



**GIVING SHAPES TO THE FUTURE.  
A BRIEF HISTORY OF EDUCATIONAL POLICIES  
FROM THE OTTOMAN RULE TO CONTEMPORARY TURKEY**

**Sebile Kutgün Kayaduman**

Turkey;

e-mail: sebilekayaduman@gmail.com

**Giovanni Patriarca**

Italy;

e-mail: jaers@hotmail.it

---

**Abstract.**

In an historical excursus, the essay offers a general overview of the educational system in Turkey from the Nineteenth century to the present day. Educational policies play an important role for national development, changes of perspective and instances of reform. Such a process is strictly linked to political decisions and their general impact on social dynamics. The transition from an Ottoman educational asset, with deep references to religious tradition, to a secular approach – directly inspired by European pedagogy and didactics – has fundamentally altered the curriculum continuously re-shaping the system. In recent times, the international procedures for educational integration are deeply influencing all the policies and interventions. In a context of geopolitical transformations, it is also important to see the activities and consequences of educational and cultural diplomacy.

**Rezumat.**

Într-un excurs istoric, eseuul oferă o prezentare generală a sistemului educațional din Turcia din secolul nouăsprezece până în prezent. Politicile educaționale joacă un rol important în dezvoltarea națională, schimbarea de perspectivă și momentele de reformă. Un astfel de proces este strict legat de deciziile politice și impactul lor general asupra dinamicii sociale. Tranziția de la o educație de tip otoman, cu profunde legături cu tradiția religioasă, la o abordare seculară – influențată în mod direct de pedagogia și didactica europeană – a modificat în mod fundamental programa școlară, remodelând în mod continuu sistemul. În ultimii ani, procedurile internaționale de

integrare educațională exercită o influență profundă asupra tuturor politicilor și intervențiilor. În contextul schimbărilor geopolitice, este de asemenea important de observat activitățile și consecințele diplomației educaționale și culturale.

**Keywords.**

History of Education, Ottoman Studies, History of Turkey, Educational Policies, Cultural Diplomacy, Eurasian Studies, International Relations.

---

**General Introduction**

Muslim countries are traditionally rich in educational institutions. The evolution of the educational policies from the Ottoman Empire to modern Turkey can be drawn only with a necessary reference to such a distinctive religious tradition<sup>1</sup>.

The concept of knowledge 'ilm is developed in a theological background, without which it would be impossible to understand the educational function and the core curricula<sup>2</sup>. It seems appropriate to present,

---

<sup>1</sup> "The impetus for education was a combination of a religious quest to understand the will of God in order to fashion personal and collective life in its light, a search for useful knowledge to run empires, and the attraction of Hellenistic, Persian, and Indian intellectual heritages. The educational traditions of Muslims provide an impressive example of the movement of ideas across human cultures. The pedagogical writings of Muslims owed much to the Hellenistic tradition. In turn, the ideas and practices of Muslims made deep imprints on medieval European scholastic thought, so much that no good history of education in Europe can be written without engaging with these exchanges." F. Panjwani, "Muslim Educational Traditions", in D. C. Phillips (ed.) (2014), *Encyclopedia of Educational Theory and Philosophy*, SAGE, London, p. 560.

<sup>2</sup> "Civilizations tend to revolve around meaningful concepts of an abstract nature which more than anything else give them their distinctive character. Such concepts are to be found at the very beginning of the civilization. Or they may signalize, when they first make their appearance, an entirely new departure towards the eventual transformation of the environment hospitable to them. In the course of time, they may undergo changes of tone and of volume. Such changes may be minor and merely serve to strengthen the hold exercised by the concepts before. But they also may provide the old concepts with new meanings. This signifies a fundamental change or a major break in the structure of civilization in which it happens. The concepts as such may continue to be used, thereby obscuring the meaning and depth of the change or even totally hiding the very fact of its existence. [...] Fortunately, there is comparatively little danger of distorting the significance of the concept of 'ilm in Islam. Arabic 'ilm is fairly well rendered by our "knowledge". However "knowledge" falls short of expressing all the factual and emotional contents of 'ilm. For 'ilm is one of those concepts that have dominated Islam and given Muslim civilization its distinctive shape and complexion. In fact, there is no other concept that has been operative as a determinant of Muslim civilization in all its aspects to the same extent as

*Giving Shapes to the Future. A Brief History of Educational Policies from the Ottoman...*

shortly, a first division<sup>3</sup>. At the elementary level the Mekteb held the precious task of literacy as the primary focus on understanding the Sacred Texts, with a considerable effort in the exegesis of Quran and the Hadiths<sup>4</sup>. In this framework, there were long periods of memorization and repetition with the classical methods of the Islamic pedagogy<sup>5</sup>.

At the top level, legal and theological subjects<sup>6</sup> were taught in *Medreses* (*Madradas*), which were mainly financed by pious foundations (*wakfs/vakif*)<sup>7</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup>ilm." F. Rosenthal (2007), *Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam*, Brill, Leiden, p. 2-3.

<sup>3</sup> "Education should be carefully designed to fit into the intellectual scope of the individual, and care should be taken to avoid treating everyone as though they are the same or indeed could be the same. God has created people to be different, and educationalists must respect those differences in their construction of the curriculum. The point of such differentiation in education is to protect the different categories of thinkers from interfering in each other's route to knowledge. Ordinary believers have an unsophisticated faith that helps them to maintain an ethically acceptable lifestyle, and no intervention in their behavior is required. If the philosophers were to come and start to explain what problems exist in justifying ethical standards as derivative from God, ordinary believers would become confused and possibly dissatisfied with their previously habitual behavior." O. Leaman, "Islam", in J.J. Chambliss (ed.) (2013), *Philosophy of Education. An Encyclopedia*, Routledge, New York. p. 313.

<sup>4</sup> "For official from affluent families, education often began under the care of a slave tutor (lâla). The lâla was generally ignorant and unqualified to do more than introduce the child to certain facets of the popular culture while taking care of him. The lâla's function was not without value for a child of elite family who might not otherwise acquire much of the "common touch"; but it is not surprising that nineteenth-century intellectuals, in an era of rising expectations, commented critically on the lâla's role. The formal institution for educating children was the Qur'anic elementary school (Mekteb). This was generally a one-room school house that adjoined a mosque and was presided over by a teacher (hoca) from the lesser ulema. [...] Most teachers were ill-qualified. Much of the noise came from children repeating their lessons in unison, struggling to memorize everything, whatever or not they understood it. As much as rote learning, strict discipline distinguished the concept of education: not just talim, inculcation of rational knowledge but terbiye, which include character development." C. V. Findley (1989), *Ottoman Civil Officialdom: a Social History*, Princeton University Press, Princeton, p. 53-54.

<sup>5</sup> "Memorization of the Qur'ân forms the fundamental basis of Muslim learning and is traditionally the prerequisite for further study in the Islamic religious sciences. The process of Qur'ân memorization provides both a specific and an idealized model of "traditional" education, established by structures of textual transmission, orality, aurality, and memory. The social role of educated person ('âlim) begins with the memorization of the Qur'ân. This has shaped patterns of Muslims schooling, from basic "Qur'anic schools" to religious colleges." A. M. Gade, *Perfection Makes Practice: Learning, Emotion, and the Recited Qur'ân in Indonesia*, University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu 2004, p. 63.

<sup>6</sup> "Muslim jurisprudence, however, in its traditional form, provides a much more extreme example of a legal science divorced from historical considerations. Law, in classical Islamic theory, is the revealed will of God, a divinely ordained system preceding and not preceded by the Muslim state, controlling and controlled by Muslim society." N.J. Coulson (1964), *A History of Islamic Law*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, p. 1-2.

