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MODERNIZATION AND ISLAM IN TURKISH THOUGHT:

RASİM ÖZDENÖREN

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ANKARA YILDIRIM BEYAZIT UNIVERSITY

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MODERNIZATION AND ISLAM IN TURKISH THOUGHT:

RASİM ÖZDENÖREN

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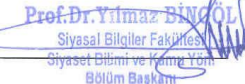
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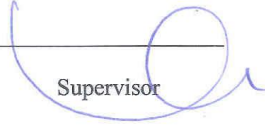
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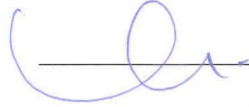
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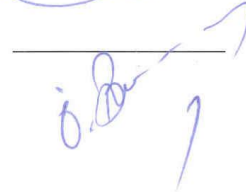
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I hereby declare that all information contained in this thesis is presented within the framework of academic rules and ethical behaviors. I also declare that I have fully cited all external sources and results as required by such rules and ethical behaviors. I accept all legal liability in case of failure to comply with the said rules and behaviors.

İbrahim Usta

ABSTRACT

MODERNIZATION AND ISLAM IN TURKISH THOUGHT: RASİM ÖZDENÖREN

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The concept of modernization emerges as a social process that penetrates the entire life of individual from economy to politics, from culture to belief systems. The concept is based on a materialist outlook, the rejection of traditional and national, and the aim of making progress by adopting concrete and rational knowledge. There is a negative relationship between the concept of religion categorized as tradition and modernization. In Turkish modernization, it was aimed to reach the level of an advanced civilization through establishing a European style social, political and economic institutions and structures in Turkish society. It can be said that the process which started in the Ottoman Empire at the end of the 18th century, has gained speed with the establishment of the Republic, took on a different character and still maintains. Within this framework, developments such as declaration of the Tanzimat and Islahat Decrees, the transition to the Constitutional Monarchy regime and the establishment of the Republican administration are significant turning points in this way. Rasim Özdenören writing for more than half a century, continues to present a unique perspective on modernization and Islam, and to find solutions. In this study, Özdenören's perspective and ideas on Turkish modernization are examined. The evaluations to be made will be carried out through the books of Özdenören on the relationship between modernization and Islam which have an intensive and direct contact with the subject.

Keywords: Rasim Özdenören, West, Islam, modernization, Tanzimat, Kemalism.

ÖZET

TÜRK DÜŞÜNCESİNDE MODERNLEŞME VE İSLÂM: RASİM ÖZDENÖREN

Usta, İbrahim

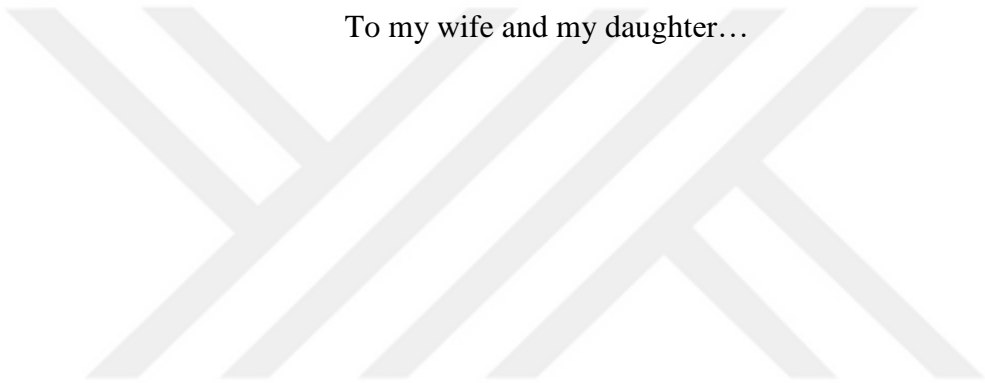
Yüksek Lisans, Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi Bölümü

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Modernleşme kavramı, ekonomiden siyasete, kültürden inanç sistemlerine varıncaya dek bireyin hayatının tamamına nüfuz eden toplumsal bir süreç olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Kavramın temelinde maddeci bir bakışı açısı, geleneksel ve ulvi olanın reddedilmesi, somut ve rasyonel bilgiyi benimseyerek ilerleme sağlamayı hedefleme gibi bileşenler mevcuttur. Gelenek sınıfı içerisinde kategorize edilen din kavramı ile modernleşme arasında menfi bir ilişki söz konusudur. Türk modernleşmesinde, Avrupa'daki toplumsal, siyasal ve ekonomik kurum ve yapıların Türk toplumuna tesis edilmesini sağlayarak muasır medeniyet seviyesine erişmek amaçlanmıştır. 18. yüzyılın sonlarında Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda başlayan, Cumhuriyetin kurulmasıyla birlikte hızlanan ve farklı bir karaktere bürünen sürecin halen devam ettiği söylenebilmektedir. Bu çerçevede Tanzimat ve Islahat Fermanları'nın ilanı, Meşrutiyet rejimine geçilmesi ve Cumhuriyet yönetiminin tesis edilmesi gibi gelişmeler bu yoldaki önemli dönemeçlerdir. Rasim Özdenören yarım asırdan fazla bir süredir kaleme aldığı eserlerinde modernleşme ve İslâm teması üzerine özgün bir bakış açısını ortaya koymaya, tespit ve çözüm yolları geliştirmeye devam etmektedir. Bu çalışmada, Özdenören'in bakış açısı ve Türk modernleşmesi hakkında ortaya koyduğu fikirler incelenmektedir. Yapılacak değerlendirmeler, Özdenören'in modernleşme ve İslâm ilişkisi üzerine ele aldığı kitaplarından konuya yoğun ve doğrudan temas edenleri üzerinden yürütülecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Rasim Özdenören, Batı, İslâm, modernleşme, Tanzimat, Kemalizm.



To my wife and my daughter...

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INTRODUCTION

Subject:

The subject of this thesis is the relationship between modernization and Islam in Turkish thought. criticizing this relationship, we adress the approach of Rasim Özdenören. The study will be carried out in Islamic societies that prefer modernization instead of discussing the basic culture of Islamic governance, to remove the decisive role in social life and to mobilize Western-style institutions and concepts.

Turkey has been on the scene as a state with Islamic traditions, and Islamic principles in the presence of state and society have survived for centuries. With the Tanzimat Edict, a process of Westernization or modernization was initiated in political, administrative and intellectual fields. In this context, attempts to adapt institutions and concepts existing in Western culture to local culture were initiated. In the following stages, developments such as the declaration of the Islahat Decree and the proclamation of the Constitutional Monarchy took place in line with both the pressure of Western countries and modernization policies. But, the most important step in the way of Westernization was taken in the Kemalist period which became dominant with the proclamation of the Republic. Until this period, there were approaches such as the revival of the Ottoman Empire and utilizing positive aspects of the Western culture with domestic culture, whereas in the Republican period acted properly in the manner of establishing a complete administrative structure and society. For this purpose, methods such as pressure and imposition were applied. The idea of being a Western society was not left to the initiative of the society in a way.

Rasim Özdenören approaches the facts with an Islamic focus. In this context, Islam is regarded as the only, undeviating source based on the will of revelation and is considered to be the only acceptable system. All systems except Islam are based on human beings and considered superstitious. Thus, according to Özdenören the process of Westernization, which started in the Tanzimat period and covered its most important stage in the Kemalist period, was perceived as bearing the same meaning with the abandonment of the Islamic system. On this occasion, Islamic administration is removed and replaced by a system that

does not reflect the people's own culture. Those who oppose this situation are forced to pay a price.

Objective:

The purpose of this thesis, pointing at the relationship between religion and modernization in Turkish thought with reference to the ideas of Rasim Özdenören who is an influential intellectual in Turkey. Özdenören was born in 1940 in Kahramanmaraş. He completed his primary and secondary education in cities such as Kahramanmaraş, Malatya and Tunceli, then graduated from Maraş High School in 1958. He graduated from Istanbul University Faculty of Law and The Institute of Journalism. He worked as an expert in State Planning Organization (DPT). In order to make researches, he was in the USA for two years in 1970-1971. In 1975, he ran the Ministry Counselor of the Ministry of Culture. He worked as an Inspector in the same ministry for a year. He resigned from his office in 1978 but returned to work at the DPT in 1980. He served as an expert, Head of Department, Deputy Secretary General, General Secretary and Consultant. He retired in 2005. At present, he is a member of the Presidential Board of Local Government Policies.

Özdenören has communed with literature since high school, on the one hand, wrote on art in local newspapers and on the other stories in magazines such as Varlık, Seçilmiş Hikâyeler, Türk Sanatı, Dost. With his friends who are interested in literature, he republished the magazine “Hamle” which was the media organ of Maraş High School. His first story “Akarsu” was published in 1957 in the magazine “Varlık”, his first book “Hastalar ve Işıklar” was published in 1967. He was one of the founders of the magazine “Edebiyat” in 1969 and “Mavera” in 1976. With his countless works, Özdenören has taken a place in the masters of Turkish novelle and essay authors and been deemed worthy of many awards.

Özdenören is a leading author especially in the field of story. But, his intellectual texts and books are as important as his stories. Some of his major works are: Gül Yetiştiren Adam, Çözülme (cinematized for TV), Çok Sesli Bir Ölüm (cinematized for TV and won jury special prize in the International 1977 Golden Prague TV Films Festival), Eşikte Duran İnsan, Denize Açılan Kapı (Özdenören was awarded the “Short Story of the Year” by the

Writer's Union of Turkey for his work), İki Dünya (In 1978, he received jury special prize from Turkey's National Cultural Foundation), Yaşadığımız Günler, Yeniden İnanmak,

Müslümanca Düşünme Üzerine, Müslümanca Yaşamak, Kafa Karıştıran Kelimeler, Yumurtayı Hangi Ucundan Kırmalı, Çapraz İlişkiler, Düşünsel Duruş, Siyasal İstiareler.

Özdenören draws an exception area by isolating Islam from other religions and universal phenomenas. The aim is to emphasize the structural difference between Islam and other religions and views, and to emphasize that universal transformations cannot be adapted to Islam. In this way, views on; how to be a muslim, the principles of his life and thought, the effects of modernization on the Islamic world, are expressed.

Özdenören has written articles since more than fifty years and is one of the names leading Islamic-oriented ideas in Turkish thought, his ideas about understanding the relation between religion and modernization in Turkey are of great importance. Since an important character such as Rasim Özdenören was not discussed in a thesis before, this study will contribute to Turkish literature.

Method:

In order to get onto the subject and detail it, literature was searched by referring to sources such as books and articles in areas such as enlightenment philosophy, sociology of religion, modernization movement, and made reference to books to convey his thoughts.

Scope and Limitations:

Such a study based on a view addressing the issue of religion and modernization in Turkey from the perspective of Özdenören, is thought to be done in two ways. The first one is to take the issue in the context of literature sociology based on many stories of Özdenören, and the other is to make an analysis of thought based on think pieces except belles-lettres. In this study, the second method is preferred. However, considering the scope and limits of a master's thesis, examining and discussing all the think pieces of the author will be an attempt goes beyond the limits of the study, we preferred those addressing the issue in a direct and detailed way, and discuss the case in this manner.

In this context, reviewed writings of the author are mentioned below:

- *İki Dünya*. İz Yayıncılık. (2015, first edition 1977).
- *Eşikte Duran İnsan*. İz Yayıncılık. (2016, first edition 2000).
- *Yumurtayı Hangi Ucundan Kırmalı*. İz Yayıncılık. (2016, first edition 1987).
- *Düşünsel Duruş*. İz Yayıncılık. (2017, first edition 2004).
- *Kafa Karıştıran Kelimeler*. İz Yayıncılık. (2017, first edition 1987).
- *Müslümanca Düşünme Üzerine Denemeler*. İz Yayıncılık. (2017, first edition 1985).
- *Müslümanca Yaşamak*. İz Yayıncılık. (2017, first edition 1988).



CHAPTER I

RELIGION AND MODERNIZATION

1.1 The Great Transformation In The West

In social sciences, the relationship between religion and modernization has been the subject of debate in many contexts. It is a general opinion of intellectuals that religion and modernization are conflicting concepts. It is also possible to come across arguments that the nature of religion encourages innovation and development, as well as the frequent use of arguments in literature, as religion often hampers development/progress. In order to be able to understand the relationship between religion and modernization correctly, it is necessary to consider the concepts of religion and modernization separately, and then the reflections of the interaction of these concepts on the social life in detail.

The concept of modernization, which corresponds to the terms of Westernization/Modernization in Turkish intellectual history, can be defined as a social process that permeates the entire life of the individual from economy to politics, from culture to belief systems. Modernization is a product of the idea of enlightenment, which is born in response to the repressive/totalitarian social order, and it is considered to be the practical forms of the ideas of enlightenment and it is intrinsic to Western. But for a variety of reasons, especially in the East and in other parts of the world, with catching up with the efforts of the West in the fields of science, technology, art and architecture, modernity has spread to almost all around the world.

The word “modern” derived from the Latin word “modernus” refers to the concepts of knowledge on the openness, freedom and autonomy of thought, on the one hand, and the latest and most recent ideas on the other (Cevizci, 1999: 599). Habermas states that the term “modernus” in the Latin form was used for the first time after the adoption of Christianity in the 5th century to distinguish the current situation from the idolater and

pagan history and even though the content changes in essence, it is expressed as an intermediary to emphasize the transition from old to new (Habermas, 1990: 31).

Giddens portrays the concept of modernity, which has become realistic over time with the meaning imposed on the word “modern”, as the forms of social life and organization that began in Europe in the 17th century and later on influenced almost all the world (Giddens, 1994: 9). Modernity predicts a break from the history or tradition and then new beginnings in the areas of individual and social life such as in art, politics, economy and family life under the new principles of rationality, scientificity, technological development (Zengin, 2017: 84).

When we look at the other reflections that will be cited throughout the study regarding the concept of modern and modernity, it is possible to define “modernity” as an ideology in which the products of rationalism come to the forefront instead of opposing the religious/traditional, and that “modernism” as an ideology arose in the West and supporting the policies of modernization. On the basis of this, there is a promethean approach which places a materialistic view of human and social life in its focus and rejects the almighty. Among the constituent facts, having the motto of progress, unorthodox and anti-metaphysical, materialist, rational, scientific, individualistic, secular can be regarded (Zengin, 2017: 62-63).

The spirit of modernity, shaped by the humanist and secular mentality that has opened its eyes with the Renaissance in Europe, has become a dominant world view since the 15th century. After all, the place of modernization in the historical context, which is defined as the processes that enable the old and traditional societies to become modern and reach modernity, in other words the modern age has been one of the conflicts among the social scientists (Giddens, 2014: 28). In this context, although there is no consensus in the beginning period -some intellectuals take 13th century or enlightenment period as starting point- the general belief is that the modern period ends in the middle of the 20th century (Bauman, 2003: 12).

Similarly, modernity can be expressed in the form of economic, cultural and political transformation in society (Altun, 2017: 16-19). Modernization refers to the economic, cultural, social and political transformations of non-western societies in areas such as industrialization, rationalization, differentiation, urbanization and secularism (Canatan, 2012: 35).

The basic property of modernity is that it places the concepts of mind and science in a central position within the system. The intellectual product obtained in this way has emerged as progress. It is assumed that the knowledge of the humanity about the individual and the nature will increase with the great belief in mind and thus, there will be continuous progress. Every step on the path of progress will be conducive to human liberation, to dominate nature and on the other hand to take a step further away from the traditional one.

The fact, that constitutes the basic starting point of modernization, is information. The information is desired to be obtained continuously and instrumentalized. Thus, a process of transformation is desired to increase the economic well-being of the individual and society. However, it is not enough to realize this transformation only in the economic dimension. If a classification is made in the context of the dimensions that modernization has penetrated; we can make reference to political, cultural, economic and social modernization (Altun, 2017: 21-24).

According to Bauman, what the modern individual wants to learn from nature is how to use nature to fully control it and other individuals. That is his only purpose. On the other hand, the mission of the modern state is to examine them in a comprehensive way to transform the people under their sovereignty into a regular society that is compatible with the laws of mind. The rationally designed society has been declared the ultimate goal of the modern state. The modern state has deemed it illegitimate to exist traditional origin and eradicates the mechanisms of production based on tradition, and has built mechanisms that direct it to the direction of change and rational design. This design, which is assumed to be

governed by the high and unquestioned authority of the mind, has presented the criteria for evaluating the reality of the day (Bauman, 2003: 30-34).

The modern mind has come to life with the idea that the world can be changed. On the basis of this idea, there is the subconscious knowledge of refusing the situation of the World so far and the motivation for changing this situation and feeling compelled to do so. This rejectionist approach brings the question of what is to be replaced. Thus modernity has always included movement and dynamism (Bauman, 2018: 36).

Antony Giddens emphasizes that the phenomena of reflexivity and dynamism are of vital importance for modernity. The inherent feature of modernity allows it to move away from the binding effects of the principles and practices established in the social life. This situation is provided by the dynamism and reflexivity of modern institutions. Reflexivity refers to a continuous review of the relationship between nature and social activity in line with newly acquired knowledge. This acquisition of information is essential for modern institutions (Giddens, 2014: 35).

In a supporting way Simmel says that the basis for the phenomenon of modernity lies in the passion for innovation of present time. The point that gives people pleasure is the beauty that something feels, and the fact that it is new in its essence. But this “now situation” is temporary, because modernity has a desire for renewal that does not fit into the circumstances (Simmel, 2006: 10).

With another emphasis of Giddens, it should be noted that modernity produces a continuous process of differentiation and exclusion (Giddens, 2014: 17).

