ernest Haeckel, Moleschot, Peacok
Ahmed Agayef	Parvus, Ernest Renan	James Dermesteter, E. Boumty
Ahmed Nebil	Luis Büchner	Earnest Haeckel
Ahmesd şuayb	August Comte, Emile Litré, E. Renan, Herbert Spencer	Gabriel Monod, Ernest Lavisse, G. Flaubert, Karsten Niebuhr, Ranke, Mommsen, H. Taine
Ahmed Rıza	A. Comte, Pierre Laffitte	M. Hector Denis
Ali Kemal	Danton, Robespierre	Condorcet, Saint Just
Baha Tevfik	Büchner, Hackel	Lamarck, Dubois
Beşir Fuad	A. Comte, Emile Litré, Voltaire, Victor Hugo	Henry Lewes, Claud Bernard, Diderot, D'Lambert, Emile Zola, H. Spencer
Celal Nuri	Montesquieu, Rousseau	Emile Durkheim, Büchner
Edhem Nejded	Lamarck, Darwin	
H. Cahit Yalçın	H. Taine, J. S. Mill, E. Zola	Ernest Renan, A. Dumas, Paul Bourget
Mustafa Satı	Spencer, Létourneau, Albert Goudret	Deniker, Verneau, Quatrefages, Topinard, Mortillet, Luis Figner, Edmond Perrier
Mehmed Şemseddin	Emile Durkheim	Herbert Spencer
Nüzhet Sabit	Emile Durkheim	
Prens Sabahaddin	Le Play, E. Demolines	Henry de Tourville
Rıza Tevfik	Herbert Spencer	J. Stuart Mill
Salih Zeki	August Comte	Henri Poincaré, J. S. Mill
Subhi Edhem	Luis Büchner	Lamarck, Darwin, August Comte
Yusuf Akçura	Albert Sorel, Parvus, Leon Cahun, Arminius Vambery	De Guignes, Lumley Davids, Jules Halévy, Théophile Brentano, Anatole Leroy, E. Boumty
Ziya Gökalp	August Comte, Emile Durkheim	A. Fouillé, Gustave Le Bonn, Gabriel Tarde, Bergson, Boutroux, Renouvier
Mustafa Rahmi	Pierre Bovet, Eduard Claparéde, Adolphe Ferriere	Emile Durkheim, J.J. Rousseau, Pestalozzi
H. Fikret Kanat	Georg Kerschensteiner	J.J. Rousseau
İhsan Sungu	J.J. Rousseau, John Dewey,	Thorndike, Kilpart
İ. Alaaddin Gövsa	A. Binot- Simon	

Tanzimat and the Second Constitutional Period. The origins of the reforms and the early efforts to implement them go back at least a hundred years from the foundation of the Turkish Republic. In this process, key roles were given to education to solve social problems. However, to be able to accomplish its role, education had to be filled

and shaped with new content. This comprised the values brought by mid-nineteenth-century Western positivism and materialist science.

Much as it is not certain whether seventeenth-century Ottoman society had general secularist tendencies, the secularist ideas of the sixteenth-century Ottoman bureaucracy are obvious. 'One theme developed here, for instance, is that in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the discourse of the increasingly powerful Ottoman bureaucracy already carried aspects of a type of "positivism" long before the mid-nineteenth century reforms of the *Tanzimat*.'[137] With the *Tanzimat*, Ottoman intellectuals' rationalist thought as inspired by European intellectuals paved the way for Kemalism. It is possible to see the traces of Kemalist thought and the roots of the education reforms of the Republican period in the ideological transformation of late Ottoman intellectuals. 'The main principles of Atatürk originated with the influence of Western philosophical movements which became well known throughout the Ottoman Empire, from Istanbul and Izmir to Beirut, at the end of the nineteenth century despite the Sultan's ban'.[138] Modern Turkey is the summit of an ideological transformation which started at the end of the seventeenth century.

Late Ottoman intellectuals shaped the Republican era educational policy and the new society. These intellectuals' education and background had profound effects on their outlook. Their ideas and intellectual geography represented genuineness and complex specialty. Most of these intellectuals had relationships with leading institutions and individuals in the nineteenth century. While the level of these relationships is not known precisely, neither are the answers to questions such as who was influenced by whom, in what ways and to what extent. This makes it difficult to understand the origins of the intellectual life in the Republican era. Most of the Ottoman intellectuals attended institutions in Europe. However, the East was not neglected and attempts were made to combine Western ideas and philosophies with oriental ones.

It was Mustafa Kemal who identified many important dimensions, the reforms of the new Republic and its educational system. Much research has been conducted to date concerning the influences on Mustafa Kemal; however, the background of those who influenced him is less well known. This study has found that Republican educational policy and philosophy theorists included Beşir Fuad, Hüseyinzâde Ali Bey, Ziya Gökalp, Yusuf Akçura, Ahmed Ağaoğlu, Abdullah Cevdet, Kılıçzâde Hakkı, Avni Bsaşman, İ. Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, Mustafa Rahmi, İhsan Sungu and Mehmed Emin Erişirgil.

The common features of these intellectuals were that they accepted and gave voice to positivist and materialist philosophies and their proponents. After the 1930s, pragmatism was also added to these ideas. Late Ottoman intellectuals did not find their uniqueness within these ideas. This indicated that there was confusion and imitation of ideas, which prevented them from producing authentic works. This issue was to show itself frequently as a philosophical problem in the Turkish education system.

Russian-origin intellectuals had different assessment roles among educational and social philosophy theorists in the Republic. These intellectuals' life experiences had been shaped in Russia, France and the Ottoman Empire. Their most obvious feature was their attempt to import French culture and philosophy. This was natural as both the intellectuals of Russian origin and those who were born in Ottoman territory were

[137]Mardin, 2005, 146.
[138]Ş. Mardin, *Türkiye'de Toplum ve Siyaset* [*Society and Politics in Turkey*] (İstanbul: İletişim Press, 1990), 160.

affected by French culture and philosophy. These influences could be seen particularly in sociological works and in the role given to sociology. In this sense, Comte, Durkheim, Boumty and other French sociologists and philosophers were the forerunners of Ottoman intellectuals who competed to find a European leader to try to understand, and then to translate their works. However, these efforts, which did not consider the social realities, either did not find any reaction or were unsuccessful.

The Turkish Westernisation adventure in the last two centuries was not much different from that of the early nineteenth-century quest for change in general. Late Ottoman intellectuals' efforts to understand their contemporaries were undertaken with sincerity and sensitivity and were advanced for their times.

Notes on contributors

Mustafa Gündüz was born in Mersin/Gülnar 1976. He was attended SDU, Faculty of Education and obtained his higher education degree in 1997. He then pursued a Master's degree at Ankara University's History of Education Program and graduated in 2001 upon the acceptance of his thesis entitled 'Eight-Year Uninterrupted Obligatory Education in the Turkish Press after 28 February 1997'. He completed his doctoral studies at Ankara University, Educational Sociology program. His PhD dissertation was entitled 'Periodicals as an Education and Modernization Instrument in the Second Constitutional Period (*İçtihad, Sebilü'r-Reşad* and *Türk Yurdu* Journals)' (Turkish: *II. Meşrutiyet Dönemi Eğitim ve Modernleşme Aracı Olarak Süreli Yayınlar: İçtihad, Sebilü'r-Reşad, Türk Yurdu*). He continues to study Turkish educational history and sociology at Firat University in the Faculty of Education.