This educational structure was under the strict control of the '*ulama*', who superintended the entire jurisdiction. The religious teaching was substantially homogeneous over the centuries with some local differences in the various Muslim countries<sup>8</sup>.

### ***The reforms at the end of an Empire***

The Nineteenth century is a fundamental step for developing an educational system partially independent from the religious authority. Although there have already been the attempts in the late Eighteenth century to include in Ottoman school curricula a modern approach to disciplines under the direct supervision of the central administration, the turning point came with the defeat of the Empire in the face of European forces whose military commanders and soldiers were more prepared and better equipped. The bitter feeling of inadequacy, as a counterpart, stressed the educational policies of European didactic techniques and methodologies, giving them greater importance<sup>9</sup>.

Along with the religious schools, in this period, the Ma'arif offered a general elementary education. Although not yet fully secularized, they were under the jurisdiction of the state. However, clearly, the greatest efforts and interventions were made for the training of recruits for military schools. In 1776 a new Imperial School of Naval Engineering (Mühendis-Khane-yi-yi Humayun Bahri) was founded and in 1794 the Imperial School of Engineering (Mühendis-Khane-yi Berri -yi Humayun) for training officers for artillery and ground control. Moreover, many technical and scientific texts were translated from

---

<sup>7</sup> "Unlike the mosques, the madrasa system allowed for the residence of teachers and students and provided a library. Normally drawing on permanent sources of income, such as a waqf (religious endowment) property, the madrasa provided for salaries of the faculty and scholarships for students. The main objective of the madrasas was to prepare scholars of Islam with a special emphasis on the teaching of fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence)." M. Bano, "Islamic Education: Historical Evolution and Attempts at Reform", in M. Clarke (ed.) (2013), *Handbook on Research of Development and Religion*, E. Elgar Publishing, Cheltenham, p. 238.

<sup>8</sup> "One of the most literary genres in Islam, the *tabaqat* literature, though it has many specialist divisions, conforms basically a single format: it chronicles the transmission of the knowledge. Whether dealing with jurists, exegetes and experts in hadith or with all types of scholar, such work offers a diachronic realization of Islam; an assertion that the essential message is preserved, not solely within the revealed texts, but in the teaching about these texts that is transmitted from generation to generation through the ages." N. Calder, "The Limit of Islamic Orthodoxy", in F. Daftary (ed.) (2000), *Intellectual Traditions in Islam*, I.B.Tauris, London, p.79.

<sup>9</sup> "Perennial wars in the 1800s with the ancient Ottoman adversary damaged the empire severely and resulted in the loss of territory and prestige. However, the series of Ottoman-Russian wars compelled the reform movement to examine the structure of the army with a view toward correcting its weakness." M. Uyar-E.J. Erickson (2005), *A Military History of the Ottomans: from Osman to Atatürk*, Greenwood Publishing Group, Santa Barbara, p. 129.

*Giving Shapes to the Future. A Brief History of Educational Policies from the Ottoman...*

other languages for use in the schools, and French officers directly trained the cadets.

Only under the dynasty of Mahmud II (1801-1839) it was possible to see a first step towards a certain renewal. Deeply influenced by the Pasha of Egypt Muhammad 'Ali, Mahmud II timidly tried a radical transformation of the education system. In his famous edict states that "*most people forget to send their children to school and prefer to send them as trainees at the artisans when they arrive at the age of five or six years because of their ambitions to earn immediately . This condition is not only cause of widespread illiteracy but also ignorance of religion. [...] No one from now on will prevent their children to attend school until they reach adulthood.*"<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, this edict did not have the desired effects and did not contain the necessary transformation regarding the teachings and the structure of primary education.

In 1826, Mahmud II eliminated the Janissaries who were strongly opposed to a European-style and modern army. Historians do not consider at all this event secondary since most of the reforms took place immediately after this date as evidence of the power exercised by this military elite over the centuries. It is necessary, however, to point out that, according to the canons of a common tradition in the entire Middle-East, any reform in education starts from above with particular reference to the foundation of schools and centers of specialization for the training of officers, doctors, engineers, administrators, military and civil bureaucracy. In this emphasis on the promotion of future imperial technocrats, there was not the same commitment in the establishment of a modern network of primary education especially in those areas distant from large urban agglomerations.

During the reign of Mahmud II, there was a thriving opening of higher education institutions: the *Medical School of Istanbul*, founded in 1827, and the *Imperial School of Music*, founded in 1831, the *Djerrah-Khane* , another famous school for internal medicine founded in 1832 and a *School of Law*, founded in 1834, which were characterized by the ability to receive the developments of these different disciplines from other European countries. The *Harbiyye (Military Academy)* was founded in 1834 and modeled on the Academy of Military Saint-Cyr in France. First among the rulers (like Muhammad Ali in Egypt) Mahmud II authorized in 1830 some student missions abroad with the aim of improving the administrative structure and the military organization<sup>11</sup>. *Mekteb Ma'arif-i*

---

<sup>10</sup> M. Winter, "Ma' arif", in H. A. R. Gibb- C.E. Bosworth (ed.) (1991), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, p. 903.

<sup>11</sup> "In 1835, among the reforms that were being introduced by Sultan Mahmud II (1808-1839), Prussia was again asked to lend military expertise, and Helmuth von Moltke, a young Prussian officer, was sent to act as an advisor to the Ottoman military. In 1836 the Ottomans requested and received an additional contingent of military advisors, but the mission was terminated in

'Adliyye was also founded in 1838 with the specific task of forming the government officials in the exact sciences and the *Mekteb-i' Ulum-i Edebiyye* was founded in 1839 for the training of interpreters and translators.

Another important step forward was made with the creation of a new type of pre-secondary school. The *Rüşdiyye* (from *Rushd* which means "adolescence") had as its primary goal to harmonize the transition from elementary school to secondary level without any pedagogical trauma. Although this new school had a secular inspiration, the role of religion was still very strong and very important in defining the *curricula*. For a greater efficiency of the educational system, Mahmud II wanted to train inspectors and offer technical tools to control the school management and educational affairs. The *Medjlis-i Umur-i Nafi'a* (Business Council of Public Utilities) founded in 1838 and *Mekatib-i Rüşdiyye Nezareti* (Department for Adolescence) founded in 1839 can be seen as a clear sign of this policy.

### ***From the Tanzimat to the Young Turks***

The era of Mahmud II was characterized by a great effort in the modernization of the Empire but some inherent contradictions were still evident in an empire full of contrasts and disparities<sup>12</sup>. The construction of new schools did not follow the necessary training of new teachers and a modern method in didactics. However, undoubtedly, in the Ottoman Empire a period of major reforms was starting: the period of the Tanzimat (1839-1876). This era began, in fact, with the famous edict Khatt-i Sherif of 1839 in which the principles of equality among all citizens without distinction of religion were promulgated and gave free access to schools for non-Muslims. This remarkable attempt by reformers to integrate non-Muslims, hitherto excluded from any state service and considered second-class citizens, had as its first beneficial effect the freedom of access to education<sup>13</sup>.

---

1839 upon Mahmud's death." S. Chase Gummer, "Germany", in G. Agoston- B. Masters (ed.) (2008), *The Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, Facts on File Publishing, New York, p. 229.