In the history of humanity, the period of time, called the modern period, is considered as a time that has risen on the political, scientific and socioeconomic developments that the

Renaissance and the Reformation movements and geographical exploration reveals and develops following the scholastic period in which the concept of religion is centered on the focus of life and thought until the second half of the 19th century. From the 16th century on the repressive attitude of the Middle Ages, the Western world came to the brink of a transformation in terms of the life of the individual and society, and a world view that puts religion in the heart of all things has not started to satisfy the people. In this period, it was felt that religion in Europe began to lose considerable credibility. The discovery of the New Earth, the Renaissance and the Reformation movements have constituted the main points of this transformation in Europe's social, cultural and intellectual life. Christianity in Europe along with the Renaissance began to lose its role as a determinant in social life, and it was emphasized that religiosity was an individual issue by limiting the authority of the church as a result of the Reform movement and ensured a distinction between the newly formed modern culture and religion. In the following periods, the orientation of the Western world towards the secularization was accelerated. As a result, the church, which had the power in the Middle Ages, and God and religion, the functional two sources of its politics, began to be driven not only from politics but from the whole of social life. Therefore, the attitude of Christianity in the Middle Ages has been one of the factors in the emergence of the secularization process.

According to Canatan, the concept of modernization is simply a process of change that started in Europe at the end of the Middle Ages and continues to spread all over the world today. The center of this process is the Western World where the seeds of the concept are thrown and sprouted. However, the state of being the center of the West and modernity showed differentiation over time (Canatan, 2012: 35).

The essence of being the center of modernity is directly proportional to the power in the political arena. The focus of power in the historical process has been the states such as Portugal and Spain, then the Netherlands, England and France. Therefore, the focus of modernity was determined by this "focus of power" element in time. In the following periods, world wars, demolitions and political developments, along with the power elites,

America gained power, took the role of the “West” from Europe and changed the focus of modernization (Altun, 2017: 27-51).

Modernization movements were first analyzed as a positive perception with the motive of progress. However, this optimistic view has changed after the negative consequences of poverty, migration and exploitation. Modernization has led to developments in scientific and technological fields, and has created great problems in human life and in moral dimensions. In this context, there are also reflections even people can be an extra or a waste like a commodity (Bauman, 2018: 51).

The fact that is prioritized in the critique of modernity is individualism and the humanist conception of it. In this respect, everything in the material world has been degraded into humane dimensions and transcendental principles have not been taken into account. Hence, the roots of laicism, which constitute the essence of today's modern system, lie essentially here (Guenon, 1999: 43).

The idea of progress, which is one of the building blocks of the modernization, is also exalted in societies that are not as developed as western societies. Progress has become identical with obtaining status. In this way, data based on scientific knowledge were considered superior to the religiously based knowledge which was supposed to be narrower in the cultural context. Therefore, it is understood that there is an organic link between the motive of progress and the rationalization process (Wallerstein, 2016: 73).

Modern science, who wants to understand and dominate the nature, acts in a nature that does not accept material or holiness. For this reason, experiment and observation have an important place in modern science. Considerations exceeding test and observation are considered unknown (Guenon, 1999: 77).

Analyzing “modern” expression along with the “tradition” or “classical” terms which are considered as opposite is considered important in understanding the concepts. Modernity manifests itself in approaches such as rejecting, changing and eliminating the facts that persist in the tradition. For this reason, it is essential to consider the concept of tradition when dealing with modern and its derivative concepts.

Traditional societies are addressed in a non-modern society format. The exodus of the old and the traditional were exterminated and discredited in favor of the new and modern. On the other hand, the inability to enter the path of modernization, which offers progress, development and change of the world, has been perceived as a problematic or diseased situation for societies. The modernization, which has an impact on the individual's entire life, prescribes a society separated from its traditions, determines the fate of the individual and makes production in capitalist relations. It pushes the societies in which they appear through continuous and progressive institutional structures into a process of transformation or restructuring. In this respect, modernization envisages the use of advanced technology, the division of labor and specialization in the economic sense, secular structures in the sense of faith and culture, existence of democratic and participatory decision-making mechanisms and the exclusion of the “traditional” in the social sense. Rationalization, which is used to express “modernization”, is associated with a strong urge for progress.

It can be said that the main characteristics of traditional societies are God or religion. In this context, human being is a secondary element created like other beings in nature. God is the creator of all things, the one who controls, and is the agent of the laws and rules. It is the only authority that is absolute. Modernization should not be defined only as bringing the mind in place of the sacred, but the individual is the subject of the universe. Therefore, everything in nature is presented to the dominance of people and it is the decisive factor.

In traditional society, individuals living in their own little world have realized that they are part of a larger universe with modern scientific progress. This has led to a constant search and a desire to prove everything with science (Canatan 2012: 36). Contrary to what is

believed, it draws the framework of this change not only in technological and scientific fields, but also in a political, social, cultural and even psychological platform. On the other hand, the modernization of each society, as well as every period, varies according to the characteristics of the period in which it belongs. In this context, as the modernization of Turkish and French are compared, both of them will have their own characteristics and the processes in other centuries will have different development from one another.

Tradition, which is a divine-based phenomenon, began to lose its influence in social life with the advent of modernity. At this point, when a traditional front view is made, modernism is regarded as a deviation from tradition. They criticize modernity by submitting that modernity is an attempt to fill its emptiness, which is the rejection of everything arising from the tradition / religion / truth and the abandonment of the eternal integrity of tradition, with semi-truth / human knowledge.(Nasr, 2012: 16).

While modernity is considered to be new in temporal terms, tradition comes before old and modernity, and even in some variations it is considered to be non-historical and immortal (Wallerstein, 2016: 65).

When we look at the etymology of the fact “tradition”, it is seen that the term is derived from the word “traditio” and used in Western literature to meet the meaning of the transfer of Christian teachings from generation to generation. It includes many written and verbal elements, such as transposition, law, practice and technique, and is a trespasser as opposed to modernity. However, the word is kept by the modernists in a narrow scope that can be used in place of the word “tradition” and limited to human. On the other hand, tradition also penetrates into areas such as philosophy, art, and mysticism that are more and more transcendent, which is also important for traditionalists. Because they look at the tradition from this point and give him a religion based, divine, transcendent role. At this point for tradition; A divine revelation comes from the definition of a truth that comes from worship, symbol and other principles in religions. When a more in-depth description of the subject is made, it can be said that the fact of truth, which is considered as a tradition, is essentially

used as a synonym for religion. So much so that traditionalists see a link between tradition and revelation (Zengin, 2017: 30-40).

Traditionalists put the celestial religions on a single floor in practice. They do not accept different religions and beliefs as oppositeness between time and society. But the concept of modern religion constitutes the exception of this approach. Because according to this approach, religion is being digressed from the divine foundation and degraded into the human realm.

When talking about modernization and religion, it is appropriate to touch upon the quality and function of the concept of religion. Religion, in the sense that it is used exclusively in social sciences, is expressed as a path of spirituality. Religion is a belief mechanism that has a system of life for its members, having a system of thought and practice, both individually and socially. At this point, every religion has an aesthetic and ethical aspect as well as an idea dimension. However, since the society in which each religion was sent has structurally different characteristics, the manifestation of the sacred differs in terms of time and place. All religions are a way to God, they carry this message in their essence and have been able to maintain their influence from the early stages of human history to the present day. Therefore, religion has existed everywhere. Contrary to today's approach, religions cannot be degraded into a moral level. Religion involves both the creator and the human and nature. Thus, religion has features about the material world in which man lives, on the other hand, the divine authority that is more than humanity. In this respect, religion has a key role in terms of understanding and explaining the world in which the individual lives (Zengin, 2017: 144-149).

When an overview of the relationship between religion and modernization is made, the conflict between modernization, aiming to develop in the economic, political and social level based on concrete-rational information and the domination of the individual and society between the religious perspective envisaging the dominance of the immovable, and immutable laws continues throughout the historical process.

This conflict has attracted the attention of Weber. While conducting studies on the sociology of religion, Confucianism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism and Islam have revealed some determinations within the context of the economic ethics of the Eastern religions. According to Kippenberg, Weber made a discovery. According to this: When the individual is thinking ahead, religious feelings and experiences are taken into consideration reasonably. The rationalization process dissolves the magical ideas, gradually disrupting the world's magic and making it godless. Religion turns from magic to teaching. This decomposition reveals two trends. One is the superiority of the mind and the other is the mystical experience. The rationalization process continues to evolve and progress and encompasses all the civilization products such as economy, state, science and law. This is called the “spell-breaking process” which is at the center of Weber's view of religion and at the same time reveals the relationship between religion and modernization. As rational development is achieved, magic/religion becomes a symbolic activity from the direct governing position of powers. As a result, a godless world does not occur, but the religion turns into its own operational and theoretical space. With the emergence of modernity, social institutions were separated from religious ones. The religion lost its power and turned to its own area. Finally, institutional religion evolved into individual religiosity (Kippenberg, 2012: 125-126).

In the context of the results of modernity, the proposition that “religion will gradually disappear with the exception of private spaces” is one of the fundamental propositions of the 19th century.

However, in time, the question that “Is religion in social life in a tendency to disappear as it is claimed, or has it re-gained activity?”, has been an important area of interest for sociologists. Hefner's view is mostly the answer to the second question. In fact, the idea that “religion is more resistant than predicted” has been a general cohesion that sociologists agree on. Religious developments, such as Hindu nationalism, Islamic revival, Pentecost transformation, witness an explosion of religious activity. Religion has gone through a “change” with the modernizing world. The religions, which can respond to the rising phenomena of every age, such as capitalism, nationalism, nation-state, new

information and communication styles, with moral imagination and organizational forces, have succeeded in surviving in the historical process. On the other hand, these phenomena have had a heterogenizing effect on religion rather than homogenizing, contrary to popular belief, and the influence of religion in both public and private sphere is still quite strong in many parts of the world (Hefner, 2012: 251-254).

There are also some original findings in the literature about religions and stories of them. Hefner's determination is important in this regard (Hefner, 2012: 256);

In modern times, few religions can ignore the existence of capitalist consumption and circulation. Some of these religions respond by establishing moral sets against the capitalist cultural stream. However, other religious movements have created new currents that proceed in line with it, by developing a public opinion that 'welcomes commercialization, celebrates individuality and promotes profit rather than paddling the economic flow.

In the Christian world, the Pentecost Christianity emerged, which was very new but appealed to a wide audience and became a world-class religious industry. This approach has chosen a way of utilizing modern technology and means of communication to keep the beliefs and ties alive, preferring the religious worship instead of the earlier activist view. This stream emerged in a few poor neighborhoods in the United States a century ago, in Asia, Africa and many parts of the world has found itself in a structure that finds hundreds of millions of disciples. This has also encouraged a revival in Roman Catholics and Protestant groups (Hefner, 2012: 253-257). Looking at Islamic societies; in the modern world, it is not wrong to say that Muslims have a bad reputation for fundamentalism and terrorism. However, it should be emphasized that this thought is merely a misconception or prejudice as it constitutes a minority of Muslim generations which can be considered radical. On the other hand, the involvement of secular nationalists in religion has ironically encouraged the nationalization of religion. The Islamist opposition also benefited from this. When we look at today's Muslims, it is possible to say that in the center of politics, calmness, rather than militancy, and the separation of religion and state authority in practice are adopted. In addition, the activities carried out by the secularizing state to

increase the literacy of individuals, cheap and accessible Islamic publications, the multiplication of communication opportunities have had positive effects to liberalise perspective of people. At this point, the focus of the re-emergence of Islam was the educated segment in the middle and lower-middle sections. The Muslims, who are low-educated, or the previous generation, are far from the Shariah system, even if they accept the truth of God's path. This part of Muslims is generally considered to be compatible with the Sharia and leave the issue at that point. The new generation of religious people define Islam as an objective system that surrounds every aspect of life (Hefner, 2012: 259-261).

After the experience of modernization, Black mentions that there has been little change or development in the basic principles of Islamic thought, but new adaptations and strategies have been developed due to the disturbance of the perceived Western element to be dominated by Muslims. Whether it is by fusing it with Western ideas or by defending the return to the essence of revelation, the common goal is to get rid of hegemony and revive Islam (Black, 2010: 387-388).

The assumption that people are much more free and open-minded in the mottoes of modernity is in mind. However, at this point, however, one issue is gone unnoticed. It is that the basic approach of modernity rejects the facts about religion or tradition in advance. This is essentially a contradiction. It is not pleasant to ignore what is based on spiritual or metaphysical elements by approaching the facts with positivism, science and technology, and to insult it. However, the regions in which the modernism has less contact with the world are much more pleasant than the regions that are heavily modern.

Barbier progressively explored the role of religion (in particular Christianity) in Europe in social life step by step. In this context, he stated that: beginning from the 4th century, religion has begun to gain influence in state administration or politics and that went on until the 16th century and this relationship passed differentiation due to the crisis in 16th century and the state administrators wanted to influence the church by using the religion for their interests. Today, he says that the conflict of religion and politics has lost its acuity

and that has calmed down. Religion is no longer in a decisive role in many of the modern countries in political and social life. In secularizing societies, the tasks undertaken by religion are now carried out by other mechanisms. On the other hand, it should not be ignored that a social orientation of religion is a religious dimension of society. Because of these interactions, social scientists have developed four groups as religious, instrumental, liberal and critical about religion and politics. Accordingly, there are interpretations that religion is a dominant power over time or has lost its power against other institutions. At this point, he states that religion, as a form of spiritual orientation and beliefs and as a way of life, maintains its effectiveness in the life of the individual and society, and that it has a tendency to recover again (Barbier, 1999: 9-17).

As a result, the relationship between religion and modernization is analyzed; it is a common assumption that the depiction of “along with modernization, rational-mental facts will knock the moral-religious ones out.” However, it should be taken into consideration the critical view that the determinant role of the facts based on religion in the social life does not disappear, and continues to affect by changing its shape. On the other hand, although the process of modernization in the early period succeeded in destroying the authority of the church, in the course of time Christianity succeeded in maintaining its influence in the Western thought system and continued to be the founding element of European identity.

1.2 The Idea of Enlightenment

To understand the reasons for the emergence of modernity in the West, it is necessary to try to understand it in its own history. What is the basic dynamics of modernization? What is the set of ideas that cause the emergence of modernity and which constitute the basis of its infrastructure? The answer is undoubtedly the “enlightenment”. The phenomenon of Enlightenment is the intellectual ground of modernization. Therefore, discussing the concept of modernization, the enlightenment movement and the philosophy of enlightenment should be emphasized. To be able to cover all the bases of the subject; What

are the factors causing the idea of enlightenment to occur? What changes have been experienced in the church's role in this period? Such questions should also be answered.

Considering the descriptions of the conceptual assessment of the Enlightenment, it can be said that the first attempt was made by Kant. It is not wrong to say that the next comments and evaluations are carried out through Kant. He regards his time as a process of enlightenment rather than an enlightened era and defines "Enlightenment" as getting rid of the "absence of an adult" who has fallen with his own crime (whether laziness or cowardice). The term "absence of an adult", is that one cannot use his mind without any other guidance. This "absence of an adult" situation that Kant mentions is a life condition in which individuals live comfortably without complaining under the authority of other people/institutions, so to say a kind of guardianship that think instead of themselves and declare their will. The idea of enlightenment is a revolt to structures that think of everything on behalf of the individual and present them molds. The basic dynamics of this revolt is "mind". Mind is the key to individual liberation. Kant supports the idea that the individual should use his mind as a servant, publicly in an open manner and this is always free. He says only this attitude can bring light and enlightenment to people. This freedom does not mean that people cannot fulfill their responsibilities as a citizen, an official or a clergyman. However, the fulfillment of the duty should never interfere with the individual at the point of questioning (Kant, 1784: 1-6).

It is possible to define the concept of Enlightenment in French by the word "eclairissement" and generally as a philosophical movement starting with the British Revolution and ending with the French Revolution, which has an effect in many parts of America and Europe. The main purpose of the movement is to stand against the phenomenon of religion, which is the mechanism of dogma, prejudice and myth, which is believed to enslave the individual, and the mechanism in which they are produced and institutionalized. Thus, the individual will get rid of the current situation and the order of the good and emancipatory mind will survive. Various countries have experienced enlightenment experiences according to their internal dynamics. At this point, the only fact that constitutes their common point is that they act with the motive of progress. It is possible to say the Enlightenment movement is

interpreted under two headings. The first of these is the totality of the ideals constituting the source of modernity, and the second is that it is the substructure of the totalitarian movements as a result of the French movements (Çiğdem, 2018: 15-17).

In Europe, the existing dogmatic thought has been replaced by a new approach which focuses on human and gives importance to the arts and science since starting from the 14th century. The more accurate it is to say that the Renaissance intellectuals are questioning the boundaries drawn by the church, aiming at liberating the thought structures of individuals, and destroying the traditions and dogmas, it will be wrong to say that there is in itself a rebellion against religion. When the political division in the European continent is combined with religious sect and doctrine differences, the confrontational environment has become sharper. In which all characterize each other as “heretic”, it is not difficult to produce the necessary political will to punish the unbelievers in this world. The period of wars and the subsequent peace did not diminish the existing divide, but expanded the social and political bases of the faith movements considered as “heretic”. At the point of the end of the religious wars, the era of enlightenment begins, which represents a knowledge and social organization based on rationalism and empiricism (Erhan, 2012: 17-19).

It is possible to assume the components of the enlightenment, the Renaissance movement in the middle of the 15th century, the Reform process in the 16th century, and the Cartesian philosophy, which became evident from the mid-17th century. What makes the Enlightenment period unique is the notion of mind, which has its own diversity. This is an acquisition rather than an inheritance. Everything related to revelation, tradition and authority through mind has been made questionable (Çiğdem, 2018: 22).

The Great Revolution took place with the arrival of the III William, who was replaced by the dethroned King of England due to the pro-Catholic policies in the late 17th century. Thus, it was accepted that parliament was the dominant power in England. The enlightenment movement has begun to emerge with practices such as the law of tolerance,

the publication of the Bill of Rights, the recognition of the right of public service to the Protestants, and the end of the monopoly of worship and education. In this period, John Locke is one of the leading intellectuals in England. Locke has a great influence on intellectuals. He says that knowledge is not innate, it is sourced from the experiences of the individual. Assuming that the mind is a blank paper devoid of ideas, it gives the answer to what the elements that fill the paper are observations and experiments (Spencer & Krauze, 2014: 7).