<sup>12</sup> "Before the Tanzimat, Mahmud II had established the idea of Osmanlilik (Ottoman Unity) to make strong friendship between Muslim and no-Muslim communities, and he made considerable progress in changing the comprehension of religion in the Ottoman state. With this application, Mahmud II had been aiming to prevent the rapid disintegration and to end the opposition among the Ottoman minority communities as well as to reinstate close friendship between all levels of society." M. Demirel, "Construction of Churches in Ottoman Provinces", in C. Imber-K. Kiyotaki-R. Murphey (2005), *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies*, I.B. Tauris, New York, p. 214.

<sup>13</sup>"The decree also sought to inaugurate an age of progressive social, political, cultural, and economic development. By positing two social ideas with 2 very different orientations – the religious and the secular – the Hatt-I Sharif created the potential for a series of conflicts in ethics, personal and social identity, cultural orientation, and political goals. The confusion

*Giving Shapes to the Future. A Brief History of Educational Policies from the Ottoman...*

In 1845 the *Mawakkat-i Ma'arif Medjlisi* (General Council of Education) was established and, then, transformed into the *Mektatib-i 'Umumiyye Nezareti*: namely the Ministry of Public Schools. One of the greatest merits of the new department was to unify the programs and teaching for all primary schools of the Empire: this commitment is not insignificant, given the evident differences in the various territories. The attempt made by two of the greatest reformers Ali and Fuad to reorganize the entire educational system from primary school to tertiary education - with a plan as ambitious as unrealistic for the time - deserves attention and admiration. Although during the reign of Mahmud II there was an endeavor to establish state schools for teacher training, only at the time of the reformers was there the real foundation of a structure dedicated solely to this task: in 1848 the *Dar -mu'allimin* was opened in Istanbul.

On the other side, the *Endjümen-i Danış*, established in 1851, had the specific task of promoting science and training teaching personnel. The problem of the shortage of teachers, especially in mountainous and rural areas, was still very serious. In 1857 the Ministry for Public Schools became the Ministry of Education with a greater autonomy and bigger resources. In the new organization of the school system it is evident a compromise was attempted between the demands of reform and tradition: an elementary school (*Mekteb-i sibyan*) lasting four years (7-10 years) and secondary school (*rüşdiyye*) lasting six years (11-16 years). For the training of civil administrators of the state the *Mülkiyye* was founded in 1859<sup>14</sup>. (This last sentence is simply tagged on. It should be connected to the intent of the paragraph)

When *Council of State* was established in 1868 - inspired by the analogous model in France - one of the five sections was in charge of agriculture and education. In that same year, an important law on compulsory education allowed every male between 6 and 11 years and females aged 6 to 10 years to receive an elementary education and attend primary school. In 1868 was founded the *Lyceum of Ghalatasaray* in which it was proposed a European-style curriculum (five years) open to male and female students from all over the

---

engendered by a double standard - an Islamic code of behavior and a European or "modern" secular standard of action - served as a powerful inducement to create situation ethics. Individuals or groups could manipulate each new situation, and the person or group could explain the result by one or the other, both standards depending upon the needs of the moment" J.J. Reid (2000), *Crisis of the Ottoman Empire: Prelude to Collapse 1839-1878*, F. Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, p. 87.

<sup>14</sup> "New Ottoman schools like the Mekteb-i Mülkiye, the famous School of Administration that opened in 1859, contributed not only to the creation of a new elite in the Ottoman Empire but also to the formation of elites in the new states that were created later, such as Turkey, some Arab countries and Albania." N. Clayer, "The Albanian Students of the Mekteb-i Mülkiye. Social Networks and Trends of Thought", in E. Özdalga (ed.) (2005), *Late Ottoman Society. The Intellectual Legacy*, Routledge, New York, p. 289.



empire and of all creeds. This institution went beyond the traditional ban on education. At first, the faculty and administration were predominantly French, and then, over the years, this school became a bastion of Turkish culture.

The increased attention to the problems of the central apparatus leads to the creation of a *High Council for Education* (1868) within the same Ministry of Education, in which even non-Muslims (*millets*) were represented<sup>15</sup>. The result of this institution - which made clearer the immense difficulties in educational promotion in territories so geographically, climatically and culturally different - was the creation of the *Provincial Councils for Education* under a strict subordination and supervision of the Central Council. To promote a greater rationalization in educational investments, the law of 1869 on public education tried to fill the gaps in some territories. Lawmakers were clearly inspired by contemporary European legislation and by the *education law* enacted in Egypt in 1867.

As it happened with primary schools, in 1870 an edict unified the didactical programs of *Rüşdiyye* (*Secondary Schools*). Besides the fact that the schools were classified in public (*'umumiyye*) and private (*khususiyye*), another subdivision was operated: elementary school (*sibyaniyye*), elementary school of second grade (*rüşdiyye*), secondary school of first instance (*i'dadiyye*) and general secondary school (*sultaniyye*)<sup>16</sup>. After this, there was the possibility to be accepted in the highly specialized centers in engineering and technical sciences, in agricultural sciences, in institutes for the training of teachers.

The law provided the construction of a primary school for every village or city district, a *rüşdiyye* in every city with more than 500 families, an *i'dadiyye* in areas with more than 1.000 families and a *sultaniyye* in every provincial capital.

---

<sup>15</sup> "Ultimately, the process of becoming a model Millet was fraught with contradictions: as a Ottoman Jew attempted to teach other Ottoman Jews how to become imperial citizens, they instilled in them the values of love of homeland, serving the greater good, and brotherhood (or less frequently, sisterhood) among Ottomans of all faiths. Yet, as they sought to prove the authorities and to the Muslims of the empire that they were a model community with a special relationship to the state, they simultaneously competed with other groups for the attention of their government. Gaining visibility brought new complications. On the one hand, moving into the spotlight meant more scrutiny and thus, more pressure to live up to the new expectations of imperial citizenship. On the other hand, succeeding in earning the praise of imperial officials could also put new strains on Ottoman Jews' relations with other groups in the Empire." J. Phillips Cohen (2014), *Becoming Ottomans. Sephardi Jews and Imperial Citizenship in the Modern Era*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, p. XIII.

<sup>16</sup> "The law called for an elementary school, or *Ibtidaiyye*, in each village, a middle school, or *ruşdiyye* school in each town, and an *idadiyye* or *sultani* preparatory school in each provincial capital. At the *ruşdiyye* level and above, the schools were divided into either military (*askariyye*) or civil *mülkiyye*." M. Province, "Late Ottoman State Education", in J.S. Nielsen (ed.) (2012), *Religion, Ethnicity and Contested Nationhood in the Former Ottoman Space*, Brill, Leiden, p. 120.



*Giving Shapes to the Future. A Brief History of Educational Policies from the Ottoman...*

Unfortunately, due to the lack of funding, it became very difficult to realize this project. Simultaneously the attempts to establish a modern university failed repeatedly<sup>17</sup>. In 1870, however, a *school for female primary school teachers (Dar al-mu'allimat)* was founded; 33 other similar institutions throughout the empire followed it<sup>18</sup>.

The reformers had the merit of not abandoning the provinces in their efforts to development<sup>19</sup>. In fact, thanks to the *law Wilayet* (1871) they tried to offer a greater distribution of education in the distant regions, and in 1872 a *decree on the promotion of primary literacy* had a relatively good success in serving the most depressed areas. The cohabitation between males and females was practiced and accepted in elementary schools but it was clearly ostracized; the mixed classes were prohibited in the *rüşdiyye*. In the female school sections - in addition to the traditional curriculum – students could attend courses in tailoring and cooking. Only in 1873 the first *female school for commerce* was opened. The era of the Tanzimat – despite the difficulties and the internal resistance – was characterized by a development of the educational institutions with more freedom for non-Muslims, and an openness to education of women. In this time of increased contacts with Europe - whose experts were often called upon to contribute to the reform of the Ottoman educational system - the foundation of the *Ottoman School* in Paris (1857-1874) allowed a fruitful exchange of students and ideas. The clerical power suffered a deep stop with the formation of a new secular and independent ruling class.