The mentioned period envisages the rejection of the facts such as superstition, religion and metaphysics which affect the social life, nature and science by relying on critical approaches and mind and then construction. Although there are great differences in interpreting political and social events, all enlightenment intellectuals argue that it is “true enlightenment” based on mind and philosophy rather than referring to revelation and faith in solving problems occurring in social life. The discourse that “Enlightenment is equal to intellect” can be said as a very simple summary of the subject. The fact “intellect” plays both a destructive and constitutive role in the philosophy of enlightenment. The uncovered humanism and the enlightenment of an absolute rationalism were marked in the 18th century by the duality of enlightenment. The passion to break the whole bond with the past and remove all the legacy from the past, rejects the reward and punishment mechanisms for God and the Hereafter. The rejectionist attitude of the Enlighteners led them to deism rather than to atheism. In order to avoid the dangerous consequences of unbelief, instead of the absence of God, they preferred to remain God only in the role of the creator and not effective in the operation of the universe. This deist understanding, which was the basis of the secularization that had a great importance in the enlightenment movement, envisioned the clergy, which had a voice in the administration of the state, and the church, a public authority, to be taken to its own private sphere. Metaphysics in the Enlightenment is regarded as a relic of religion and the continuation of the diseased attitude in religion. Comte’s positivism comes to the fore because it is envisaged that human knowledge can be valid with regular relationships between appearances and phenomena. An idea that cannot be fed from the experience like metaphysics is not included in the thought of science and enlightenment. Science embodies the mind to understand nature and society. On the other hand, according to a humanist reading, science has the potential to develop human

happiness/comfort in an unlimited way. A society whose individuals are happy can be truly free and rational. The more known the world, the more human life becomes meaningful. In this environment, philosophy has now moved away from a structure that only takes place in the minds and observes and directs life. At this point, the role of mind on the power of shaping human life should not be ignored. Otherwise, the real feature of enlightenment will be missed. When it comes to the founding aspect of enlightenment, it can be said that an absolute humanism and an absolute mind are intended to be on the basis of the system. Briefly, the facts based on religion to be demolished, in other words, the religion idol is desired to be destroyed. But it is done with or without awareness that another idol is erected. It is science and technology. It can be said that mind is a kind of common sense passed through logic and science. The mind-based events are expected to give similar or identical functions to each person. However, there are some negative factors leading to the deterioration of the mind, such as the institutional and cultural environment (Cevizci, 2017: 12-35).

The point of view of the intellectuals as a general acceptance in their opinion statements about the philosophy of enlightenment is the importance of rationalism. The main motive of Rationalism is accepting the reasoned ones and rejecting the others. This situation has led to a skeptical approach to the events and thus the establishment of a scientific perspective. The developments in the scientific field have led to an unprecedented optimism that human beings can organize nature, material and social environment as they wish. Thus, in the previous periods, the phenomenon of being viewed with suspicion was gradually replaced by the fact of trust. As the idea of explaining the facts with the innate and immutable laws is replaced by reason and concrete information, the way of relying on the material data is preferred and the divine based point of view is gradually abandoned.

One of the facts focusing on the Enlightenment movement is the motive for progress. As mentioned, a continuous progress is desired to dominate nature and other people. The most important tool here is the development of technology. In this way, it was aimed to shift from dependence to freedom, from primitiveness to civilization, from poverty to wealth. Desired is to maximize the interests of as many people as possible and thus attain

wholesale or greatest happiness. At this point, contact with liberalism is also provided. This orientation, which aims at social happiness by considering the individual's interests and happiness, has also found the ground as a political ideal. At the heart of the Enlightenment is a radical individualism, whose origins go back to Descartes and are strengthened by Locke's empiricism, which makes it possible to free the individual not only in a political context, but on a moral, intellectual, and economic level. In this insight, a kind of blessing of the individual is seen. In these areas, all religious, economic or political restrictions that bound the individual's free choice and movement shall be rejected. It is desirable to ensure the right of private enterprise, to guarantee the right to property but to intervene in the free market by means of trade restrictions and tax imposition is inadmissible. Thus a system, in which happiness is achieved by economic success and worldly wealth, is envisaged.

The concept and returns of the Enlightenment have risen on such a social and political ground. The general aim of the intellectuals of the period is to change or at least reform the traditional power, though at times it may be contradicted by its contemporaries or by themselves. The enlightenment, which is perceived as a process in consequence, aims at eliminating the fear of ignorance in humans and making them their masters. Destroying fear is through the destruction of false and empty beliefs and prejudices. Thus, the establishment of the system that freed people will be possible. The most important cornerstone of this stage is mind. The belief that the mind will dominate with a more civilized, more moral and happier life is established. Natural laws, equality and freedom will be provided in the society to be reached. Here, the concept of religion, which wages a war on the framework of the concept of dominating the power of the mind, is rather removed from being a conscientious belief in the private sphere of the individual to the institutionalization of religion. At this point, the intellectuals, who have joined against religion despite their different opinions from time to time, state that the religion or a more focal expression "the Catholic Church" causes some evil in general. According to this, religion is adorned with dogmas and superstitions to establish or consolidate its power. In this way religion is fed by ignorance in the hands of the clergy. Ignorance continually repeats itself, becomes deeper and deeper and in such a society the individual becomes unable to use his mind freely. In this case, bigotry and the inability to tolerate others

develop. Injustice, barbarism and war are produced together with the people who start to feel hatred and bear enmity (Ağaoğulları, 2013: 160-171).

Looking at the relationship between enlightenment and modernization, these can be explained as two related or interrelated concepts, but this does not mean that they are the same concepts. While it can be said that the Enlightenment is a peculiar phenomenon of the 18th century, it would be correct to point out that modernization has a practical feature that touches every aspect of the life of the individual and the society. The idea of enlightenment is generally evaluated through the age of rationalism and intellect. One of the main characteristics of rationalism was its definition through anti-religious. In this period, it was seen that the unbelief and the skepticism increased. At the center of the approach, there is mind/religion or rationality/anti-church. During the course of time, enlightenment has often been characterized by the argument of intelligence against religion. It was the main assumption that religion must be rejected in an intelligence or a rationalism-based structure. Positioning rationalism outside religion has caused an important illusion. Even though many enlightened intellectuals have argued, they have maintained their faith in God and even expressed their views on the importance of religion. For this reason, the concept of anti-religiousness, transformed into anti-church opposition (Köktaş, 2015: 640-642).

The refusive and destructive feature of the Enlightenment also led to the emergence of a critical section against the idea of enlightenment. These intellectuals generally describe those who support the idea of enlightenment as disbelievers, rebellious and deviant characters. Beginning from the 19th century, the opposition of many sectors, especially conservatives, has started to be seen.

Enlightenment has been criticized and even despised by Catholics and Romantics from the moment they emerged. According to Becker's statement, they took the basic patterns of medieval philosophy and secularized them. According to Baykan, who rejects the age of enlightenment, there is no such thing as enlightenment. It's a myth though. In other words,

there was no dark period before the 18th century, which was considered to be the age of enlightenment, and after that there was no return to darkness. On the other hand, when the age begins and there is no unity about who the founders are, the intellectuals do not stand on a common or homogeneous teaching in the technical sense, there are also many arguments by some authors that the intellectuals of time were against enlightenment. The Enlightenment does not have its own distinctive feature, so that prior to this age, religious criticism or priority of mind is an approach which was existent before and is not sufficient to bring a technical approach into a philosophy. The characteristics such as criticism, rationality, protesting against the church, giving importance to the sense-observation are neither new behaviors that make up the character of the Age of Enlightenment, nor do they make it a field of philosophy that will subject it to an objective classification. It is even suggested that the philosophy of enlightenment was put into an existing legacy. Indeed, until the 18th century, which was an age of enlightenment, there was a great accumulation in the West. Even the use of the word “light” is not new. When we look at the Enlighteners, there are both rationalism and empiricism, as well as those who accept Christianity, atheism and deism, and who support materialism and believe in the existence of monades. The structure differs according to many countries and society or intellectuals (Baykan, 1996: 1-25).

At this point, it is understood that how effective the idea of enlightenment on the idea of modernization structurally and constitutes the intellectual basis in the essence of modernity practice.

1.3 Secularism and Laicism

It is thought that secularism and laicism are the leading concepts that are required to be defined, absorbed and emphasized while dealing with the interaction of modernization and religion.

The Laicisme concept derived from the words “laos” (folk) and “laicos” (related to folk) in Greek when it comes to its origin, corresponds to the meaning of the socialization of the peoples of Catholic Christianity, especially in French. While it is a concept used to express people outside the clergy in the Christian era, in modern French it means giving a superior place to people, rules and authorities other than clergy/priests, in the world and even in religious affairs. The origin of secularism, which is used in English and German, in places outside of Catholic Christianity, especially under Protestantism, is Latin. The word “saeculum”, which is the basis of secularism, means “the era” (Berkes, 2018: 18). In short, to make a definition, the elimination of the power of the cases to affect the state and social life over time such as religion, religion-like structures, tradition, dogma, metaphysics and so on can be called secularization. It seems that the fact of the focus of secularization is not only religion, but also the concept of divinity. It can be said that the concept is directly related to modernity, has developed on the same platform, and can also be called the world view of modern society.

At the core of secularization, the abolition of the influence of religion on the social life and the individual and the narrowing of the sovereignty lies. So, the main point in the expression of secularism is the idea of profanation. The concept of laicism was first used to emphasize the distinction between the clergy and the non-clergy and then to indicate that the rules of religion in state administration would not be taken as a reference. Although secularism and laicism express different points in the theoretical framework, both concepts tend to represent the same area in terms of focal points. Both concepts are related to the separation between the church representing the authority over the transcendent field and the state that represents the authority over the material/worldly space. The feeling, which is intended to be conveyed through both expressions, is the transformation of the subjects related to the person or institution from the eternal character to the earthly character or the removal of the subject matter from the jurisdiction of the religious authority.

The “three-state law” of Auguste Comte is important for understanding the history of secularization. As it is known, in the three-state law, human history is considered as three successive stages that arise with changes in the individual's thinking structure. These are

theological, metaphysical and positivist stages. In this context, it is argued that the determinant factors in social life are firstly divine, then metaphysical, and ultimately concrete observable phenomena. As a result of this three-stage evolution, it is assumed that religion will be transformed into a society in which it will not be decisive. The impact of the modernization process on individuals and their religious lives has been occurred step by step. The changes in the socioeconomic field along with the mechanization of the Industrial Revolution followed by the emergence of the working class were not only limited to the area in which they emerged, but directly or indirectly to the whole world. On the other hand, the great migration waves from the village to the city revealed the phenomenon of urbanization. This situation has not only changed the social relations of the people, but also influenced the view of religion and the world. On the other hand, radical changes such as the developments in science, technology and mass media, the rapid growth of bureaucratic structures, the emergence of liberal democracies in political structures, ultimately led to the process of secularization by means of a combination of modernization and facts that can be considered as an extension of it (Aron, 2015: 63-67).

With the rational world view established after the Enlightenment, the arguments of the church in the modern world have lost their importance and loosening in the belief systems based on religion have been observed. This loss of faith has led to the dissolution of religion, diminishing the membership of the church, the erosion of religious practices and finally the decrease in the support given to religion. The change in the economic and social life experienced by industrialization, as well as institutions such as the school opened without the effect of church, broke the activity of the church which had a say as a monopoly and created a system that became increasingly secularized. It is possible to describe secularism with a broad definition that; separation of religion and state affairs, the state being in the same distance to all kinds of belief groups, the absence of the effectiveness of religious groups in any area under the control of the state, and the lack of negative or positive attitude due to the religious beliefs of the citizens. From this definition, it can be said that religion will not be involved in the beliefs and worship of the members of a secular state and that religion will not be perceived as an enemy to be controlled. The basic attitude that is intended to be emphasized is to underline that the fact of religion is not considered as a determinant factor in the state affairs.

As such, secularism is used to describe the tidal relationship between religion and society, while laicism is more a political principle in the context of this relationship. Hence, the premise of religion in individuals in a society is not primarily about laicism, but rather for secularism. In this context, the laicistic status of a country today does not show that it is secular, and it can be observed that a country with a secular system is not laicistic. At this point, it should be taken into consideration that concepts may differ from country to country or from society to society. For example, secularists in Turkey or France, especially while trying to remove the religion from many values in social life, especially in the state and struggling for that, unlike the concept of secularization does not include changing, transforming the society, banning and forcing for something. Because secularization is the name of a process and has no expectations from society or the state. It is used only as the name of a transformation. Laicism is used as the name of the existing social transformation whereas secularism is the name of the existing transformation in the state level (Ertit, 2014: 112-113).

Secularism is a separation between church and state in the West. Religion and society have always been in an interaction. As a result of this interaction, some developments in favor of the state and sometimes in favor of the religion have been observed. In the modernization process, there is a general understanding that the religion should be disabled. Religion was first wanted to be fired from politics, then from the state. The French Revolution pioneered this. As mentioned above, this separation in the Western world, that is, the separation between religion and state, is described as Laicism. Secularism is only one dimension of the work. The concept of secularization, which foresees the elimination of religion as the decisive feature of religion, is not limited to a separation like secularism. According to this, religion gradually began to lose its influence outside of political and in other areas of life. Economy, culture, art, etc. in every field, religion has ceased to be the determinant. In this context, laicism, in summary, meant the separation of religion and state from each other, but it was a step towards secularization which meant that religion was excluded from all social life. Laicism and secularization in a social sense can not fit a single mold and this can be expressed with European and American examples in a more concrete way. Secularism processes were realized in both Europe and America and the separation of church and state administration was ensured. However, European countries

have also experienced the process of secularization. So much so that the majority of the people do not feel religious. In France, a significant portion of the population (15%) consider themselves as atheists. In the case of the United States; In the sense of Laicism in the political perception, the majority of the people define themselves as religious. Thus, a European conception of modernization promotes the tendency of secularization. What is not to be ignored here is that each society has its own characteristics and has its own development processes. Because it is a reality that should be kept in mind that in the present and in the recent past, religious consciousness and orientation are and were popular in many parts of the world (Canatan, 2012: 37-38).

When it comes to laicism and secularization, the debates on religion and politics in our country's literature are usually carried out through secularism. In the Western literature, secularization is used in the sense that it comprises. Thus, in the Turkish literature, there are cases in which there are errors in the use of laicism, which implies the separation of religion and state affairs, as secularism, which implies a decline in the social power of religion.

The role of capitalism in strengthening the secularism as an ideology or religion in social life is great. Capitalism is a form of economic organization, in which the means of production are subject to private property, the state does not intervene in the economy, people are free to sell the workforce at a price determined by the private market and competition is considered as one of the main institutions and which is based on the voluntary Exchange of goods and services. Capitalism has transformed socio-political, economic and cultural facts in the societies it has come into contact with. In today's world of ideas capitalism is considered to be one of its accelerating facts among the facts of secularization. This accelerator mechanism is classified in four stages. These are the divergence of the economic sphere from the religion, the transformation of everyone into the workforce, the rise in the standard of living, the decline of state authority. In societies where advanced capitalism is dominant, individuals continue to produce and consume for higher amounts of satisfaction. In order to achieve a maximization of interest as required by capitalism, there must be layer differences between people. This may be the most likely

expression of political democracy in meeting capitalism. Because, even if every capitalist society is not a democrat, every democracy is a capitalist (Ertit, 2014: 64).

As it is known, in societies dominated by the capitalist economy, the state does not intervene in the market in economic context. The intervention is either present on certain issues or at least the existence of such an intervention is not accepted. On the other hand, in the non-capitalist economies, there is a state intervention and authority over individuals. At this point, in the capitalist economies, the rejection of intervention also defends a freedom in the political sense. At this point, it provides the weakening of the effects of the facts based on religion, directly or indirectly, on the social life, as a result of the emergence of a more rational society. On the other hand, as new life and working standards improve, as the level of prosperity and development grows, the family ties that exist in society weaken, and in parallel with this, loyalty to religious beliefs and rituals gradually weakens. Thus, in the capitalist societies, occurred a break in time from the traditional society, whose one of the pillars is rooting in religion, to lead to secularization.

Consequently, capitalism is an important element of modernization. The economic development achieved by capitalism, especially in western societies, has been a strong factor in the transition from traditional-conservative to modern. Thus, it has been one of the powerful components of transformation from small and isolated homogenous societies, to specialization, to individualization, to rationalization and to societies where there is a more advanced production-transportation-communication network, in some way from communities to societies.

When the ideas put forward about modernization and secularism are classified, a tripartite distinction is made. The first is that according to the classical theory, the facts based on religion and religion itself will be withdrawn from the social life and lose their effectiveness. The other view is that even in the peak of modernization, the fact of religion continues to maintain its power rather than being ineffective. The last view is a line between the two. According to this, there is an interaction between the two elements and

argues that although religion loses its authority, it still remains important in the cultural context. The concepts of religion and secularization no longer contain their meaning in the historical process. Even though religion has remained its importance as a cultural phenomenon in time, it has received a reaction from modernization and secularization. But this reaction is no longer as violent as before. Therefore, it should be emphasized in the discussions of secularization that religion has to increase the power to penetrate social life rather than the change in the number of believers/non-believers.

The most important finding at this point is that the relationship between modernism and religion/tradition is not positive. Secularism is one of the most fundamental components in the yeast of modernism. Secularism is the struggle against religion in a modern perspective. The sole aim is to remove the determinant role of religion in the life of the individual and society. The first achievement of secularism in its progress towards the field of religion is on philosophy. This is followed by science, politics, social structure and ultimately theology. As a result, in secular or modern societies it is seen that religions are demoted from public to individual areas (Zengin, 2017: 154).

Esposito considers the modernization and development theory as a challenge to the divine. In the theory of secularization, he argued that the traditional belief will either be demoted to an individual field or will tend to disappear by marginalization. However, because of the rise of religions in today's world, he says that secularism theory should be redefined (Esposito, 2009: 7).