The Constitution of 1876 confirmed a free primary education and the central state as the guarantor of general education of the community. Although the reign of 'Abdül-Hamid II (1876-1909) will be remembered as a period of reaction and despotism<sup>20</sup>, the sultan dedicated himself to the improvement of the education, even though he gave life to a capillary control of textbooks with a harsh censorship and espionage towards teachers. It must be said that the literacy rate tripled and many other schools were built. During the years 1876-1899, the number of secondary schools and those for the training of recruits and police officers increased significantly.

<sup>17</sup> S. J. Shaw- E. K. Shaw (1977), *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. II, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, p. 110.

<sup>18</sup> Ö. Caha (2013), *Women and Civil Society in Turkey. Women's Movements in Muslim Society*, Ashgate Publishing, Farnham, p. 36.

<sup>19</sup> "An important motive for the promotion of education in the provinces was the aim to prevent the development of local nationalism or separatism." S.A. Somel (2001), *The Modernization of Public Education in Ottoman Empire 1839-1908*, Brill, Leiden, p. 72.

<sup>20</sup> E.J. Zürcher (2004), *Turkey: a Modern History*, I. B. Tauris, London; especially chapter VII "Reactionary Dispotism or Culmination of the Reforms?"

This period must be also remembered for a greater attention to *economic schools*. In 1878, in fact, the *School of Finance* and in 1882 the *Commercial School* were opened. Other important institutions were founded within a few years, including the *School of Fine Arts* (1879), the *Veterinary School* (1889) and the *School for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb* (1889) with an important history of service to the community. With the famous *decree on education* in 1883, it was decided the presence of a school for the training of teachers in every province of the empire. In order to meet the economic needs coming from this commitment, a new tax was imposed for the construction of schools and for the advancement of public education.

The sultan became well aware of the growing geopolitical importance of the provinces for the survival of the Empire and following the example of the previous reformers, he wanted to extend the benefits of public education in all territories. He strove, in fact, for the training of teachers in the Arab, Kurd and Albanian territories. In this regard, the *'Ashiret Mektebi (School of Populations)* was founded in 1894 in Beşiktaş for the training of the future teachers, officers and directors of non-Turkish territories.

Finally, after several failed attempts, a State University was opened in Istanbul in 1900. It was followed by the *Medical School of Damascus* in 1903 (later moved to Beirut in 1916 and definitively closed in 1918) and by the *Schools of Law of Konya, Thessaloniki and Baghdad* founded in 1907.

The importance given by the Sultan to the strategic sector of the armaments caused an increase in military spending with the foundation of several military schools among them are those of Damascus, Baghdad, Erzincan, Edirne and Monastir founded in 1904. Properly in these institutions students circles, opposed to the despotic regime of 'Abd ül-Hamid II, made their first steps silently announcing the revolution of 1908. The discontent of the intellectual military and civilian class, very close to the European mentality, had grown so much to cause the collapse of the administrative structure and endanger the very stability of the Ottoman Empire.

The era of the "*Young Turks*", also known as the second constitutional period, was born, then, on the ashes of the revolt against the hamidian despotism, and with the promise of a complete renewal of internal policies and central administration. In those years the European pedagogical literature came into circulation with greater insistence and thanks to it a local generation of pedagogues and educational psychologists began to have a strong influences: among them there were Sati 'al-Husri (which became famous not only as educator but also as a theorist of Arab nationalism), Rida Tewfliq, Selim Sirri and Ismail Hakki Tonguc. This era saw a transformation of the education system and, not accidentally, this process led to a certain secularization opening the doors to the epochal advent of Mustafa Kemal.

### **The Republican Period**

In the pre-kemalist era there was the abandonment of the French system as the main reference in programs and in teaching methodology in favor of an Anglo-Saxon orientation, considered more streamlined and tailored to the needs and progress of the contemporary era. The University was re-organized and new materials were proposed in the courses of study, including sociology and philosophy that had been banned under the reign of 'Abdül-Hamid II. The first professional organization of teachers put the stress in differentiating Khodja (teachers of religious inspiration) from Mu'allim (lay teachers) in a tense confrontation that was the clear testimony of a not only political but also cultural transition<sup>21</sup>. The ideologues of the Committee for the Advancement and the Union, the most influential political party, asked insistently and obtained –through a strengthening of the Ministry of Education - that the 'ulama' would not have any longer any kind of interference in public education. The most important innovation was established by the *Act on Primary Education* in 1913 in which provincial educational districts and sub-districts with their pedagogical, financial and administrative responsibility were established. This capillary decentralization had as goal to provide a more efficient management of funds in terms of both didactics and administration. There were some undeniable results but they were not enough to cover all the necessities<sup>22</sup>. The atavistic problem of rural and mountain areas was by no means solved especially where there was a strong resistance of religious inspiration<sup>23</sup>.

The women, however, gained more autonomy in their educational choices with a range of new opportunities for secondary education. In 1911, in

---

<sup>21</sup> C. Emeritan (2008), *Ottoman Looking West? The Origins of the Tulip Age and its Development in Modern Turkey*, I. B. Tauris, London, p. 82.

<sup>22</sup> "Ottoman authorities were quite aware of the militarization of physical education in Europe and its integration into school systems on the eve of the Great War. It is apparent that the Ottomans wanted to realize a similar change in their own school system. The school curricula during the Second Constitutional Era began to place a new emphasis on the body, and the discourse of healthy life became one of the major themes presented as an indispensable part of modernization in school text books." M. Besikci (2012), *The Ottoman Mobilization of Manpower in the First World War: between Voluntarism and Resistance*, Brill, Leiden, p. 213.

<sup>23</sup> "A process of differentiation brought about the gradual separation of the sphere of religion from politics, and the leadership of the political elite began to look askance at the Islamic component of Ottoman culture. The Muslim lower classes did not follow the rulers in their secular stance, and the cleavage between the governing elite and the governed, which had always existed, became starker and now refocused on a religious axis. Paradoxically, this was a time when the elite was becoming increasingly dependent upon the masses: the program of modernization of Ottoman institutions could succeed only if it obtained the acquiescence and support of a plurality of the population." S. Mardin (1989), *Religion and Social Change in Modern Turkey. The Case of B. Said Nursi*, State University of New York Press, Albany, p. 105.

fact, first female *i'dadiyye* (secondary school of first grade) was founded and followed by the first *Female Lyceum* in Istanbul in 1913 and then by the establishment of *schools for nurses and secretaries*. In 1915, women were finally admitted to the university, but in separate classes, in which they attended courses to become high school teachers.

The armistice signed on 31<sup>st</sup> October 3 1918 in Moudros between Admiral Calthorpe, commander of the British Division to the Dead Sea and the Ottoman delegation represented by Hüseyin Rauf Bey, had the bitter taste of a total capitulation. The sense of disintegration of the Empire caused a period of struggles for independence of the Ottoman territories and Turkey was not immune to this general turbulence. With the Treaty of Lausanne, signed on 24<sup>th</sup> July 1923 it became evident that the power was firmly in the hands of Mustafa Kemal, who would have imposed on Turkey a drastic cultural change.

The abolition of the Caliphate (3 March 1924) followed the suppression of the religious courts and Quranic schools and the closure of the order of dervishes. The *Law n. 430 for the Unification of Education (Tawhid-Tedrisat) of 1924*<sup>24</sup> was the first step towards a major renewal not only for education but also for the country itself. This law put an end to the radical dichotomy between secular and religious education in name of a strict control of the state. The Ministry of Education increased its sphere of influence and claimed a specific role in the Kemalist administration to the detriment of the Ministry of Worship that lost its traditional power. As a long-term result of the *Unification of Education Law (Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu, 1924)*, 479 medreses were closed but the Faculty of Islamic Theology at the University of Istanbul together with 26 secondary schools for the training of Imams, directly controlled by the Ministry, were established. In 1928, Islam ceased to be the state religion and the principle of secularism in the constitution was promulgated<sup>25</sup>.

In the same year, the Arabic characters were replaced with the Latin letters: a sort of Westernization was accomplished. The teaching of Arabic and Persian was abolished from the school curriculum. These radical reforms caused fierce protests by the most conservative part of the population, which saw in them a dramatic break with the past and the tradition. Although since 1932, religious education was no longer proposed in secondary schools, in many villages a parallel formation continued in different forms. The era of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was finished with his modernization and the usual

<sup>24</sup> E. Y. Demirci (2008), *Modernisation, religion and politics in Turkey: the Case of the Iskenderpaşa Community*, İnsan Publications, Istanbul, p. 97.

<sup>25</sup> See N. Berkes (1998), *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, Routledge, New York.

*Giving Shapes to the Future. A Brief History of Educational Policies from the Ottoman...*

contradictions of a country extremely divided not only geographically<sup>26</sup>. The advent of World War II saw Turkey neutral until the entry into the war with the Allied Forces in 1945.

At the end of the war, there was a turbulent period of transition from the one-party Kemalist democracy. The government of Ismet Inonu Pasha found itself in front of the bilateral discontent of impoverished farmers and bureaucrats still tied to the old regime. The pressures of the great powers did not make easy at all any internal decision and external policies. The *law on the distribution of land of 1945* caused a stalemate in national politics jeopardized between the demands of the large landowners and the claims of smallholders. In this climate, the Democratic Party was founded and it had its first meeting in 1947. A government of coalition led by the People's Republican Party (PRP) was formed to promote the necessary social and economic reforms. In those years, based on democratic request of the population - loyal to the Muslim creed - there was the return of the religious teaching in the schools. The Ministry of Education issued a circular according to which the children of the fourth and fifth grade could attend two hours of religion per week as long as the parents agreed and had officially requested.

***Innovation and tradition after the Second World War***

With the elections of May 14, 1950 came to power the Democratic Party. This government tried to give voice to the rural population that for many years had undergone reforms from above without actively participating in policy decisions. Due to huge Marshall Plan aid, Turkey witnessed a great development especially in the agricultural sector where modern machinery and methods from the United States of America were introduced. This allowed the Democratic Party to consolidate its power in the elections of 1954. The bond with the United States was strengthened by the entry into NATO in 1952. The geo-political importance of this event is not of secondary importance for the international order.

---

<sup>26</sup> "Throughout the Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries, nationalist ideologists typically conceptualized the relationship between the nation and the land, as well as the nation and the state, as a family relationship. Nationhood is often based on the idea of fraternity among male citizens, established through imagining the homeland a woman. Such ideas legitimize the power of the nation-state over its population and turn the nation into a sphere in which men and women "naturally" play out their gender roles. Turkish nationalism has not been an exception to this rule. The anthropologist C. Delaney argues that the foundation of Turkey was based on the metaphor of the rebirth of the nation through the union of the motherland (Anadolu) and the father leader (Atatürk)." E. Özyürek (2000), *Nostalgia for the Modern. State, Secularism and Everyday Politics in Turkey*, Duke University Press, Durham, p. 66-67.

The organization of the Ministry of Education, based on the previous legacy, was firmly centralized with a characteristic determination to harmonize an educational system still too fragmented and inconsistent in many regions where the Turks lived together with other peoples of different linguistic and other cultural traditions. The country was divided into 12 Regional Directions of Education, each of which was led by a Superintendent of Education (*ma'rif emini*), directly responsible to the Ministry. In order to meet the local needs, more flexibility was adopted in school management. Each district governor, in fact, was responsible for his school policies whilst accepting the common national guidelines.

The State was responsible for every really important decision in educational policies and a *National Council for Education (Milli Egitim Surasi)* was founded as a consultant agency formed by educators, pedagogues, psychologists, public administrators and other technical experts with the specific task of promoting educational policies and innovation. The Council had since the beginning - and still has - a big influence in decisions on curricula, textbooks and school regulations in general. Every year there is a general assembly. Religious education was again compulsory but the parents were allowed to exclude their children from such teaching with a request to the competent bodies. If previously the religion education was offered to the pupils of the last years of primary school, from the school year 1956/1957 this was extended also to secondary schools. Institutes for the training of imams and other religious schools were again set up and the Faculty of Islamic Theology (*Ilahiyat Fakültesi*) at the University of Ankara was founded in 1950.

At the end of the Fifties, the economic situation changed so radically that the political contest took on the tone of internal struggle in which the representatives of the Democratic Party accused the Republicans and Kemalists of destroying the traditional substratum and claimed the right to an Islamic state. The situation became so contentious opening the way for the military coup of May 27, 1960, which was partially welcomed in big cities and in more developed regions by students and the *intelligentsia* but the rest of the country did not manifest those sentiments, once again presenting a split in an already divided country. The military commissioned some professors of the Faculty of Law at University of Ankara to write a new constitution. The return to the parliamentary system opened the era of the Second Republic. The wounds of the past were not remedied and the *Generals* intervened again with an *ultimatum* to the government Demirel<sup>27</sup>. In the famous statement of March 12, 1971 they

---

<sup>27</sup> „Moreover, there is an intradiscursive dependency: both education and defense are quintessentially “national” activities and form the “two fronts” of nation-state formation. In other words, these two activities are intricately linked, and together constitute major aspects of



### *Giving Shapes to the Future. A Brief History of Educational Policies from the Ottoman...*

asked to form a strong government able to put an end to anarchy and to implement the necessary reforms according to a Kemalist mainstream. The Seventies were years of bitter political-ideological disputes in which many dissident and terrorist formations had a growing power.

From an educational perspective, the law no. 1472 of 1971 strongly re-affirmed the right to a free education at all levels of state schools, and were nationalized some technical-vocational schools specializing in accounting, engineering and architecture. The basic form of the education system was structured as follows: *primary school* (ilkokul) of five years, a "middle school" (*ortaokul*) lasting three years and then secondary school or a vocational school for three or four years<sup>28</sup>. In that period, there were good results with a big step forward in the literacy rate (69% for men and 40% for women)<sup>29</sup>.

### **Recent developments and contemporary perspectives**

The revival of Islamic political movements<sup>30</sup> at the end of the Seventies coincided with a severe economic crisis resulted by a conception of development based primarily on a "policy of import substitution, immigrants' remittances and western aid"<sup>31</sup>. This vision of growth did not consider the global recession and the rise in oil prices. The so-called Third Republic, born after the military intervention of September 12, 1980, was

---

another discursive practice, namely nationalism. Particularly in early years of nation-building, the making of citizens and the make of soldiers can be seen as mutually dependent activities (intradiscursive dependency) while education and defense develop as mutually dependent discourses (interdiscursive dependency)." A. G. Altınay (2004), *The Myth of the Military Nation. Militarism, Gender, and Education in Turkey*, Palgrave-McMillan, New York, p. 124.