In a supportive way, Berger emphasizes that the classic theory of secularism, produced in the 20th century and assuming that religion will be completely withdrawn from the social life in the literature, is no longer valid. According to the theory rooting in enlightenment, it is argued that with the modernization movements, the religion will be gradually withdrawn from the social and individual life, and this can be said to be valid only in certain areas at the present time but in time the anti-secularist forces have penetrated. On the other hand, there is no obligatory and linear relationship between individual and social secularization.

In some societies, religious institutions have lost their power and influence, but in many places religious beliefs and practices have continued to live with new institutional forms. On the other hand, the adaptation of religious institutions has also been an important obstacle to the development of secular theory. However, it will be an illusion to say that, despite everything, the secularist thought has completely disappeared. In this context, at least some of the classical theory should be considered (Berger, 2009: 74-81).

Similarly, Nilüfer Göle emphasizes that there is an increasing awareness of social sciences and that secularism is not a single ideal model in almost all parts of the world, and that the revival of religious movements and conservative values challenged the modes of authoritarian secularism (Göle, 2017: 11).

What is the origin of this revival? Peter Berger answers three different questions. First of all, the certainties prescribed by modernity tend to disappear in the eyes of individuals. The second is that it is an elite culture believing that a totally secular understanding of reality can occur. For those exposed to the influence of elite culture, although not being in it, this is undesirable. Finally, the religions, which are strongly opposed to secularism, attract individuals who are disturbed by understanding. (Berger, 2009: 87).

It is not wrong to say that when an assessment of the Muslim states is made in the historical perspective in order to regain the power of the institution of religion; the Westernization movements are procured by the people who are educated in the West in order to provide improvement. However, unlike the previous case, people who have modern education and who have Islamic tendencies have a say with this secular elite. This has limited the possibility of secularism expanding in an infinite manner in a Westernized Muslim society.

Looking at social developments and historical origins, it would not be wrong to say that the theory of secularization is essentially a valid proposition for the European continent. While

making a generalization on this subject covering other parts of the world, it is obvious that the people who live there have been overlooked in their religion and belief structures. In this way, the theory has experienced developments in the opposite direction and continues to exist. In the present age, the religion is not dead, there are attempts to revive it. It is acknowledged that traditional theory, including those who advocate secularization theory, is incomplete, inaccurate and misleading, and that religion is still in an important place in the institutional level but especially in the lives of individuals. Religion is related to tradition or collective memory. Religion connects individuals to society or community, and the tradition often opposed by religion constitutes the basis of this community (Küçükcan, 2005: 115-116).

At last, modernization, which causes a universal transformation in the world starting from the West, has taken its place in the mind structures of individuals as a correct and necessary concept in every society. Since the enlightenmentist and post-modernizing approach that has placed the individual in the focal point has always focused on maximizing the happiness of the individual, it has been motivated by the need for continuous progress and development. As a result of the economic and technological development provided, moral values began to decline. Thus, in modern society, religion has gradually become a matter of conscience. The truth derived from God or tradition, which was previously regarded as eternal; it has always been questioned in the new insight dominated by reason, science and experiment. The rejection of the facts that cannot be proved by the experiment has led to the abandonment of metaphysics and the development of a materialist perspective. The belief of many intellectuals; that the classical secularization theory does not remain valid, in other words, the religion will be trapped in the private space of the individual by losing ground, has taken its place in the literature. In spite of the long-term conflicts with modernization and its returns and the power it has lost, religion has been a decisive factor in individual and social life.

CHAPTER II

ISLAM AND MODERNIZATION IN TURKEY

Turkish modernization is a process that started in Ottoman Empire at the end of the 18th century which accelerated with the establishment of the Republic and it is not wrong to say that it is a process still going on. The aim is to ensure that social, political and economic institutions and structures in the developed/modern Western countries are established in Turkish society and thus to reach the level of the contemporary civilizations. While examining this process; What are the reasons that led to a West-centered transformation, when the movement began, and what kind of developments took place, are the concepts that should be discussed separately.

Turkish modernization is mentioned in literature as Westernization. Mardin defines Turkish modernization as an approach began in the Ottoman Empire, passed through new phases in Republic of Turkey and prescribing economic, social and intellectual development level especially in Western Europe as the goals to be achieved. During the rise of the Ottoman Empire, Western civilization was not being considered as a model because of not being superior. However, as the answers which are underlying causes of the decline of the state began to be answered by the deterioration of the state administration and backwardness in the military field, the supremacy of the West was accepted (Mardin, 2018: 9).

Becoming West as a power in every field compared to Ottoman Empire, in addition to the emergence of Russia with gaining power, increased the problems a little more, broke the balance of power against the Ottomans and forced the state to seek remedies to restore the shaken balance. The Ottoman administration system, especially the army, began to deteriorate in the period when the power of the West increased. The Janissaries, who were not subject to strict discipline and were randomly recruited, became a burden on state finances and an ongoing threat to the Sultan. These conditions pushed Ottomans to return to the West, which was the essence of their reforms (Karpat, 2010: 92).

During the reign of Ahmet III, the introduction of the printing press by Ibrahim Müteferrika, the ambassadors sent to Europe in the following years, the influence of the welfare values in the Western society to the ruling class and the riots that took place, formed the first reaction-response mechanism towards the Westernism. The Tanzimat ideas of West were first brought by civil servants in the form of systematic data. In the period of Ahmet III, the issue of bringing the knowledge, technology and weapon power that constitute the military structure of the West to the state, was seen as a problem and a need for the first time. At this point, it can be said that the first attempts towards Westernization started. Later on, Mahmut I (1730-1754), Abdulhamid I (1774-1789) and especially in the Selim III period (1789-1807), although the attempts were accelerated, sometimes the work of the settled culture and the reaction of those who endanger the livelihood were disrupted in time (Mardin, 2018: 9-11).

In the eighteenth century, statesmen also understood that the Ottomans not only lost their old power, but also began to decline. Under the conditions of the seventeenth century it was not realized that the world was not stationary, that is, it could not be separated from the traditional thought structure and the change was considered as a sign of corruption. In the eighteenth century it was realized that it could not be turned back to the old days and finally in the nineteenth century they began working with a revolutionary nature in order to leave the old and establish the new. Factors such as the decline of agricultural production, the deterioration of the land regime and the economic course was manifested by riots, bandits and bad financial measures, and consequently the country entered into a worsening spiral.

While Europe was building a new one by abandoning its civilization from the Middle Ages, this did not happen in the Ottoman. Even in changing ideas, military requirements were always at the forefront. A short exception of this, the Tulip Era (1718-1730) was short-lived. However, over time, some statesmen were able to understand that military innovations were not sufficient and that the main reason for the collapse was mainly economic. Some factors came to the forefront in the failure to achieve this desired change. They can be listed as the existence of the status quo part of people and the deep root of this

in the society, the negative effects of the international conjuncture/conflicts in transition times and being caught unprepared to reform attempts. Reform studies in such an environment were either interrupted or disrupted. The struggles and wars on the one hand made the state unable to invest and accumulate, pushed the state to the bottom of a growing debt stock on the other (Berkes, 2018: 17-26).

In the case of Westernization, since the initial idea was that the West is considered to be superior only in the scientific and technological fields, it was thought that the necessary development could be provided by importing science and technology and this would be sufficient. Consequently, the state was unfamiliar to the values of West and the general tendency was the state could be restored by preserving the existing institutions and values. On the occasion of the deepening of the contact, it was realized that the subject underlying the modern civilization of the West was not only science and technology, but it was understood that the West based its civilization by providing a number of political, social and economic changes. It is appropriate to base the political revival period of the Ottoman modernization on the basis of the Tanzimat Edict since it was a major change in the intellectual realm and the field of norms. Thus, the share of the Tanzimat period is important in the occurrence of modern Turkey.

On the other hand, it would be a mistake to limit the Ottoman modernization to the revolution of Tanzimat or to characterize it as the reaction of a sudden encounter with Europe. Because, since the beginning of the Ottoman state history, it was in political and economic interaction with European geography. As a result, Ottoman modernization brought about the discussion of the religion which was dominant in the state, shaking the institutions or the changes attributed to it (Ortaylı, 2006: 13).

The idea that the old world is different from a new one, so creating its own institutions and values and being a constant dynamism in this, is essentially a fact related to Europe. At this point, Europeans had an awareness and purpose in recognizing the world. The Ottomans, even late, observed what happened in Europe. Eastern societies now began to examine the

Western society, which they also encountered in trade after the battlefields, more carefully. In the 18th century, Ottoman citizens began to recognize the world and the time they lived, world history and geography with a different consciousness, a kind of intellectual class among the Ottoman literate was emerged. The works of Latin, which are important in world history were translated into Turkish by learning Latin language. These developments in the field of grammar brought the knowledge of Europe and ancient history, and this brought the knowledge of modern geography (Ortaylı, 2006: 16).

In the light of this preliminary information, before talking about the Ottoman/Turkish modernization in order to prevent the integrity and focus of the issue; It is thought that it will be appropriate to start discussing with the Selim III and Nizam-ı Cedid period which were the first concrete movements after the preliminary attempts.

1.1 The Starting of Modernization in Otoman Empire

A Sultan who had a sympathy for France, Selim III was the first ruler to realize that innovation should be related to the whole of social life and could be realized within a certain plan. In contrast to the previous ones, he initiated a more comprehensive and fundamental reform movement, beginning the so-called Nizam-ı Cedid (1789-1808). This period is of great importance in terms of preparation for the works to be carried out during Mahmut II and Tanzimat period. In the current situation, there were major problems such as lack of discipline in madrassas, corruption in jurisdiction, being imprecise on duties, and appointing incapable viziers and administrators. When Selim III took power, he asked the elite statesmen and the scholars to express their thoughts about the reforms with eplanatory documents called “layiha”. At this point, twenty two of them were presented including the Grand Vizier’s as first. As a result of these, the Sultan concluded that a new army should be established (Karal, 1988: 34-41).

It can be argued that Nizam-ı Cedid was covering many areas, so that Selim III had a reformative structure in almost every field, including administrative, social, economic and diplomatic ones, but on the basis of Nizam-ı Cedid, even if not completely, it was largely exclusive to the military field. The establishment of the Nizam-ı Cedid, in addition to defending the state, was also required to strengthen the center. Although Nizam-ı Cedid means a new order, it was not able to change the roots. The period has two characteristics. The first is changes that do not touch the essence of the old legislation in order to provide discipline and control in the state administration, thus increasing the dignity of the state and restoring authority. This approach is seen not as a reflection of innovation but as a reflection of tradition. The other feature is that there were innovations made on the military system and military training, which contain signs of rupture from tradition to some extent. In this respect, European systematic was adopted in military technology, politics and diplomacy. On the other hand, preserving the new structure as well as the janissary quarry caused the old and new distinction in the army and thus the duality. The reactions to the current innovations turned into a rebellion in 1808 and the term ended.

In the words of Karpat, the clan, which carried out the reform movement and was patronized by the sultan, did not hesitate to provide his interests and continued to do so in public. As for public, they thought that the increasing costs, food scarcity and poverty are caused by palace, Nizam-ı Cedid and its supporters. At the end of the Kabakçı Mustafa rebellion that emerged as a result of these, Selim III period ended (Karpat, 2012: 21).

Considering the developments in the militia during the Selim III period; Nizam-ı Cedid army was established in 1794 in order to eliminate any invasion attempts by the Russians. The first regime was located on the Black Sea coast of Istanbul, and the second was established in Üsküdar in 1799 upon the French occupation of Egypt. The majority of the men in these regimes were first of all Turkish and peasants from Anatolia. The main achievements of the reforms were the introduction of foreign officers necessary for the army, the recruitment of local officers, the supply of weapons, ammunition, raw materials and processed materials, the development of new barracks and the existing ones, introduction of new schools and the translation or writing of the books to be studied there.

Considering the developments outside the structure of the army, attaching importance to the consultation Selim III desired a permanent parliamentary assembly in which the public would be included in the administration at least with their ideas. The viziers that would be appointed to the states were ordered to be selected from experienced individuals on a merit basis and to stay on task for at least 3 and 5 years, and the central authority was strengthened and the order was restored. A Law named “Ref'i İ'diyye ve Ref'i Hediyye ve Rüşvet ve Şüru'-ı Nizâm” came into effect in order to control bribery and unfair gains. Anatolia and Rumelia were divided into provinces. Accordingly, 28 provinces were formed and a new order was given to the civil administration. By sending justice orders to these places it was willed to be fair and merciful, not to levy taxes without the law and to abolish those who abused their duties. Although “the Law on Enfeoffing” was arranged, the provisions weren't been applied properly and remained on paper. This situation caused the internal administration to become anarchic and rebels all over the country (Berkes, 2018: 96-101).

After the dethronement of Selim III, Mustafa IV ascended the throne. Alemdar Mustafa Pasha came to İstanbul in 1808 to enthrone Selim III again and to re-establish Nizam-ı Cedit. After Selim was killed, Mahmut II was enthroned. The new Sultan gave his seal of loyalty to Alemdar Pasha, who saved his life, and thus the authority became double-headed again. In the same year, the sultan made a concession in Anatolia and Rumelia in the name of the Charter of Alliance, which was held between the sultan and the assembly of notables. With this, they pledged to be attached to the Sultan in return for a number of concessions in Anatolia and Rumelia. (Ortaylı, 2006: 33-36).

After Selim III, there was a period of pause in the reform movements. The Sultan was dethroned, his new-style army was deployed, and reformed statesmen were either killed or intimidated. In the resulting gap, ruling passed into the hands of the generation that had the widest power focus against the change in the social and military equation. After such a period, Mahmut II realized that he would not be successful in the reform process unless he removed the privileges other than those based on him, and aimed to be the only source of authority both in the capital and in the states. After a short time of indulgence for the sake

of the target, first the assembly of notables and then Alemdar Mustafa Pasha who was an important factor in his succession, were eliminated. It was generally successful, except for Egypt, where the Ottoman had to grant an autonomous status, and Mora where the Ottoman had to grant freedom to the Greeks through the intervention of other states (Lewis, 1993: 75-79).

Mahmut II started an attempt to put the state in an order, and partially with a success opened the Tanzimat Era. The struggle against the feudal lords and the assembly of notables, equal treatment to all citizen without religious discrimination, brought him the role of the founder of the new Ottoman regime (İnalçık, 2006: 28).

One of the most important developments on the way to modernization was the eradication of the janissary in 1826. Mahmud II ordered this project, which constitutes an obstacle that must be overcome on the path of reform and which the previous sultans dwelled on to the utmost, and establishing a new army equipped and educated with European style. The janissaries, who agreed with this change, attempted a rebellion as before, but this time, with an organization based on Agha Hussein Pasha and his cannons, the centuries-old foundation was abolished and the army of Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammadiyye was established instead. This event took its place in history as Vaka-i Hayriye. The rulers in the states, the janissaries in the capital and the dervishes, all those who restrict the rule of the Sultan were crushed and destroyed. There was no group left to defy the will in the armor of old concessions.

After abolishing of the Janissary corps, the position of “Master of Janissary” was replaced by “Serasker” which was previously used for army commanders. Mahmut II used it in a sense which included the duties of the Ministry of Commissary and the Ministry of War and which included the special responsibility of the army. The “Serasker” authority also included public security, fire fighting and similar responsibilities. In time, the increasing police duty became more and more important, and the protection and expansion of the law enforcement system became one of the main duties of the “Serasker”. The lack of officers

were one of the most important shortcomings of the new army. But finding soldiers to call for service and training them were not impossible. However, the training of a qualified officer was another. Partly in order to fill this need and partly to meet the qualified civil servants need, Mahmut II gave great importance to education. First of all, it was realized that it was not possible to establish and protect the reforms unless there was a demand and talented staff. The land and naval engineer schools established in 1773 and 1793 were revitalized, and an important step was taken to send four students to Paris in 1827. In the same year, a medical school was established in Istanbul for the purpose of training physicians for the new army. Following this, “Mûzika-i Hümayun” whose duty was to provide liveried drummers and trumpeters suitable to the the jackets and trousers the new army wore, and more importantly “Mekteb-i Ulûmu Harbiye” which includes war sciences course in its program, were opened. In the civil sense, the “Rüşdiye Schools”, which provides primary and secondary education, were established. Following the schools mentioned, “Mekteb-i Maarif-i Adliye” and “Mekteb-i Ulum-u Edebiyye”, which were both traditional and modern in education and teaching French as a foreign language, were established for the purpose of educating civil servants. In the field of state administration, firstly, in the relations with other states, it was aimed to solve the problems in foreign language by developing Muslim interpreters who are qualified because of the difficulties experienced with the Bulgarian, Greek or non-Muslim interpreters. Mahmut II gave special attention to the training of young diplomats and civil servants in order to utilize from them in foreign affairs and interpretation. The Sultan thought that the path to providing authority in all areas of power, was “centralizing”. In this context, it is necessary to eliminate all intermediary authorities both in the capital and in the provinces. The purpose was eliminating all the foci of power and making the ruler the sole factor. The only exception is the example of Egypt, which was mentioned before(Lewis, 1993: 84-90).

In 1831, the first issue of the Ottoman newspaper “Takvim-i Vekayi” was published to assist the Sultan's policy on centralism. This was the first Turkish-language newspaper. The content of the paper was limited only by the repetition of official appointments, quotes from court decisions, and the narrative of the developments provided by the Sultan on state affairs. Later on, the officials were asked to read the newspaper and it played a role as a tool to ensure the better understanding of the Sultan’s policies and objectives by his

servants. In addition to such developments, the census and property writings were carried out, the grooming system was eliminated, and a new Directorate of Foundations and then the Ministry were established in order to put an end to the existing anarchy in the administration of the foundation and to band all foundations together under a single authority. The aim here was nothing more than to centralize the expenditures as getting revenues directly from the collectors and administrators and to use them for; the maintenance and repair of religious buildings, the salaries of religious staff and other compulsory expenses for other needs. Again, in order to increase centrality, a similar transformation in Europe was made to the Ottoman government structure and personnel. In this context, the establishment of councils and ministries such as the “Meclis-i Dar-ı Şuray-ı Askeri” and the “Meclis-i Vala-i Ahkâm-ı Adliye” were established. Although the aforementioned developments did not provide the realization of Ottoman modernization suddenly, the “ulema”, which was gradually deprived of both its financial and administrative autonomy, was weakened against the central power and could not resist (Lewis, 1993: 90-100).