<sup>28</sup> "The dissolution of the independent household economy in the rural areas has accelerated the level of rural-urban migration, and education has become a "compulsory" choice for the future of the children. The vocational High Schools, which are mostly operated as boarding schools incorporating secondary and high school education, have slowly, but decisively expanded toward the rural areas." R. Günlü, "Vocational Education and Labour Market Integration in Turkey: Requirements for Vocational Training and Development", A.M. Nohl - A. Akkoyunlu-Wigley - S. Wigley (ed.) (2008), *Education in Turkey*, Waxmann, Münster, p. 117.

<sup>29</sup> M. Winter, *ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> "Islamic identity is politicized and stressed vis-à-vis other forms of national identities as a result of competition between different groups in society – such as intellectuals, Sufi orders, and political parties. These groups articulate and disseminate their political identities using modern forms of mass communication. Depending on the particular political and social context, Islamic groups and intellectuals may emphasize one layer of identity over others: religious, gender, status/class, ethnic, regional, tribal, territorial, or linguistic. These multiple layers of identity allow individuals to create and negotiate multiple and overlapping self-constructs and loyalties." M. Hakan Yuvuz (2003), *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, p. 21-22.

<sup>31</sup> P.G. Donini (2003), *Il mondo Islamico. Breve storia dal Cinquecento ad oggi*, G. Laterza, Roma-Bari, p.321.

immediately faced with the usual problems of democratization and a new interlocutor: the political parties with a strong religious background whose power was growing day by day. The merit of Kenan Evren was to bring a certain calm after a period of chaos and tension.

Islamic party won, in fact, "the opposition of right and left gathering support of the masses."<sup>32</sup> In this political atmosphere, the Party of National Salvation (commonly known by the name of Rifah), emerged as winner of the local elections in 1994 with the aspiration of harmonizing the classical requests of Islamic political thought with some modern social solutions such as rejection of economic and technological dependence from the West, projects for private national entrepreneurship and more social investment. In those years, however, economist Torgut Özal, affiliated to the Motherland Party and former member of the World Bank, undertook a reorganization of the State Treasury attracting foreign capital in a new alignment with the European economy<sup>33</sup>. From those efforts, a common agreement for commercial relations with the European Union was signed and it brought great benefits.

In the years of the *Third Republic* the *National Conference on Education* took a leadership role for the development of education policies. It was the proposer for the reformulation of secondary schools *curricula* with an emphasis on scientific subjects, mathematics and a more vocational perspective (National Conference on Education in 1981 and 1999)<sup>34</sup>. An integrated network of services were developed at pre-school level and a managerial training was offered to the administrative staff. In 1984, the Conference proposed a series of wage incentives and a more appropriate tertiary education for teachers trying to attract young people to this important profession. At the Conference of 1988, as part of a much more extensive program of reform of the central and peripheral administration, a massive intervention in favor of scientific subjects and foreign languages was proposed and accepted.

Recently, a support process at every stage of the education system with suitable IT methods has started in order to increase the competitiveness and

<sup>32</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>33</sup> See R. Kastaryano (ed.) (2013), *Turkey between Nationalism and Globalization*, Routledge New York.

<sup>34</sup> "The politicization of education has arisen in the contexts of frightened national self-consciousness in which crisis of republica identity are articulated as crisis of youth and moral-political orders. After all, which worldviews, social practices, and cultural norms will dominate the school system, arguably the most accessible and influential of all state institutions, has a considerable impact on the country's future. In the regard, newspapers have played a central role in whipping up controversy over education." S. Kaplan (2006), *The Pedagogical State. Education and the Politics of National Culture in post-1980 Turkey*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, p. 57.

*Giving Shapes to the Future. A Brief History of Educational Policies from the Ottoman...*

efficiency in the era of information technology. In the process of modernization, the implementation of the directives of International Organizations<sup>35</sup> and European Union are very evident and challenging<sup>36</sup>. The European projects for lifelong learning of educational staff are having an increasing success and they are the door to new ideas and experimental models<sup>37</sup>. The current education system is due to the Party of Justice and Development and it is characterized by the *4 + 4 + 4 system* voted by the General Assembly in March 2012<sup>38</sup>. The primary school is divided into two grades (of 4 years) and then there is a *third high school level* or, optionally, a vocational training. The government allowed the reopening of the *Imam Hatip religious schools* specifically devoted to the preparation of imams and Muslim clergy<sup>39</sup>.

As part of a revived neo-Ottomanism<sup>40</sup>, cultural diplomacy has assumed a central role in foreign policy through the opening of a network of cultural

<sup>35</sup> Cfr World Bank (2012), *Secondary Education Project*, <http://www.worldbank.org/projects/P066149/secondary-education-project?lang=en>.

<sup>36</sup> „Because inclusion is so new to many schools, it is often necessary for school districts to revisit their mission or vision. Most organizations in the public and private sectors have gone through a process of planning, leading to the development and adoption of a mission and vision statements. In strategic planning, the mission and vision statements are intended to provide the basis for organizational goal setting and action planning. Strategic plans, ideally, become the engine of the organization that members can identify with and relate to their particular pole.” S.J. Faringa & D. Ness (2005), *Encyclopedia of Education and Human Development*, M.E. Shape, London, p. 818.

<sup>37</sup> Cfr OECD (2013), *Education Policy Outlook: Turkey*, OECD Publishing, Paris.

<sup>38</sup> „The AKP considered education system, which has been based on the behaviorist education model, responsible for several problems, such as unskilled labor power and low success of students in international exams. The party criticized the curricula for not teaching students critical thinking skills, and pointed out the necessity for a structural reform in the education system that would replace the nationalist and behaviorist education model with the liberal and constructivist model” K. Inal- G. Akkaymak (ed.) (2012), *Neoliberal Transformation of Education in Turkey. Political and Ideological Analysis of Educational Reforms in the Age of AKP*, Palgrave- McMillan, New York, p. XIV.

<sup>39</sup> „Der Bedarf an Fachpersonal für den Betrieb der Moscheen wuchs mit der Besinnung auf die Religion. Die erste Imam-Hatip-Kurse des Jahres 1949 dauerten 10 Monate und hatten 50 Absolventen. 1951 wurde Imam-Hatip-Schule (Imam-Hatip-Okullari) gegründet, um zunächst insbesondere für die Berufe des einfachen Imams und Prediger auszubilden. Seitdem haben sich die Schülerzahlen von Imam-Hatip-Schule explosionsartig vermehrt.” U. Spuler-Stagemann, „Turkey”, in W. Ende, U. Steinbach, R. Laut (ed.) (2005), *Der Islam in der Gegenwart. Entwicklung und Ausbreitung. Kultur und Religion. Staat, Politik und Recht*, C.H.Beck, München, p. 238.

<sup>40</sup> „Academics also debate neo-Ottomanism as ranging from the “(re-)Islamization and “Middle Easternization” of Turkish foreign policy to Turkey’s “rediscovery” of its old neighbors.” A. Sözen, “A Paradigm Shift in Turkish Foreign Policy: Transition and Challenges”, A. Sözen, “A Paradigm Shift in Turkish Foreign Policy: Transition and Challenges”, in B. Yesilda- B. Rubin (ed.) (2013), *Islamization of Turkey under the AKP Rule*, Routledge, London, p. 105.

institutions abroad (like *Yunus Emre Institutes*)<sup>41</sup>. A consequent drafting of multilateral protocols for the spread of Turkish language and culture with international universities, research centers and governmental bodies is giving unexpected results. These policies join the already activated courses and educational activities offered for diaspora communities<sup>42</sup>. These initiatives – with a series of contradictions and contrapositions<sup>43</sup> – are sponsored not only by the state but also – in a sort of parallel process – organizations, foundations and private associations – mostly with religious purposes (among which those inspired and founded by Fetullah Gülen<sup>44</sup> as a part of the movement *Hizmet*<sup>45</sup>) – play a great role. This aspect has an even more significant influence in the Caucasus and Central Asia – with a historical presence of populations belonging to the same linguistic group – in the name of a renewed pan-Turanianism<sup>46</sup>, ideological keystone in the geopolitical<sup>47</sup> and ethnocentric<sup>48</sup> re-adjustment of all

<sup>41</sup> “The Yunus Emre Institute will conduct activities to establish Yunus Emre Turkish Cultural Centres in different countries throughout the world to promote Turkish language, culture, arts, and history. On one hand, the Yunus Emre Turkish Cultural Centres will be contributing to the promotion of Turkey through scientific projects, cultural activities, and courses, while on the other hand, the centres also aim to strengthen friendship ties and increase the cultural exchange with other countries.” E. Fuat Keyman-S. Gumuscu (2014), *Democracy, Identity and Foreign Policy in Turkey. Hegemony Through Transformation*, Palgrave-McMillan, New York, p. 176.

<sup>42</sup> See B. Park (2013) , *Modern Turkey: People, State and Foreign Policy in a Globalized World*, Routledge, New York: especially the Chapter 11: “Migration, Turkey and Turks”.

<sup>43</sup> Cfr R. Hermann, *Where is Turkey Headed. Culture Battles in Turkey*, Işık Yayıncılık Ticaret, Istanbul 2015.

<sup>44</sup> See S. Pandaya- N. Gallagher (2012), *The Gülen Hizmet Movement and its Transnational Activities. Case Studies of Altruism in Contemporary Islam*, Brown Walker Press, Boca Raton-FL.

<sup>45</sup> “The group released a statement on April 7, 2013 expressing concern about new restrictions on the freedom of expression. This is a significant break since the Gülen was Erdogan’s main ally against the Kemalist state establishment.” A. Sengupta (2014), *Myth and Rhetoric of the Turkish Model. Exploring developmental alternatives*, Springer, Dordrecht, p. 48.

<sup>46</sup> Cfr J.M. Landau (1995), *Pan-Turkism. From Irredentism to Cooperation*, C. Hurst & Co. Publishers, London.

<sup>47</sup> Cfr D. Keridis, “The Foreign Policy of Turkey”, in B.J.C. McKercher (ed.) (2012), *Routledge Handbook of Diplomacy and Statecraft*, Routledge, New York, pp. 155-166.

<sup>48</sup> “A central issue for many social scientists, politicians, educators, and others is what is known as the “modern ethnic problem”. [...] Ethnicity is linked, indeed, to many focal issues of our times, such as globalization, increasing migration, multi-culturalism, economic development, social relationships, contemporary nationalism (in support or in opposition), inter-communal or inter-state conflicts, terrorist activities and the creation and promotion of diasporas. [...] Ethnopolitics or the political demands and activities of discontented ethnic groups seeking more power and cultural rights, as well as better access to education, jobs, and resources, have been increasingly the general situation in numerous states, pitting nationalism against one another.” J.M. Landau- B. Kellner-Heinkele (2001), *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States: Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan*, C. Hurst & Co. Publishers, London, p. 1.

*Giving Shapes to the Future. A Brief History of Educational Policies from the Ottoman...*

the area from Balkans to the Caspian Sea, from the Aral Sea to the Altai Mountains<sup>49</sup>.

\*

### **Bibliography**

- G. Agoston- B. Masters (ed.) (2008), *The Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, Facts on File Publishing, New York.
- A. G. Altinay (2004), *The Myth of the Military Nation. Militarism, Gender, and Education in Turkey*, Palgrave-McMillan, New York.
- M. Bano, "Islamic Education: Historical Evolution and Attempts at Reform", in M. Clarke (ed.) (2013), *Handbook on Research of Development and Religion*, E. Elgar Publishing, Cheltenham.
- N. Berkes (1998), *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, Routledge, New York.
- M. Besikci (2012), *The Ottoman Mobilization of Manpower in the First World War: between Voluntarism and Resistance*, Brill, Leiden.
- Ö. Caha (2013), *Women and Civil Society in Turkey. Women's Movements in Muslim Society*, Ashgate Publishing, Farnham.
- N. Calder, "The Limit of Islamic Orthodoxy", in F. Daftary (ed.) (2000), *Intellectual Traditions in Islam*, I.B.Tauris, London.
- J.J. Chambliss (ed.) (2013), *Philosophy of Education. An Encyclopedia*, Routledge, New York.
- S. Chase Gummer, "Germany", in G. Agoston- B. Masters (ed.) (2008), *The Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire*, Facts on File Publishing, New York.
- M. Clarke (ed.) (2013), *Handbook on Research of Development and Religion*, E. Elgar Publishing, Cheltenham.
- N. Clayer, "The Albanian Students of the Mekteb-I Mülkiye. Social Networks and Trends of Thought", in E. Özdalga (ed.) (2005), *Late Ottoman Society. The Intellectual Legacy*, Routledge, New York.
- N.J. Coulson (1964), *A History of Islamic Law*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh.
- E.Y. Demirci (2008), *Modernisation, Religion and Politics in Turkey: the Case of the Iskenderpaşa Community*, Insan Publications, Istanbul.
- M. Demirel, "Construction of Churches in Ottoman Provinces", in C. Imber-K. Kiyotaki-R. Murphey (2005), *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies*, I.B. Tauris, New York.

---

<sup>49</sup> "Languages attitudes have an important role in determining both personal and group linguistic identity. Languages reform, particularly in post-Soviet states, frequently reflect the desire of some of their elites for a new national identity, which has meant re-identifying their values. Their responses are driven by differing proportions of principles and pragmatism. Language has always been – and still is – central to notion of identity as a crucial element in the collective cultural perceptions of many communities." J.M. Landau- B. Kellner-Heinkele (2011), *Language Politics in Contemporary Central Asia: National and Ethnic Identity and the Soviet Legacy*, I.B.Tauris, London, p. 4.