1.2 The Period of Tanzimat

The Tanzimat is sometimes used only as a phase of the relations between the Muslim and Christian subjects in Ottoman Empire, and sometimes as an incident of entry into the Western civilization of the country. However, the Tanzimat is essentially a phenomenon that covers both areas. Here, it is not only a Europeanisation effort, but also an attempt to re-establish a state that is about to be demolished by decaying its socioeconomic foundations on new principles (İnalçık, 2006: 13).

When talking about the Tanzimat period, it is best to mention Mustafa Reşit Pasha, who was the architect of the edict that the name of it was given to the period. After serving in various positions at home and abroad in the state where he started to work as a civil servant, Pasha appointed as an ambassador to Paris in 1834 and later promoted to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. On the occasion of his duty, he had the opportunity to examine

the management systems of different countries and had the opinion that the state should guarantee the rights and freedoms of all individuals, even though they belong to different religions and sects. Thus, he believed that the Western states would not excuse the problems of the Christian people and interfere with the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire and that the collapse would be stopped. In the Turkish history literature, he took over his main role in the writing and announcement of the first reform edicts called Tanzimat. The Tanzimat Edict, also called “Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayun”, was written on the consent of Sultan Abdülmecid (1839- 1861) and was announced in Gülhane Park in the capital on November 3, 1839. The Tanzimat Edict promised equal rights, property and life security for all the reins, and proposed some reforms in military, financial and judicial fields. It was remarked that; for the good governance of the state, it is necessary to issue new laws. Both many fundamental rights and freedoms were recognized, and many principles was adopted for the use and limitation of state power. With the Edict, the process of gradually leaving the place of Islamic law and tradition dominating the state administration to Western law and institutions was initiated (Karatepe, 2017: 47-48).

When the Edicts intellectual content is analyzed; it should be said that the text contains some principles of administrative, criminal and procedural law. It can be argued that; those principles include firstly the guarantee and personal rights of the individual and the principles of punishment and procedure related to the actual accrual of the subjects, and some administrative principles and measures related to the financial, military and legal issues (Ortaylı, 2006: 80).

Within the scope of the reforms carried out in the administrative organization, only the public security was left to the governors, and the financial affairs were taken under the control of the central offices through the large competent chiefs called “muhassıl-i emval” appointed by the Sultan. This was aimed at reducing the influence and authority of the governors. In the state administrative organization, muslim judges were more closely tied to the center and administrative councils and provincial councils were established, which envisaged the participation of the public at all levels of the administration. (İnalçık, 2006: 110-111).

The Tanzimat Edict attempted to spread the reform movement to the political and cultural areas that was not directly touched until then. For the period between 1839 and 1877, the term Tanzimat was used. In this period, new and modern schools, on the other hand foreign schools were opened and the old madrasahs were pushed to the background. Science books and magazines were published and literature and theater works were adapted.

Later than the Tanzimat Edict, the Edict of Reformation, which was a prerequisite for Europeanization and attending the Paris Peace Conference and being prepared under the pressure of the British, French and Austrian ambassadors, was proclaimed on February 18, 1856. Here again the promises given to the Christian people were repeated. Together with these two edicts, everyone living on the land of the Ottoman Empire was considered a citizen and Ottomanism, which was a political idea that recognizes equal rights and duties without prejudice to the Islamic traditions of the state began to develop. The basis of such a view was to make the minorities dependent on the state and to alleviate their ambitions for independence. The success of this means the end of the nation system since the establishment of the state. Finally, the concept of Ottomanism was adopted in 1876 by the Ottoman Constitution and remained in theory until 1918 (Karpas, 2010: 96-98).

The Edict of Reformation reaffirmed the principles in the Hatt-ı Humayun by abolishing the tax system and other bad practices and reiterating the full equality of all Ottoman subjects with more specific and precise expressions than before. Reşit Pasha, who was the leader of the reformists for a long time and who came to the Grand Vizier position twice, did not make any contribution in preparing and proclaiming stages of the edict. Instead, Ali Pasha took on the leadership, who was the Grand Vizier following the Reşit Pasha, and then Fuat Pasha, who was appointed to Minister of Foreign Affairs. The mentioned Pashas undertook reforms for about fifteen years (Lewis, 1993: 116-117).

When analyzed with the content of the Edict of Reformation, it is understood that the essence of the edict was directly related to the non-Muslim subjects, and that they were given a full and clear law-equivalence. Although the Muslims showed disrespect and

resistance against this policy of the state, the state tried to gradually put it into practice. In spite of all the initiatives, neither the law-equivalence was not provided completely, nor the non-Muslim subjects were able to realize their own interests as the same as the Ottoman one. Each group attempted to interpret the reforms from their own perspective. Muslims generally did not like the permissions given to non-Muslims, ulema, assembly of notables and some governors provoked the Muslim people, non-Muslim subjects had a great hope and started to look forward to a new era and showed impatience and interiorization on all sides. After the rebellions in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Bulgaria, the necessity of giving a more strict shape to the Ottoman politics manifested itself. In this respect, the article laid down in the Basic Ottoman Law, which was issued and declared in 1876, all the non-muslim subjects in the empire was accepted as the Ottoman without exception regardless of the religion or sect. Consequently the attempt, which made to preserve the integrity of the state by giving law equalities to Christians, was failed (İnalçık, 2006: 29-32).

The Edict of Reformation is a document whose nature is being discussed among today's historians as well as among the statesman in the Tanzimat period. It is said that this edict was a document that was issued as a result of the pressure of the foreign states, breaking the dignity of the state and even damaging its independence. However, granting certain rights to non-Muslim groups within the country was not a fact outside the 19th century. Legal changes such as the establishment of schools, churches and other similar institutions in need of non-Muslims, repairing them freely, removing restrictions in the classical period; in fact, these changes did not contradict with the 19th century Ottoman administration. Again, according to the current liberal economic insight, the acquisition of land by foreigners in the country also complemented this composition. The Edict of Reformation, in order to prevent foreign intervention, envisaged the acceleration of changes in domestic policy and legal legislation. At this point, the process initiated with courage, sagacity and good faith as the will of an internal movement with the Tanzimat Edict resulted in concessions and oppression. With the Edict of Reformation, additional rights and economic opportunities were provided to minorities, and administrative reforms were continued in order to break external pressure. The intensive period in the Ottoman administrative modernization started after this (Ortaylı, 2006: 113-116).

To evaluate “The Rescript of Gülhane” and “Edict of Reformation” which constitute the period called Tanzimat; Both of the edicts concentrated on the provision of equality between Muslim and non-Muslim subjects. It is a known fact that this kind of approach was encouraged by European states. On the other hand, it was accepted by the rulers that this situation was of vital importance for the salvation of the Empire. On the other hand, the assurance of the safety of the governed people, the signs of respect for the dignity and rights of the people were an important step in the way of being the leader of the Turkish constitutional monarchy movement. The provisions of the Tanzimat Edict, which include not to punish someone without judging, and not to confiscate any property, were an important stage in the realization of the rule of law and a prerequisite for future democratic development (Ortaylı, 2006: 92-102).

As mentioned, the reform movement in the Ottoman Empire was no longer a new attempt. However, the ruling period of the Babiâli (the bureaucratic class who proclaimed the “Rescript of Gülhane”), was in the process. In the first Constitutional Period, Yıldız Palace and in the second, the Committee of Union and Progress, which was a political society, took the lead. It is important to emphasize that while analyzing the capita here, they were the ones who were pushing the flow of history. Even though the statesmen who served in the 15th and 16th centuries accomplished great things, they served within the limits of conditions provided by the system. The bureaucrats of the Tanzimat period were able to see themselves together with the state as part of the change. They were the representatives of authoritarian government, but the reforms they initiated and partially succeeded took the wholeness of political modernization, in other words, democratic governance (Ortaylı, 2006: 87-90).

In the reform period after the 18th century, Western methods and positive sciences were being transferred to the state by bureaucracy. But the need for military defense was the main reason for these transfers. After the Tanzimat Period, the administrative procedures and laws started to be imported and serious conflicts with the traditional system of values emerged. Despite everything Tanzimat movement in Turkey presented significant progress in the path to modernise or centralize the administration. Initially, the New Ottomans, such

as Ziya Pasha and Namık Kemal, argued for modernization by taking the technology of the West and rejected the system of values. However, those who claimed that the change took place as a whole in the sociocultural equation implemented this policy during the Republican period (İnalçık, 2010: 247).

According to Berkes, the failures of the Tanzimat regime were; the tendency towards to form a bureaucratic state that exceeds the centrality of the old Ottoman Empire during this period and the lack of expert staff such as financier, civil servant, officer, engineer, doctor, economist, teacher, judge, prosecutor, who has to carry out heavy burden of implementations successfully, the innovations in education, health affairs, the implementation of justice, and progress in military exacerbating the deterioration of the state instead of getting organized, despite the state's implementation of the reform program major drawbacks such as falling into financial hardship, decreasing treasury revenues and remaining obliged to resort to further borrowing. The policies implemented in such an environment created not wonders as expected, on the contrary, a state dependent on the West (Berkes, 2018: 244).

After the reforms, various societies and ideologies began to emerge. The first of these was the “Society of Bouncers” founded in 1859 by a group of Muslim intellectuals in İstanbul. The mentioned association was born with a reaction against non-Muslim subjects giving equal rights. In 1865, the New Ottomans Society was established. This was aimed at the constitutional administration system also. On the other hand, it had the distinction of being the first major political establishment in the Ottoman Empire. In the intellectual field, they criticized the secular nature of the reforms and claimed that the state began to be governed by the Sharia improperly (Karpat, 2010: 97).

1.3 The Period of Abdulhamit II

In Turkish modernization, the period between 1871 and 1876 was a short and turbulent period, which resulted in the adoption of the solid form of Islamism as a result of tide of the movements of Islamism, Westernism and Nationalism. The way of religion-state separation, which was a product of the efforts that were carried out for almost half a century on the way of westernization, gave its place to religion-state composition regime. The development of nationalization in terms of language and thought disappeared. The year 1871 was the end of Tanzimat. A revolution was carried out in May 1876 against Sultan Abdulaziz, including Mithat Pasha, Rüştü Pasha, Hüseyin Avni Pasha, Süleyman Pasha and Shaykh al-Islam. Thanks to this unity of civil bureaucracy, army and religion, the New Ottomans provided the political power they were seeking, and the prince Murat reigned as a sultan for a short time. In the memorandum of June, the preparations for the Basic Ottoman Law were being envisaged. At this stage, a disagreement was found in the system to be created. According to the insight including Mithat Pasha's, a federal structure, to the other including Namık Kemal's, a strong central structure, was desirable to establish and it is claimed that the federal structure would lead to the division of the state. Therefore, it can be said that there were two separate trends such as Namık Kemal version and Mithat Pasha version. Murat V, on the other hand, denied the idea of establishing a constitution and forming a parliament and decided to make a range of reforms after he came to the throne. A few months later, due to the disorders of the Sultan, it was started to find a new one who meet the requirements and Prince Abdulhamit was brought to power. Along with intensive consultations, discussions and secret intentions, the Basic Ottoman Law was enacted with a regime of governing the government according to a constitution. It was desired to establish a constitutional administration in which the people supervised the government, the ruler and thataway envisaging a parliament representing the public. The duties of the aforementioned parliament were to control the income and expenses of the state, to implement all Sharia and laws and to change the laws against the interests of the country (Berkes, 2018: 309-335).

On December 23, 1876, with the declaration of the Ottoman Constitution, the desire to realize the politics of New Ottomanism also emerged. In Ottoman history, the process, which was called the first constitutional monarchy and continued until 1908, began. With the “Ottoman Constitution”, citizens were granted some rights and a dual parliamentary system was established, namely the Chamber of Deputies and Assembly of Notables. However, the powers of the Sultan weren’t touched. The sultan had the authority to summon or adjourn the assemblies at any time. The Chamber of Deputies convened for the first time on March 19, 1877. After the meeting the following year, the Chamber was adjourned indefinitely on February 13, 1878 (Karpas, 2010: 99).

The Ottoman Empire passed to a constitutional administration in such an environment. The Ottoman Constitution, declared in December 1876, was not proclaimed by external pressures as in the Tanzimat era, but by the pressure of internal developments for the future of the country. The state’s adoption of a constitutional monarchy was positively favored by some of the other major states, while in others it was considered as a negative development. Given the conjuncture of the period, whether or not the parliament there was no doubt that not only the Christian Balkan nations, but also the Arab, Turkish, Greek, Bulgarian, and Albanian nationalism would develop. On March 19, 1877, the members of the parliament convened in the Ottoman capital consisted of only those who were counted. Non-Muslim and non-Turkish elements were highly represented in this mentioned composition. It is not possible to say that the constitution was abolished for the period following the dissemination of the Assembly. However, the recognition of an authorized and at the same time irresponsible ruling institution was one of the weaknesses of the Law. This, which is exceptional for a constitutional regime, emerged in a highly disfigured and distorted quality of view (Ortaylı, 2007: 28-56).

In literature, the period of Abdülhamit II generally called the “Period of Autocracy” was defined as a period when the changes that had been made since 1839 were gathered at the focal point, according to Mardin. So much so that; the foundations of contemporary Turkish literature were laid in this period. Although the Young Turks rebelled against Abdulhamit, they gained their ideas about the West in the Ottoman community, which was

the continuation of the Tanzimat. Studies on military schools were prolonged and after 1880 imposed on German military advisors. Military secondary schools were made boarding, military commandments (high schools) were added and the program of the Military Academy was developed. On the other hand, as can be understood from the continuation of the policy of “BilaTefrik-i Irk ve Din”, when Abdülhamit II ascended the throne, he tended to continue the principle of Ottomanism developed in the Tanzimat period. Thus, it was desirable that no nation in the subjects to be ignored. In addition to expanding the quality and improvement of the institutions, it is seen that a policy called Panislamism, which was generally misapplied, also appeared in this period. The focus of Islamist ideas was that the Ottomans began to lose their cultural self with the Tanzimat. It was demanded that the reformation of the values that were claimed would be ignored by the Tanzimat in Ottoman society. Analyzing the period of Abdulhamit II within this framework; it was aimed to develop a defense mechanism in a period when imperialism and other pan-extension views gained momentum. It would not be wrong to say that there were two kinds of Panislamism based on Abdulhamit. The first of these was the gathering of Ottoman Muslim subjects under the banner of Islam and the second one was the efforts of gathering the Muslims living in other countries around the Caliphate. For this sake, sometimes it was tried to make use of some religious and opinion leaders to spread ideology and sometimes to translate the studies of those representing Sunni Muslim groups such as al-Ghazali (Mardin, 2018: 90-94).

The Grand Vizier Mehmet Sait Pasha stated in his lecture in 1880 that the way to get rid of the collapse in which the state was, could be accomplished by education and justice reforms. According to this, qualification was a crucial element for the management of public affairs, a developed social life, and defense against the enemy. But it was not enough alone. Law schools should be established in order to train judges, the courts should be rearranged and truth and justice should be reestablished. In the framework mentioned, the Abdulhamid regime showed its first major breakthrough in the field of education. The most eye-catching success was seen in higher education, where both the number of schools and students increased significantly. After the revision of the civil service school (mülkiye mektebi), military in Pangalti and some other institutions, such as military and civilian medical schools, artillery, marine and land engineer (fortification, machinery) schools,

which were inherited from previous reformers, were maintained and expanded. In addition, new high and vocational schools with more than eighteen were added to some of the existing schools, some of which were short-lived. Above all, it was the establishment of a Turkish university named “Darülfünun” which was named as “İstanbul University” later. In law and justice, in May and June 1879, four laws were proclaimed, two of which were about judicial courts and the others about the civil procedure. By an edict Ministry of Justice was established which had jurisdiction on commercial courts. With another law, Nizamiye courts were arranged in order to proceed the cases between Muslims and non-Muslim subjects. With the general procedural arrangements, it was aimed to eliminate foreign criticism and to pave the way for the abolition of judicial privileges. However, Ottoman law makers failed to achieve success on this road. Although a strict censorship was applied in this period, the number of publications such as newspapers and books increased gradually and publications such as “Tercüman-ı Hakikat” and “Servet-i Fünun” were published. In 1891, the increase of Young Turkish activities abroad had a negative impact on the status of the press in the country. The number of Turkish daily newspapers, which were previously six, came down to three in a short period, all of which was received government assistance and were under a strict court control (Lewis, 1993: 178-192).

The period of Abdulhamit II was a period in which various trends were formed in order to save the state that was destined to collapse. “Nationalism” was one of them. It was a difficult idea to adopt a Western-oriented nationalism, which was supported by the slogan that every nation has its own state, because there were many ethnic groups in the Ottoman Empire. Namık Kemal put forward the ideal of “Ottomanism” based on the idea that each group could not be a separate state and that all of them should be connected to the Empire. In fact, he aimed to guide the Ottoman patriarchy as a guide for the rebuilding of the state. After the Ottoman-Russian War of 1877-78, Arab and Muslim elements were taken into consideration even more compared to the past, because of the land losses in Rumelia, and the idea that “Islam could be replaced by nationality” was started to gain power. Similarly, the term “Turkish”, which was a word that had not received much credit, started to take its place in the foreground. The newspapers, which were once a means of the state, became a need for the laconic use of Turkish language, had a literary aspect, an active task in the

formation of the identity of the language and became a necessity not easily removed from people's lives (Mardin, 2018: 94-96).

At this point, when a question is asked about the facts that delay the emergence of Turkish nationalism, the answer is that the Turks are a Muslim community and that Islam is in opposition with the concept of nationalism. People such as Turks, Kurds and Arabs, who were in the subjects of the Ottoman, had the same rights and obligations under the Muslim upper identity, and there was no objective criteria separating them from each other. The Turkish nationalism, which was detached from the crowds and had a very small number of intellectuals, once again found the ground for the separation of other nations from the state (Georgeon, 2016: 2-5).

Similar to the trends and ideologies, there had also been some societies/formations in time as a response to the state and the administration approach. One of them was the Young Turks. In the Western literature, the generation working for the First Constitutional Monarchy including Namik Kemal and also those working for the Second Constitutional Monarchy were called Young Turks. In the Turkish literature, the term "Young Turks" was generally used in the period after 1889 for those who strive for the Second Constitutional Monarchy. The first revolutionary generation is mostly known as the New Ottomans or Young Ottomans (Aksin, 1980: 10). It is not a very accurate comment that the basic purpose of the Young Turks was freedom. Their deepest desire was to stop the fragmentation of the state. In this case, liberty was an indirect interest to them. Because they believed that the number of those, who wanted to secede from the state, would disembark when freedom and justice prevail (Mardin, 2008: 305).

Another step in Turkish modernization path was the establishment of the Committee of Union and Progress, which dominated the last 10 years of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey's recent history, turned into a political party after 1908 and was the first and largest political organization with different actors and ideologies in time. The association, was first founded in May 1889 under the name of "İttihad-i Osmani" in "Military Medical

School” and in 1894 was named as “Committee of Union and Progress”. It can be said that the actors in the organization were the “Young Turks”. Following the Treaty of Berlin signed after the Ottoman-Russian War, states such as Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia began separatist movements in Macedonia, the last Balkan territory in the Ottoman Empire. In such an environment, the Committee of Union and Progress had no intention to establish a new nation state, seceding from the Ottomans. However, the same idea was being shared with the Balkan states in overthrowing the Abdulhamid regime. In this direction, the aim of the Committee of Union and Progress was to pull away the state from the political, administrative, economic and social crisis, and in other words to save the country (Şıvgın, 2012: 2).

The aim of the committee was, to change the government administration style into a consultancy method, to maintain the moral values, to ensure the progress of general education and to serve humanity and civilization. Those who hinder these purposes and those who endanger the society were deemed as traitors. Until 1905 the Committee, which depicted itself as successors of Namık Kemal’s idea of liberty and had a rather irregular working structure, became a group dominated by Doctors Nazım and Bahaeddin Şakir and more disciplined. In this period, Turkism gained more importance, party and military organizations, and in this direction, prepared brochures about how militants have sufficient qualifications to be natural leaders and a strict party organization was established. The fact that the officers in Rumelia, who got annoyed of the progress of the state and who were the actual architects of the 1908 success, were also included in the group. In the framework of the discontent with autocracy and the admiration for the West, the formula of the emancipation of the state was found in urgently proclamation of the constitution and in the destruction of Abdulhamit II regime (Mardin, 2018: 97-100).

During the reign of Abdulhamit II, there was a digression from Ottoman politics due to the preference of a violent attitude towards the attempts of non-Muslim subjects and the adoption of Islamist politics. However, with the Constitutional Monarchy II, Ottoman politics came to the fore again. The idea of the establishment of a federalist structure, advocated by the Ahrar Party against the idea of gathering nations under the Ottoman

umbrella through a centralist policy and taking “Committee of Union and Progress” a place in the parliament, started to be defended. However, following the results of the Balkan war, Ottoman politics began to be replaced by rapidly developing Turkish nationalism (İnalçık, 2006: 32).

In this period, the power remained in the hands of the sultan, who was both a ruler and a caliph. Contrary to the constitutional monarchy, special advisory committees took an active role instead of parliament. When evaluated in this respect, it can be said that the method of procedure was more consistent and more accurate than that of the New Ottomans. The bureaucracy organization created by the centralization was both the repressive and the weak side of the regime. This development of the bureaucracy led to the formation of another institution that would control the loyalty of the officers and superiors. It was an informal secret service. When Abdulhamit was sitting on the throne, he had a strict rule in the palace, and then he had relations with the military and the army officers in the navy to ensure the love and trust. The general strategy of the sultan with the effect of befallings, was to prevent the unification of the forces of ulema, bureaucrats and soldiers against him and to keep them faithful. Since the concept of nation and the tendency to nationalism did not develop among the Turkish officers in the army at the early stages of the period, this idea was described as “jeune” and “rouge”. Over time, however, approaches such as nationalism and revolutionism also influenced young officers. For this reason, a strict control mechanism was developed in order to prevent the development of the idea of freedom in both the bureaucrats and the officers and in the horizons of public. Words such as Nation, freedom, homeland, anarchy, ok, assassination, future, gang, punishment founded objectionable and the attitudes of the author or the speaker using these words, were followed rigorously (Berkes, 2018: 343-350).

1.4 The Period of Constitutional Monarchy II

In order to gather the Young Turk groups that were dispersed by Sultan Abdulhamit in various countries under a single roof and to provide a joint movement, he had a secret

meeting in Paris in 1902 and although there was no consensus on foreign support, agreed upon putting an end to autocratic governance and re-enactment of the Ottoman Constitution. In such a process, Christian minorities, who believed that they would gain their independence through the constitutional administration, supported the Committee of Union and Progress as much as Muslims. On July 23, 1908, with the help of the Balkan people, the desired revolution took place and the Sultan re-enacted the constitution, the two-parliamentary system and all the freedoms (Karpat, 2010: 100-101). The second phase of the Committee of Union and Progress began with the enthronement of Mehmed Reşad V. The real power in this period was gathered in the Movement Army, which was instrumental in the realization of the Constitutional Monarchy, and thus in the responsibility of Mahmud Şevket Pasha.

In the words of Tarık Zafer Tunaya “one of the biggest event in Ottoman history and Turkey’s recent history is the declaration of Constitutional Monarchy II. Initially it showed itself the most free and most anarchic era.” This period became apparent as a period in which intellectuals developed ideas to prevent the collapse of the Empire. Therefore, political intellectual movements started to develop in this period (Tunaya, 1999: 93).

The developments in the new period did not take place in a predicted and a desired path. The Committee of Union and Progress, which continued its activities as a political party, soon formed its own opposition. The parties such as the Ahali Party, the Allies of the Ottoman Empire, the Mutual Liberals and the Ottoman Socialist Party were established in a short period of time and in November 1911 they were united under the title of “Freedom and Understanding Party”. Many of the Muslims and Christians under the umbrella of the opposition did politics. Arab and Albanian Muslims were unable to find the interest which was shown to them during the reign of Sultan Abdulhamit. The Unionists who tied to the idea of secularism tended to have an ethnic origin rather than a cultural and historical Turkism. This situation created a discontent in the Muslim population. On the other hand, the opposition’s policy focusing on the non-Muslim minority and the encouragement of other states accelerated separatist movements, particularly in Eastern Anatolia and the Balkans. As a result of the mentioned developments, the idea of Ottomanism was greatly damaged by the fact that the Muslim population, such as Serbs, Bulgarians and Greeks as

well as Albanians, acted towards independence. Italy took the advantage of the situation and declared war against the Ottoman Empire in September 1911, claiming that the subjects in Benghazi and Tripoli abused in order to spread to North Africa and at the same time caused to grow rebellions by arming the public in Albania and Montenegro in Balkans. In the ongoing process, separatist activities escalated and in October 1912 the Balkan War broke out. The Ottoman armies were defeated on every front, tens of thousands of Turks were massacred and hundreds of thousands were forced to migrate to Anatolia. Under these conditions, the ruling of the Committee of Union and Progress took place until 1918 under the sovereignty of the leaders such as Mehmet Talat, Ahmed Cemal and Enver Pasha (Karpat, 2012: 70-75).

In general, it can be said that in the last period of the Ottoman Empire, Westernism, Islamism and Turkism had an influence consecutively. The motive to keep the state alive which was a reaction to the political and social factors during that period, was dominant in the emergence of these trends. In this respect, salvation was sought; sometimes not only in the military field but in return to the West in taking the example of all sociocultural life, sometimes gathering around the concession of “Ottomanism” by blocking separatist ideas, and sometimes in establishing a loyal Umma in the state with the privilege of the Caliphate. Turkism became a political structure at the time of the Committee of Union and Progress. However, it should be kept in mind that Turkism, like other nationalist views, was formed by consciousness or feeling acquired as a result of Westernization.

The most powerful approach in the Second Constitutional Monarchy period was Islamism. This approach, which aimed to recover the state from its depression as in other approaches, made an East-West comparison. It produced ideas for what the Islamic world should take from the West to develop. It was concluded that the West was back from Islam in the spiritual field, so that no need to take anything within this framework, but it was necessary to import technical and material elements due to the backwardness in the material field. According to the Islamism, Westernization should be based on avoidance of imitation and adherence to the essence of need (Tunaya, 1999: 100-103).

Subsequent military defeats and social polarization, Turkish nationalism also found itself a field of development, and took part in the establishment of a new nation-state from the ruins of the Ottoman Empire. The wars created polarization in both the state and the social strata, and the migration movements after the wars pushed people of the same language, religion or origin to live together. In addition, the sharing of reforms and social rights with non-Muslims caused a reaction in Muslim Turks. The Turks, previously who lived under the umbrella of the Ummah regardless of ethnic diversity, began to have different feelings than what had existed for centuries. On the other hand, as a result of the controversy between the Islamists and the Ottomanists and the continuous uprisings of non-Muslims, the concept “Turkish” became more serious in the eyes of the state and society. Similarly, it was considered that Turks were the protector of Islam together with Arabs in the history, but this was changed after the middle of the 19th century, and the literature started to go deeper into Turkish history and lineage. In parallel, a new interpretation came into Turkish language and literature, and some words such as the “homeland” were glorified and gained different meanings. Unlike other nationalities, Turkish nationalism was not based on an objective integrative formation such as common language, religion or land, but rather on an unpredictable relationship formed by social organization (Göçek, 2008: 63-76).

The fact that the Arabs gained their independence after the end of World War I, subsequently the separation of the Muslim group in the Balkan War, caused the Islamist approach to be greatly damaged. As an ideological tool, Islam was able to remain active only in the absence of minority status for Kurds in Lausanne Peace Treaty. At this point, even in important Turkish Nationalist Ziya Gökalp’s approach of Turkification, Islamization, and modernization, one of the main roots became ineffective. By 1923, the way of modernization began to be sought in the Turkishization essentially (Belge, 2009: 32).

1.5 The Republican Period and Kemalism

When the First World War ended with the aim of reviving, surviving, and even enlarging the Ottoman Empire, the problem of “perpetuity” was still perceived as a matter of sovereignty and deception even though only the Turkish nation remained behind the Empire (Berkes, 2018: 475). But the Ottoman Empire, the Committee of Union and Progress also headed for the last roundup. One of the works undertaken by Mehmet Vahdettin, who came to the throne during this period, would be to purge the ruins of the Committee of Union and Progress. Enver and Cemal Pashas were dismissed from the army by court martial and arrests and investigations began about former leaders. At the moment, there was no hope for independent living among the new leaders, and the essence of political debates were the country and form that the dependency to be declared (Lewis, 1993: 241). At the point where the occupation attempts started in İzmir, İstanbul and various parts of Anatolia, national struggle, Mustafa Kemal Pasha and then Kemalist regime would get on the stage. Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who came to the forefront especially in the defense of Çanakkale, would become the most prominent and then the only leader of the national liberation, the new state to be established, the revolutions and the modern regime.

Looking at the quality of being a modern state, it is important to represent the common interests of the whole society rather than the different individuals and groups that make up the society. A causality was established between the common interests and the cause of existence of the state. The modern nation-state built in Turkey, was commemorated with Kemalism. In Turkey, expressing the demands of the masses in society in political meaning and meeting these demands by government were measured by Kemalism’s borders. Because this boundary was manifested in a nature that constitutes identity with the reason of existence and protection of the state (Köker, 2009: 98).

Kemalism was a shift from a state dominated by the Islamic government to a secular nation state, as well as changing the state structure and changing civilization too. Therefore, this

change covered not only the state, but also a wide area from the life style of the individual and society to the daily habits (Göle, 2016: 82). In other words Kemalism may be summarized as an ideology, for which economic, cultural and legal changes are obligatory in line with the goal of building a modern state in Turkey and finally aiming at democratic governance. In order to realize this process of change based on centuries in the West in a short time, the way of political authoritarianism was seen permissible. However, given the developments in historical practice, it would not be wrong to say that democratization can only allow a democratization limited to Kemalism (Köker, 2009: 108). In fact, the ideologies of the post-Republican period were in interaction with Kemalism, either by their support or by being banned or marginalized (Belge, 2009: 30). Apart from different approaches in common expression, Kemalism can be construed as a general description of the main symbols of the Republic of Turkey's founding philosophy (Yıldız, 2013: 171).

To make a historical analysis on Kemalism, this should first be initiated with the period of clarification. It should be mentioned that simultaneously with the emergence of Mustafa Kemal as a political and military figure, the foundations of the ideology were laid and therefore the achievements in the National Struggle were important (Yıldız, 2013: 172). Between 1923 and 1927, all alternative staff and political projects were equated. In this process, the Takrir-i Sükûn Law, the Independence Courts and the army took an active role. The purge covered Mustafa Kemal or all staff and actors resisting or opposing to the regime. In 1927, there were no political staffs who could oppose Mustafa Kemal and the new regime (Ete, 2011). In this context, Kemalism could be initiated with the announcing of Nutuk at the CHF congress (1927), and ended with the integration of the party with the state and the formation of the first party state in the world and inserting the Six Arrow principles of the party to the constitution (1935-1937).

One of the important pillars of the modernization steps in the Republican era was introducing the hat law in 1925. Although it would seem difficult to push this through the public, Mustafa Kemal wanted to cut the connection of the Turks with the Ottomans with this way. The hat reform prepared the veil to be removed from women's wearing as another stage. With the use of hats in men, it was aimed to move the Turks away from the

Ottoman identity, and abandoning the veil used by women, it was intended to break the intimate areas limited by religion and shari'ah. Atatürk, since the Tanzimat, chose the side of civilization in the clash of civilization and culture and designed to construct Western civilization with nationalism based on Anatolian populism against Islamist or Ottomanist thesis (Göle, 2016: 87-88).

At the core of Kemalism, there is a radical secularism against Islam and its tradition, a nationalism that embraces cultural homogeneity, and a state bureaucracy that penetrates everything. With this bureaucracy, it is foreseen that the society will be rehabilitated and rebuilt by an unexpected approach. Kemalism is, therefore, an ideology for the public despite the public. Another expression of this manifests as revolution. As a result of insight based on such a ground, the gap between the masses of the people and the state bureaucracy could not be closed, ideology remained popular and far from being collective. Over time, the interest for the Progressive Republican Party (1924), the Free Republican Party (1930), and then the first free election of the Democratic Party's victory (1950) proved this argument. In order to close this gap between the bureaucracy and the public and to ensure the foundation of the ideology, intermediary institutions such as Community Centers and Village Institutes were actualized. After the defeat of the CHP in the 1950 elections, in almost all of the general political programs, Kemalism would not be used as a dominant ideology. Therefore, it is not wrong to say that the active period of ideology ended here, since it would not be an effective as it was initially after this period (Yeğen, 2009: 56-63).

Looking at the establishment of the regime and the revolution of the new nation-state in chronological order, the following developments should be given as examples:

In political field; in 1920 Opening of the Parliament, in 1922 abolition of the Sultanate, the proclamation of the Republic in 1923, in 1924 the abolition of the Caliphate, in the social field; in 1925; introduction of; the "Takriri Sükun" and Hat Laws, the law related to the Closure of the Shrines and Lodges, Gregorian calendar and the international clock, in 1930

and 1934 providing female suffrage first in the municipality and then in the parliamentary elections, in the legal field; in 1926 adoption of the Civil Law, adoption of the law of the Establishment of the New Court in 1934, in the field of education and culture; in 1924, the adoption of the Law on Unity of Education, the adoption of the Law on the Acceptance and Application of New Turkish Alphabet in 1928, establishing the Turkish History Association in 1931 and the Turkish Language Association in 1932 and the İstanbul University instead of Darülfünun in 1933.

It was aimed that the change, envisaged by these developments, would penetrate all areas of social life and culture such as law, education, script and language. The most cautious characteristic of the Republican era was acting within the framework of national sovereignty and independence and transforming its theories into action, rather than rising on the basis of traditional Islam-Ottoman. The attitude in this way was rigid. It was not hesitant to implement the requirements of the desired civilization and to completely break the ties of society with tradition. These revolutionary changes were considered as a historical necessity. The most marginal of the practices was the abolition of the sultanate and the caliphate. There were often no such expectations or predictions for those who engaged in war of liberation. So this was sometimes perceived as a destruction, not an evolution. In his speeches, Atatürk expressly mentioned; the necessity of the exclusion of all facts which prevent the conversion to a completely contemporary civilization, the necessity of change in order to exist in the modern world, the traditional institutions are not in conformity with the requirements of a worldly state and national culture offered by the age, and last the exploitation of societies, which are outside Western civilization and who resist to this, by the superior economic and technology forces (Berkes, 2018: 521-525).

During the Republican period, Westernization was directed towards modernization in terms of language, idea and culture. Thus, the attempts of cultural change in Anatolia accelerated. Through the path to civilization, it was aimed to purge symbols and foci that connects with religion and tradition in all corners of life and associate with them. In time, a sect was perceived in a structure that completely fills this area by referring to the spiritual

sphere as well as the material realm. Briefly, ideology was almost made up of a religious structure.

The secularization process developed a spiritual gap, especially in the urban areas, and this gap was tried to be filled with nationalism that was turned into a semi-religion. In the way of Westernization, priority was given to the abolition of religious practices rather than establishing science in society. The political authoritarianism concept which prevailed in Turkey could be explained by intellectual despotism in Turkey. In this direction, executives who thought that they are enlightened, attempted to develop policies for what they want to establish in society without caring people (Tunçay, 1981: 325-326).