- P.G. Donini (2003), *Il mondo Islamico. Breve storia dal Cinquecento ad oggi*, G. Laterza, Roma-Bari.
- B. Eligür (2010), *The Mobilization of Political Islam in Turkey*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- C. Emeritan (2008), *Ottoman Looking West? The Origins of the Tulip Age and its Development in Modern Turkey*, I. B. Tauris, London.
- W. Ende, U. Steinbach, R. Laut (ed.) (2005), *Der Islam in der Gegenwart. Entwicklung und Ausbreitung. Kultur und Religion. Staat, Politik und Recht*, C.H.Beck, München.
- S.J. Faringa & D. Ness (2005), *Encyclopedia of Education and Human Development*, M.E. Shape, London.
- C. V. Findley (1989), *Ottoman Civil Officialdom: a Social History*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- E. Fuat Keyman-S. Gumuscu (2014), *Democracy, Identity and Foreign Policy in Turkey. Hegemony Through Transformation*, Palgrave-McMillan, New York.
- H. A. R. Gibb- C.E. Bosworth (ed.) (1991), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Brill, Leiden.
- C. Glassé (2002), *The New Encyclopedia of Islam*, Stacey International, London.
- R. Günlü, "Vocational Education and Labour Market Integration in Turkey: Requirements for Vocational Training and Development", A.M. Nohl - A. Akkoyunlu-Wigley – S. Wigley (ed.) (2008), *Education in Turkey*, Waxmann, Münster, p. 107-130.
- M. Hakan Yuvuz (2003), *Islamic Political Identity in Turkey*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- R. Hermann (2015), *Where is Turkey Headed. Culture Battles in Turkey*, Işık Yayıncılık Ticaret, İstanbul.
- C. Imber-K. Kiyotaki-R. Murphey (2005), *Frontiers of Ottoman Studies*, I.B. Tauris, New York.
- K. Inal- G. Akkaymak (ed.) (2012), *Neoliberal Transformation of Education in Turkey. Political and Ideological Analysis of Educational Reforms in the Age of AKP*, Palgrave-McMillan, New York.
- J.M. Landau (1995), *Pan-Turkism. From Irredentism to Cooperation*, C. Hurst & Co. Publishers, London.
- J.M. Landau- B. Kellner-Heinkele (eds.) (2001), *Politics of Language in the Ex-Soviet Muslim States: Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan*, C. Hurst & Co. Publishers, London.
- J.M. Landau- B. Kellner-Heinkele (eds.) (2011), *Language Politics in Contemporary Central Asia: National and Ethnic Identity and the Soviet Legacy*, I.B.Tauris, London.
- O. Leaman, "Islam", in J.J. Chambliss (ed.) (2013), *Philosophy of Education. An Encyclopedia*, Routledge, New York. p. 311-315.
- A. Levy (ed.) (2001), *Jews, Turks, Ottomans. A Shared History. From Fifteenth through the Twentieth Century*, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse.
- R. Kastaryano (ed.) (2013), *Turkey between Nationalism and Globalization*, Routledge New York
- D. Keridis, "The Foreign Policy of Turkey", in B.J.C. McKercher (ed.) (2012) , *Routledge Handbook of Diplomacy and Statecraft*, Routledge, New York, pp. 155-166.



*Giving Shapes to the Future. A Brief History of Educational Policies from the Ottoman...*

- D. Kilic-G.A. Baskan-N. Seglan (2010), *Pre-school Education in Turkey in the European Union Process*, Elsevier, Amsterdam.
- S. Kaplan (2006), *The Pedagogical State. Education and the Politics of National Culture in post-1980 Turkey*, Stanford University Press, Stanford.
- S. Mardin (1989), *Religion and Social Change in Modern Turkey. The Case of B. Said Nursi*, State University of New York Press, Albany.
- B.J.C. McKercher (ed.) (2012), *Routledge Handbook of Diplomacy and Statecraft*, Routledge, New York.
- J.S. Nielsen (ed.) (2012), *Religion, Ethnicity and Contested Nationhood in the Former Ottoman Space*, Brill, Leiden.
- A.M. Nohl - A. Akkoyunlu-Wigley – S. Wigley (ed.) (2008), *Education in Turkey*, Waxmann, Münster.
- OECD (2013), *Education Policy Outlook: Turkey*, OECD Publishing, Paris.
- OECD (2007), *Reviews of National Policies for Education: Basic Education in Turkey 2007*, OECD Publishing, Paris.
- E. Özdalga (ed.) (2005), *Late Ottoman Society. The Intellectual Legacy*, Routledge, New York.
- E. Özyürek (2000), *Nostalgia for the Modern. State, Secularism and Everyday Politics in Turkey*, Duke University Press, Durham.
- S. Pandaya- N. Gallagher (2012), *The Gülen Hizmet Movement and its Transnational Activities. Case Studies of Altruism in Contemporary Islam*, Brown Walker Press, Boca Raton-FL.
- F. Panjwani, "Muslim Educational Traditions", in D. C. Phillips (ed.) (2014), *Encyclopedia of Educational Theory and Philosophy*, SAGE, London, p. 560-564.
- B. Park (2013), *Modern Turkey: People, State and Foreign Policy in a Globalized World*, Routledge, New York.
- D. C. Phillips (ed.) (2014), *Encyclopedia of Educational Theory and Philosophy*, SAGE, London.
- J. Phillips Cohen (2014), *Becoming Ottomans. Sephardi Jews and Imperial Citizenship in the Modern Era*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- M. Province, "Late Ottoman State Education", in J.S. Nielsen (ed.) (2012), *Religion, Ethnicity and Contested Nationhood in the Former Ottoman Space*, Brill, Leiden, p. 115-128.
- F. Rosenthal (2007), *Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam*, Brill, Leiden.
- J.J. Reid (2000), *Crisis of the Ottoman Empire: Prelude to Collapse 1839-1878*, F. Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart.
- A. Sengupta (2014), *Myth and Rhetoric of the Turkish Model. Exploring Developmental Alternatives*, Springer, Dordrecht.
- S. J. Shaw- E. K. Shaw (1977), *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, vol. II, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- S.A. Somel (2001), *The Modernization of Public Education in Ottoman Empire 1839-1908*, Brill, Leiden.

- A. Sözen, "A Paradigm Shift in Turkish Foreign Policy: Transition and Challenges", in B. Yesilda- B. Rubin (ed.) (2013), *Islamization of Turkey under the AKP Rule*, Routledge, London.
- U. Spuler-Stegemann, "Turkey", in W. Ende, U. Steinbach, R. Laut (ed.) (2005), *Der Islam in der Gegenwart. Entwicklung und Ausbreitung. Kultur und Religion. Staat, Politik und Recht*, C.H.Beck, München, p. 229-245.
- C.S. Sunal, K. Mutua (2008), *Undertaking Educational Challenges in 21st Century. Research from the Field*, IAP, Charlotte.
- Turkey Prime Ministry, *State Planning Organization*, (2006), Ninth Development Plan (2007-2013), [http://www.mod.gov.tr/en/SitePages/mod\\_plan.aspx](http://www.mod.gov.tr/en/SitePages/mod_plan.aspx).
- UNESCO – IBE (2010-11), "Turkey", *World Data on Education*, 7th edition, [http://www.ibe.unesco.org/fileadmin/user\\_upload/Publications/WDE/2010/pdf-versions/Turkey.pdf](http://www.ibe.unesco.org/fileadmin/user_upload/Publications/WDE/2010/pdf-versions/Turkey.pdf)
- M. Uyar-E.J. Erickson (2005), *A Military History of the Ottomans: from Osman to Atatürk*, Greenwood Publishing Group, Santa Barbara.
- M. Winter, "Ma'arif", in H. A. R. Gibb- C.E. Bosworth (ed.) (1991), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Brill, Leiden.
- World Bank (2012), "Implementation Completion and Results Report on a Loan in the Amount of Euro 80 Million to the Republic of Turkey for a Secondary Education Project", Report No: ICR2264, Human Development Sector Unit, Turkey Country Unit, Europe and Central Asia Region, <http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/docsearch?query=ICR2264>
- World Bank (2012), *Secondary Education Project*, <http://www.worldbank.org/projects/P066149/secondary-education-project?lang=en>.
- B. Yesilda-B. Rubin (eds.) (2013), *Islamization of Turkey under the AKP Rule*, Routledge, London.
- E.J. Zürcher (2004), *Turkey: a Modern History*, I. B. Tauris, London.



Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.