In this way, as mentioned in Yakup Kadri's article in the newspaper "Milliyet" published on June 28, 1929, Atatürk was placed in a position between the half gods and all the gods, and it was regarded necessary that Kemalism was a humanitarian and conscientious faith. In his article in the journal "Muhit" in 1931, Ahmet Cevat emphasized that Kemalism had two fundamental characteristics such as being democratic and statist. Similarly, the Kemalist intellectuals and writers of the time compared the ideology with other countries and ideologies in order to popularize the ideology and strengthen their legitimacy. Finally, they argued that Kemalism was an exclusive, integrative structure. Because it emphasized that Kemalism is a nation-based movement, not a class-based movement and demands the development of all classes and groups in harmony, not a particular class, and is only an enemy of reactionary groups. In this respect, the abolition of the Sultanate, the removal of the dynasty from the country, the closure of sects and lodges based on religion, the expropriation of foundations are examples. What is done at this point is essentially what needs to be done, but the general public is considered to be unable to understand it (Yıldız, 2013: 176-182).

When we look at the organic aspect of the Kemalist revolution, populism draws the attention as the first feature. This principle, which was mentioned in the course of the National Struggle, was still perceived by some to be rejected the Sultanate and the

Caliphate in the following stages, but the war for the majority was still considered to be the recovery of them. What being done was the establishment of a new political regime. At this stage, nationalism, which is another feature, comes into play. It is based here that everything should be mobilized for national independence. National independence, not only the period of war, but also covers the post-war period. In his discourses, Atatürk had an attitude against Panislamism, Panturanism and similar views and rejected expressions which were incompatible with a democratic and nationalist Turkey. After the populist and nationalist insight has been achieved, the characteristic emerges as revolutionism. It is desirable to implement the revolutions that need to be done in order to enable the new regime, which is based on national independence, popular sovereignty, democratic and secular republican rule, to release more powerful and progressive roots, and to eliminate the facts that can disrupt them (Berkes, 2018: 75-80).

Attempts to glorify Kemalism and nationalism made the structure inexplicable with phenomena such as liberalism, socialism and parliamentarism. State paternalism, which operated under the view of democracy, became the preferred method (Tunçay, 1981: 328).

The imposing and top-down attitude of Kemalism in its structure, its detachment from the public, its suppression of beliefs and orientations in line with its intended objectives; even in the brilliant periods of ideology, formed oppositions to itself. The oppressed individuals and ideologies always waited for the appropriate environment to be exposed. After the death of Atatürk, the one-party government taken over by İsmet İnönü or the leadership of the party state, which he maintained as the National Chief, was able to prolong its power only until the first free elections. On the 7th January, 1946, Refik Koraltan, Fuat Köprülü, Adnan Menderes and Celal Bayar founded the Democrat Party including democracy and liberalism in its doctrine. The first elections held on July 21, 1946, opened the doors of a new era, although there were rumors of shame. Accordingly, the Republican People's Party had 403 deputies, the Democratic Party had 54 deputies as independent deputies. In the first elections held in secret ballot, public counting process on May 14, 1950, the Democratic Party with 408 deputies declared that the term was ended de facto.

CHAPTER III

ISLAM AND MODERNIZATION IN THOUGHT OF RASİM ÖZDENÖREN

Until now, the emergence and development of the relationship between religion and modernization first in the West; Then, the phases that followed in the process extending from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic was outlined. In this section, Rasim Özdenören's approach will be discussed. In order to make this clear, the discussion will be examined under four headings.

1.1 Kemalism

In order to reveal the interpretation of the facts, it is necessary to absorb the perspective of Rasim Özdenören. In this context, Islam, which he describes as single, basic and indistinguishable source, represents his sole perspective. All other opinions, systems and approaches other than Islam are considered subordinate, artificial or superstitious. For this reason, a set of laws and values that are decisive in the individual and social life equation are viewed from the perspective of Islamic principles. In this context, Islam is perceived as a system that brings provisions for the world we live in, not only in a structure that can be degraded into spirituality, to the Hereafter or to the personal life of the individual. For this reason, in the case of deterioration in any field, the problem is sought in the deviation from Islamic principles and the solution is presented as a return to Islam.

Analyzing the modernization or Westernization process in Turkey and other Muslim communities, Özdenören sticks to this paradigm. According to him, as the result of modernization depicted as “the transformation process of non-Western societies in order to be similar to those experienced by Western”, Islamic paradigm has been abandoned in Muslim communities around the world, including Turkey. This is because both the uninterrupted effort of the West and the non-establishment of the Islamic order of Muslims (Özdenören, 2015:178).

On the other hand, the ideas that are said to be in contradiction, which are mentioned as Western thought structures and appear as opposed to each other, are considered as the product of the same tradition. These approaches, which are the reflection of the same culture, are perceived as being different because of the articulations in different countries. Özdenören addresses the subject with the following words:

Even if the ideas change, the general character of these ideas and hence the specific culture remain. The sequence between changing ideas, that is to say, the intellectual tradition reveals in this way. Marxism, which apparently contradicts capitalism, is, in fact and basically, the product of the effort of the West to arrange its economic structure. We argue that Marxist ideas can only emerge as the work of Western culture. Marxist ideas are not external articulation to Western culture, but it is not possible to say the same for Russia and China: there, Marxist ideas are formed as an articulation (not a patch): not as the natural product of those cultures. Thus, a radical break with Marxism occurred in the cultures of Russia and China. The same happened in the Ottoman Empire in 1839: The Ottoman-Islamic culture was subjected to a radical break with the proclamation of the imperial edict of Tanzimat (Özdenören, 2017a: 109).

According to Özdenören; Tanzimat bears the same meaning to Turkey as to deny itself. When faced with new choices, Turkey is no longer made a choice not to repeat the past, the belief system that established the state left behind (Özdenören, 2015: 19).

Özdenören bases the foundation of Turkish modernization, which he describes as the process of breakup from Islam, on the declaration of the Tanzimat Edict. The institutions and phenomena that were gathered in this period in a certain content that was formed in the own culture of the West, starting from the 17th and 18th centuries. As the Tanzimat would be repeated in the constitutional and republican periods, the longstanding structural characteristics of the society were ignored, and the products of the Western society and culture were desired to be built in a top-down (jakoben) style, however, the desired goal was not achieved.

Western culture, which was shaped by the effects of Renaissance and Reform movements, has a stance against the Church, if not religion. It has a secular character, based on the

dominance of knowledge, in the tow of its own unique modes of expressions such as rationalism, romance, positivism and humanism. On the other hand, such a situation did not apply in the Ottoman Empire. Here, dominated a culture based on revelation which is the product of Islamic tradition.

For the Ottoman intellectuals who did not come from such a tradition and for the Republican intellectuals in the later period, the essence of these concepts could not be internalized. Although a rebellion movement was desired to be carried out by the ruling process, what emerged was that it could not go beyond the ambivalent structure and chaos that had no intellectual ground (Özdenören, 2017a: 110).

The need for renewal for the managers in the state level, dates back to the period of Selim III. What was desired was to turn an empire to old days which was able to survive for centuries and lost its power now. The causes were first searched in the army, but in the ongoing process the aim was completely changed to resemble to Europe. Due to the pressure of Europe, the edicts and the constitutions were not adapted to the problems arising from the society's own needs, so the measures taken were not adapted to each other, so the institutions could not be established and rooted on a social basis. In spite of this, persisted in this path (Özdenören, 2016b: 120-122). In the political sense, with the westernization process that started with the Tanzimat, many concepts from the Western culture were transferred to Turkish, thus the broken off structure was deepened more (Özdenören, 2017b: 20).

Deteriorations were detected in the aforementioned period and the necessity to re-establish the order was determined, however, the remedy was sought not in its own intellect, but in foreign sources. While the new concepts tried to be internalized, they could not find the cultural environment to feed itself in the culture they entered because they were detached from the original one. Therefore, according to Özdenören;

Concepts such as liberty, justice and equality, which came with the Tanzimat and later used during the Constitutional Monarchy, were found in Ottoman-Islamic culture as a word. But there were differences between the meaning of these words in Islamic and Western culture. In Islamic culture, the contents of these words were found in dogmas, while in Western culture the same words refer to a secular source. Many concepts like this were cited only by referring to the linguistic counterpart, but none of them were internalized. Thus, a borrow intellectual pit was created with borrow concepts. Those who hold the concepts as their own property can save them in the flexibility they want, but those who hold them as a bailment do not have such an opportunity. They can only make an effort to keep these concepts in an obsession (Özdenören, 2017a: 111).

In the following steps, it was suggested that this initial non-availability could be overcome or that Western elements could be grounded through alignment. However, Özdenören opposes these interpretations with an approach that “insisting on sitting on the same floor, the same mistakes are expected to continue. Because a congenitally disabled organism continues as a disability” (Özdenören, 2017a: 113).

According to Özdenören some of the views that were put forward with the efforts of modernization prepared the intellectual ground for Kemalism, while others were based on Kemalism. In this context, while the West has only clustered around thoughts such as importing the administrative and political system, or accepting all its good and beautiful sides and preserving prime values, Kemalism has brought a different course to the issue. Accordingly, a completely transformation was adopted and not hesitated in doing the necessities to fulfill the requirements at any cost. Therefore, the sharpest transformation was made in the Republican era and by Kemalism.

Although the divisional structure in the political/administrative organization that emerged with the Tanzimat was reincarnated during the Republican period, it was not possible to trace the divisional situation in the minds, and the same partitioned head structure could continue its existence. Therefore, since the concepts such as democracy, secularism or human rights that came from the West cannot find a response in the culture of this country, a consensus has not been reached on what it means or what it should mean (Özdenören, 2017a: 113-114).

Even though the intellectuals in Westernization efforts offered a Western-style law and way of living in general, they were not stripped of the influence of Islamic culture, and the views put forward have often failed to provide consistency within themselves. Thus, an integrated world view could not be achieved in terms of its own internal logic. Although the aim of consolidating the foundations of this structure in the period after the Republican was directed towards a certain level of success, even in the intellectuals, the success could not penetrate the social strata. Because, even if they were intellectuals, they were brought up in an Islamic culture and tradition. In addition to the physical habits of people, the traces of this culture, which also influences the mindset, that is, the thinking methods, have always been present (Özdenören, 2016b: 123).

Özdenören asks the question that: “Which criterias do we consider when we vote for or against Westernization?” For him it is important to note that the criterias are Western or Islamic. When the direction is determined by using West’s criteria, it is emphasized that Western style methods are important, and when Islamic view is taken, it is emphasized that basic assumptions and preferences are involved, not methods (Özdenören, 2016b: 126).

At this point, the views of Westernization in Turkish thought are criticized in terms of considering Islam as one of the factors that should be or not taking it as only reference.

Özdenören bases the beginning of the ideas defined by the concept of synthetic ideas, on Ziya Gökalp. Gökalp proposes a social structure that is identical to the West by means of the synthesis that “I am from Turkish nation, West civilization and Islam ummah”. According to him, the word “Islam” used here does not bear the equivalent of Islam. In the analysis in Western sociology, since religion is considered among the facts that make up a nation, Islam has been included in the synthesis. Otherwise, there is no Islamic concern. The attempt to see Islam as a national religion is also a contradiction in Islamic truth (Özdenören, 2016b: 152-153).

In the perspective of Özdenören; The eclecticism of Ziya Gökalp is discussed in terms of the combination of artificial and opposing concepts. It is emphasized that it is not possible to adopt the idea of “being ummah” with the preference of “being from West civilization” and it is stated that only one of them should be taken as basis. If the West is adopted, it is argued that the proposition of the ummah is an inconsistent synthesis effort. In fact, the Republican regime, which focused on Gökalp’s ideas in the first phase, had to make some purification before these ideas. The Republican regime, which is based on the Western ideology, has adopted the basic social and political institutions of Western civilization in its structuring stage, and it has also been felt as a necessity to break ties with the Islamic institutions. This is inevitable in Westernization. Likewise, it was first abolished the caliphate and then the constitutional provision that ‘religion of the state is Islam’ and then ‘Laicism’ was added into the Constitution. This was the definitive expression that the official political plan has reached the final stage in institutionalization in the way of Westernization (Özdenören, 2016b: 129-133).

While developing these arguments, Özdenören sometimes wants to put the subject on a more historical ground by giving examples from the intellectuals of the period. One of the names mentioned in this context is Peyami Safa. In the words of Özdenören, he made his choice and voted for the West. If you prefer the West, there is no problem anymore (Özdenören, 2016b: 133-134).

Safa speaks of the separation between science and religion in his thoughts, and says that “because their field is separated, there is no opportunity to fight between knowledge and religion. There is only respect for each other.” According to Özdenören’s point of view, Safa fell into an error with these words. The word “religion” in the Western sources, when used in a simple sense, refers to Christianity only. However, this nuance has been neglected and the concept has been considered the same for all religions. It is the concept of religion, which is the one that has been imported by the advocates of Westernization and which confuses the minds most. Therefore, it is a necessity to emphasize which religion is the subject when speaking of it (Özdenören, 2016b: 137-139).

On the other hand, the distinction was not fully adopted even by those who considered setting up Islam in their life and in social order as meaning of life. Mehmet Akif's expression that "Taking the inspiration from the Quran, making the perception of the century say Islam" was an example, and has been criticized due to the fact that Islam can not be degraded into the viewpoint of the people of the century (Özdenören, 2017a: 114).

According to Özdenören there are two kinds of Western concept for Mehmet Akif. These are: the first West which was the perception of the century and make Islam speak with its language and the other is the "one tooth imperialist monster; West". In this context, while Akif opposed the imperialist West, he was not against its intellectual mentality. In fact, he had an opinion that considers Islam from the perspective of this mentality. He, like many of his contemporaries, considered science as an absolute authority. Although the importance of Islam is emphasized, it is intended to show the West as the perception of the century. At this point, the challenge of Islam to the West is not the case. Even the highlighted point is that Islam is an understandable and acceptable religion with its Western dimensions (Özdenören, 2016b: 144).

When a collective view is made, these views have lost the qualification of the answers to the social problems of Western Europe and turned into such an identity of the answers to the questions and methods in the way of westernization (Özdenören, 2016b: 151).

As Özdenören highlighted, none of the views, put forward on the Westernization of Turkey, considered it as a Western country and did not catch up with Kemalism desiring to become an integral part of the West. Kemalism replaced Western civilization formally instead of existing one with all its institutions and concepts as a whole (Özdenören, 2016b: 160-161). The aim was to create a Turkey identified with the West. Kemalism is the only vision that wants a fundamentalist Westernization as a basic point and does not synthesize Western culture with indigenous one (Özdenören, 2016b: 152-153).

In parallel with the organization in this period, a number of concepts such as democracy, secularism and human rights was simulated, and the social life style was introduced by granting them immunity (Özdenören, 2016b: 167-168).

Kemalism became the dominant insight shaping the state administration after the proclamation of the Republic. However, this view was criticized by both conservative and socialist thinkers. Westernization models have different reasons for themselves. However, it was the environment provided by Kemalism itself that paves the way for Westernization arguments. Both the conservatives; due to the fundamentalist attitude that wanted to create a whole Western society without respecting any tradition of the present society, and the socialists; on the grounds that the Ottoman heritage which was a potential for the formation of a desired society was rendered useless, showed response to Kemalism (Özdenören, 2016b: 155).

According to Özdenören, when a general view was made, the acceptance of the West was developed with a romantic approach. So to say, the West was accepted with a credulous excitement and without the need for reckoning (Özdenören, 2017b: 18).

About modernization of turning into a view against religion as in Turkey, Özdenören makes the following statement:

The revolutions carried during the Republican era, inevitably aimed to break ties with tradition so religion in Turkey in particular, was exteriorized. I think there is no need to pay special attention to understand that all of the revolutions without exception were the attempts to break the ties with religion (ie Islam). Unless Turkey integrates democracy with the proclamation of the Republic, it is needed to look at the mentality underlying modernization (Özdenören, 2015: 179).

When we look at the general character of the periods in Turkish modernization from the view of Rasim Özdenören, despite the practices in the period of Tanzimat, the faith that

established the state did not lose its reality, but it can be said that the pure belief to Islam was not in its former position. In the Republican period, the belief to Islam and the functions imposed by it were removed from the agenda. The declarative and active state role envisaged by Islam was consciously eliminated, and a nation-state model adopted to defend the self-drawn borders (Özdenören, 2015: 21).

The rulers of the Ottoman Empire before the period of collapse de facto recognized nationalism as an ideology, even if not legally. However, during the Republican period, nationalism was adopted as one of the basic facts of the official ideology. According to Özdenören nationalism which could be a natural and coherent ideology due to the existence of racial discrimination at the root of Western culture, took the form of a racist nature in Turkey too. However, since it was officially imported in a top down style, it was kept alive with artificial supports (Özdenören, 2017a: 276).

The framework of the nation-state, established with the Republic, was drawn up taking into account the fundamental principles of Kemalism. However, they were Greek and intangible to the social base. In order to keep the new system alive, it was tried to invent principles again. Thus, later produced secondary factors prevented the essential factors, principles and returns were always in the foreground, not the basic needs of the public and the solutions provided by the self-culture (Özdenören, 2017a: 279).

As a result, the policies of Westernization, which started during the Tanzimat period and reached to the next stage during the Republican period, have been heavily criticized in the statements of Rasim Özdenören. His point of view is Islam. For this reason, the perspectives; not accepting Islam, keeping it in the background, or proposing to unite or harmonize any other view with the provisions of Islam, are rejected. The mentioned policies are not among the admissions of Özdenören due to this reason. The system, which is intended to be established in the state organization and then in every field of the individual and social life through the reform practices in the Kemalist period, is not accepted because it also disables Islamic provisions. According to Özdenören's approach,

the solution of the problems experienced by the society should be sought again with the core of the society. In this context, the core is the orientation towards the Islamic culture in the yeast of society. It is emphasized that the intended to be done by imposition would not find a place in the conscience of individuals and in each stage where the oppression weakens demand for returning to self will emerge.

1.2 Democracy and Law

Rasim Özdenören emphasizes his evaluations on the differences of Western and Islamic culture by focusing on some concepts. Two of these concepts can be evaluated together: Democracy and law.

According to Özdenören, democracy is possible for some countries and societies, while for others is not. The reason for this lies in the fact that whether people living in that society are prone to democratic management or not. Democracy is a form of government that emerges as a public administration. However, every system that is externalized as the self-rule of the people is not democratic. In fact, the election of government is a manifestation of democratic life. However, the point that should be emphasized is that democracy is a way of life rather than a form of government (Özdenören, 2017a: 198).

Democracy is a product of Western culture. The building blocks of this culture are; Greek philosophy, Roman law and Christianity. These facts shaped the people living in the Western society on the one hand and on the other hand they took shape according to the people's lifestyles. Therefore, there is an interaction. In Western societies, democracy was not a goal, but it was a result of the social conflicts in the political history of the countries and the subsequent consensus. Democracy is a product of the class struggle of the society in the West. In non-Western or non-democratic societies, the process is operated in reverse. Democracy is defined as an ideal where it is tried to reach him (Özdenören, 2017a: 199).

Unlike the concept of Islamic governance, democracy is an extension of Western culture and exhibits an inherent structure with human beings in Western concept. Because the point of origin is human relations. Starting from this point of view Özdenören reaches the conclusion that:

Democracy is an institution on the balance of power between classes as a way of life. The law envisaged in democracies has risen on such a balance of power. When it is necessary to make changes in the applied law, the balance of power must always be taken into account. In Western culture, the so-called non-governmental organizations, in fact, stand as the representative of these interest groups. Political parties also exist to represent economic interests before expressing the differentiation of a worldview. Thus, we say that the democratic legal order is based on a balance of mutual interest. Those who argue that democracy is a regime of reconciliation, I think, indicate the character of consensus. Otherwise, the fact that the parties tolerate each other, everyone agrees to their own rights, and protecting the “human rights”, are not put into practice because it requires such a moral sense (Özdenören, 2017a: 201).

Democracy is perceived as a structure which has certain principles that it envisages and which has the function of providing a compromise of power balances. So who are the parties to this compromise and what the agreement will be on?

At this point Özdenören ascertains that; “the parties that make society are the classes such as aristocrats, people and clergymen. As for the principles agreed on, I think it is possible to state them as follows: 1. Ensuring the participation of everyone in the administration, that is, the principle of election and representation, 2. General and equal votes, 3. The protection of the rights of the majority and the protection of the rights of the minority to the decisions of the majority; in other words, ensuring that the majority and the minority do not dominate each other, 4. Ensuring fundamental rights and freedoms, 5. The equal protection of law” (Özdenören, 2017a: 236).

Özdenören states that it is not enough to determine these principles and to reach a consensus on these, and that the essential part is implementing these principles by enacting the necessary laws. This is where the character of democracy stands out. Legislation means the exercise of the right to dominate. According to Özdenören, the perception that the will to exercise this right is in human or divine power constitutes an important way. Otherwise,

the adoption of pure principles does not make a regime democratic. For this reason, the inclusion of these principles in Islam does not make Islamic administration a democratic one (Özdenören, 2017a: 237).

These principles are also accepted as elements of democracy or democratic governance. However, it is not possible to degrade democracy into this pattern as Islam cannot be accommodated within these facts. Democracy requires a secular life order as the will of mankind reveals instead of the will of revelation (Özdenören, 2017a: 238).

Therefore, the choice of whether the ruling system is based on an Islamic perspective or on the basis of a Western understanding comes to the fore. Democracy and Islamic governance begin to differentiate at this point.

With Özdenören's discourse, the laws enacted within the democratic order are profane and secular. In Islamic administrations, if a provision not previously included in religious texts is put into effect by a Muslim movement, this provision gains an Islamic identity. On the other hand, even if there is a religious text, when a provision is enacted and the requirements of religion are acted without implication, that provision will gain a secular and profane characteristic. Therefore, it is noteworthy that whether religious qualifications are adhered to or not. In Islamic governments, rulers have to stay connected with dogmas. However, there is no limit to non-Islamic governments. Even though the largest border in these administrations appears to be a constitution, the constitution is in a form that can be changed by the will of the people (Özdenören, 2017a: 239-240).

According to Özdenören, while Muslims thought that Islam was self-sufficient in the intellectual realms, this was not the case in practice. They attempted to find the references in accordance with their thoughts from Islam and, on this occasion, to legitimize them in the sight of Islam. The mentioned effort showed itself in the important break points of our history such as Tanzimat, Meşrutiyet and Republican periods. At this point, instead of Islamizing the non-Islamic elements, they wanted to legitimize them in the sight of Islam.

In other words, the institutions were sought in the West instead of Islam which represented their own culture. This was the main problem (Özdenören, 2017a: 450-451).

In Western societies, it is accepted that fields such as religion and moral or legal rules are independent of each other, and therefore, the sanction of one of them is different from the other. Thus, the state and the religion authorities emerged independent of each other. However, it is not possible to say that this situation in Western society has a universal character. Any proposition must have a similar structure in all societies and have similar results in order to be considered valid in the universal nature. Since the perception of independence is not valid in Islam, it is not universal. The authorities mentioned in the Islamic system make sense together. Here too, the rules of religion have a role as a rule of law. On the other hand, the state has a function in the application of the provisions of religion. According to Özdenören:

The reason of the state in Islamic society consists of presenting the rules envisaged by religion as a social order for the people. In Islamic society, religion is not a separate category from law, its the same. The sanction of non-compliance with the rules of religion requires not only a conscientious responsibility, but also a legal responsibility. In Western society, what is known as the rule of religion or morality is excluded as a rule of law in Islamic society (Özdenören, 2016b: 88).

When the building blocks that form the basis of Western culture are examined, it should be stated that a slave-based principle is adopted in both Roman law and Greek philosophy. But this has a different meaning in Western and Islamic societies. In Roman law, the slave is entirely like an asset. Inspired by this motive in its content, Western civilization was an idea that regards people other than their own as slaves, ie things. In Islamic law, even if there is an institution of slavery, it is qualitatively different from that in the West. Such that it is even obvious that how to treat slaves (Özdenören, 2017b: 57). According to Özdenören:

The Roman law is a collection of measures, since it is unrivaled and unreliable. The main thing is that everyone is cheating. Law brings pedestals to corner this deceitful, desiccant, pitiless but self seeking man. This is a matter of morality. What do I do if I'm being deceived? What should I do to not to be deceived? What can I do after being deceived? The spirit of this law is concentrated around such an axis. This is a matter of morality, a matter of trust in people. It is a matter of accepting the right thing to say (Özdenören, 2016b: 103-105).

When the concept of law and the legal system of different cultures are discussed, it is seen that the fact of the concept, which is the essence of it, is examined according to the thought structure of the culture in which it was born.

The punishment is a sanction imposed on the offender as a result of a crime. The purpose of the sanctions shows itself only as a response to the crime; no torture, no cruelty. Some also argue that punishment has a function of warning and discipline. However, these two functions are considered as the result of the punishment, not the purpose. In such a way that if the punishment has a noteworthy character for others, perhaps no crime is ever committed (Özdenören, 2016b: 111).

Implying the effect of different cultures on punishment Özdenören states that; While punishment in Western law was applied, the state was taken as an arbiter. In Islamic law, the state only performs during judgment and determines the penalty (Özdenören, 2016b: 113). According to Özdenören:

Punishment and reward, that is the response is appraised as the price of the action. When we look at knowledge merely, we see that it is the mental capacity, which distinguishes it from any other form of spirit. However, we must have a criterion to distinguish the good from the bad and the evil from the impartialness and the right from the wrong. Man cannot determine this criterion according to his/her own pleasure. This criterion is revealed by revelation. Revelations are called sharia. Thus, after we are able to understand that differentiation between right and wrong, we are expected to implement our decision on this matter. In other words, it is not enough to distinguish the right directly from the wrong. It also has to be implemented. In other words, man must act according to the result of his choice. There is another spiritual ability which cause mankind to perform in his way, after making a choice between good and bad, right and

wrong; it is the will. If man was unable to do the necessities after a choice, all other concepts (heaven, hell, punishment, reward) for religion would be meaningless, empty fantasies. Other living beings are not being tested for sharia because they do not have the ability of choice (Özdenören, 2017b: 71-73).

Özdenören explains the perception of sanctions between Western law form and Islamic legal order as follows:

In non-Islamic societies, sanctions applied as a result of non-compliance with religious rules are considered in a mystical, metaphysical character; Since the concept called “sharia” (law of religion) is directly related to public order, the sanction of non-observance of such rules also constitutes a positive and material nature. Likewise, in non-Islamic societies, the sanctions; for not obeying the rules of morality and not obeying the rules of religion, are separated from each other. In non-Islamic societies, the sanctions of non-compliance with the forms of behavior considered to be the rule of morality and the reaction of the society to the person who goes beyond this rule, appear as pure defamation, condemnation and so on, while the same inappropriate behavior in Islamic society can be seen in relation to public order and it may become possible to implement the so-called legal act (Özdenören, 2017ç: 145-146).

The rules of law in Islam are based on revelation. Revelation is the pleasure of divine power. These rules are illegitimate, so they do not take care of the interests of any class or community. What is essential in the Islamic society; The rules of law, in other words the “Sharia”. What constitutes the basis of social structure, and then the other social institutions is the factor that causes the formation of law.

The way in which the Islamic society is structured differs from that of other societies. First, the rules of law are being preached, then all the institutions of the society, including its economic structure, are built on the basis of these rules. The dominant element in the infrastructure of Western societies is economics. In these societies, the rules of law are perceived as a superstructure. In other words, it is not the case that the legal rules are determinative in the social order, but other social relations and institutions determine the law. The formation of the rules of law comes to life through an evolutionary process (Özdenören, 2017a: 462).

According to Rasim Özdenören's perspective, there is a distinctive structure of Islam and an understanding of public order. This understanding does not accept the deviation from the rules. Even if the government states in the constitution that it is an Islamic state, it is denoted that Islam is not practiced in that country. Because Islam does not accept a fact other than itself. Either there may be an order in the full Islamic sense, or there is any administration other than the Islamic order. Once the Islamic order has come, people do not have the authority to change the rules on their own. In such a situation, the withdrawal of Islamic law is encountered (Özdenören, 2017c: 43-44). Özdenören, while revealing the general character of Islamic law, ascertains that:

Islamic law was not established and developed by any ruling class to provide its own interests. Islamic law exists before the experiences of the people who live there. People, according to these rules, set their own lifestyles, create, establish their institutions. In terms of Islamic law, there is no "evolution" for the formation of legal institutions. The rule that comes with the revelation exists in its entirety within itself and at once. And once he exists, people are obliged to obey it. It is also seen that this situation, which is considered valid in non-Islamic societies, is not valid in terms of Islamic site even if it is evaluated in terms of the concept of dominant class. Because in the period when these legal rules were put into force, people who are ready to implement these rules determine that they are fully victims and oppressed, not to be the ruling class of that society (Özdenören, 2017c: 128).

Every society wants to protect its own norms, to prevent them from acting contrary to it, and to seek sanctions. If a society cannot establish sanctions to protect its norms, it means that society is beginning to dissolve. Sanctions have a disciplinary role in ensuring the continuity of society.

Islamic social order is different from others. For this reason, as in other institutions, it has a different understanding within the framework of sanctions. It is not possible to talk about social order in an environment where every individual is high handed. On the other hand, in a situation where only a part of the Islamic social order is not in effect, a crippled practice occurs. Because Islam is manifested as meaningful provisions only when applied in its entirety. The non-implementation of the provisions of Islam is conducive to the legitimacy and dissemination of non-Islamic rules in society. According to Özdenören; on

the basis of the problems experienced today in the Islamic world underlies a nonsystematic life (Özdenören, 2017c: 147-151).

The Islamic state has to deal with the belief of its citizens only on the basis of reality. The same transactions cannot be executed to Muslim and non-muslim. The aim is only to establish the social order and to ensure its survival. In the ideological state, it is assumed that every citizen believes in the official ideology of the state. As Muslims grow, they will begin to practice Islamic law among themselves. At this point, the state will become a result by going out of purpose. The Islamic State applies its own law to each of the individuals living in it. Hence, Islamic law is not valid for a non-Muslim. This is related to the freedom of conscience of people. Islam does not force those who do not attach credence to its principles on this path. However, in non-Islamic governments, because the assumption that individuals believe in the ideology of the state does not always reflect the truth, the state integration with the individual cannot be ensured, and the lack of purpose between the state and the citizen can always be seen. There is a fine distinction between being a Muslim and a citizen (Özdenören, 2017ç: 151-153).

As a reflection of the Westernization process, there has been a reaction to say that there is an intransigence between Islam and democracy in spite of the differences of arguments and resources. This was the result of an opportunist outlook. Because Islam is not in a position that can make concessions or give up its principles in the light of any opinions or attitudes.

The Muslims, who accepted the modernization phenomenon, chose the way of adopting the institutions and concepts of Western civilization under the influence of the conciliatory attitude and thought that the backwardness could be eliminated by this. But at this stage, since they could not afford to give up Islam, they tried to show that the concepts belonging to the West are not foreign to Islam and that they exist in Islam. Among the can-do attitudes, democracy is at the forefront (Özdenören, 2017a: 233).

The concept of democracy, which is the reflection of the Western thought system in the field of ruling, is not included in Islam as the other products of Western culture. The structural features that make up it cause not to enter into the Islamic order.

Özdenören believes that the concept of democracy and Islam are different styles of governance. According to him, saying that “Islam does not have a point of contact with democracy” does not claim Islam to be despotic. There are two different schemes who has divergent value judgments and legal arrangements and whose legitimacies are based on different sources (Özdenören, 2017a: 207).

Democracy is not a system that envisages the election of rulers by the people. In addition to issues such as respect for rights and freedoms, prevention of pressure on each other, democracy must also have developed mechanisms to protect itself from interventions. Otherwise, it is difficult to talk about the establishment of a fully democratic system.

In democratic countries, because the system is damaged by the consensus after the class conflict within the society, individuals try to prevent the breach by violating the principles of democracy. In unfounded democracies, a violation of the aforementioned principles does not affect individuals because of no class conflict in the earlier stages and no consensus upon. As individuals deem the goings-on outside of themselves, they choose to keep still against violation (Özdenören, 2017a: 208). According to Özdenören:

The specific conditions of democracy, its classist structure, and the power and general social balance created by this structure are equipped to protect itself against external interference. Because there seems to be a real identity among those; representatives and represented. Today, democracy is applied in some countries in the world, while some other parts posture as ruling with democracy, it is because of the racist, discriminatory, slaver, colonialist and classist structure of the political and social histories of the countries that implement democracy. Democracy is the product of a real conflict of interest there. In countries that are fond of democracy game, ideological differentiations are first created because there is no cultural accumulation to feed democracy and then to put a “governance style” on this ideological discrimination. So the community that has

to walk on its feet is forced to walk as a handstand. Because the political system is forced to walk in a handstand position, those who refuse to walk like that can always be overthrown by a flicker. It is not important whether there is a genuine public support behind the ones that have been overthrown (Özdenören, 2017a: 209).

Rasim Özdenören prefers to start modern times with the French Revolution in 1789, as it played a critical role in the political and social transformation of Western Europe. The decisive features of modern states that still remain valid are expressed by the intellectuals of that time. The dominant force in the chaos of the revolution produced a decisive determinism. In an environment in which the guns determine the law, the consideration is not the justice but the interest. Therefore, it is not in conformity with the reality to expect the observance of the law in such a situation or even to say that there is a legal order (Özdenören, 2017a: 387-389).

One of the important issues in democratic systems is to ensure compliance with the established order as well as the establishment of legal order. Because the realization of the system has been ensured by restoring the conflicts arising from the internal dynamics. As long as the law is respected, it will be possible to operate the system. However, the notion of democracy and legal order in non-Western societies has also been manifested in different ways.

The existence of the rule of law in democratic regimes is perceived as a preliminary acceptance. The rule of law primarily requires compliance with the law and the regulations to be in compliance with it. Otherwise, the legal nature of the laws, which are shaped by arbitrariness, is eliminated. Even in this case, the observance of the law depends on the pleasure of the authority. In the political conjuncture, sometimes a corner left on the shore can be brought to an important position. This is the politicization of the judiciary (Özdenören, 2017a: 391-392).

In Western societies, the democracy that emerged as a result of the class conflict and reconciliation processes in its internal dynamics is still standing with the struggle of these classes. However, the democracy brought by the Jacobenism in non-Western societies perceived as a political institution; depending on the person and arbitrariness, comes and leaves on request and working on the orders of someone (Özdenören, 2017a: 205).

According to Özdenören; the Republican regime, like the Constitutional periods; does not spread to the social base but tried to built up in a top-down style. Although the social base deficiency was not felt during a single-party period, it emerged in the multi-party period that initiated the transition to democratic order. Even so, the Democratic Party has found its meaning in opposition to the CHP, which represents the state and the regime. The people supported the Democratic Party and expressed its opposition to the regime and the state (Özdenören, 2017a: 210). Özdenören expresses that:

Where the despotism is held superior, the law does not mention. Where the law is mentioned, there is no place for despotism. The fact that the law is considered to be a superior value requires compliance with the law to be taken into consideration for all. At the expense of some of the interests of the law, the “respect of the law” be determined arbitrarily where it is not an ethics. This already implies that law is not counted as a superior value there (Özdenören, 2017a: 399).

There is a causal link between the state and the conscience of the people who make society. Individuals desire the system, which they believe in their terms and principles, and has been established by their own preferences, to be applied to them by the state in which they live. This is essentially the reason for the existence of states. Thus, it can be mentioned that the existence of a state built upon to the social base. But a state that does not reflect the will of the society, tends to impose the self-sustaining ideology. States that are positioned in such a way tend to develop an oppressive attitude towards their citizens.

According to Özdenören the places where Turkey is and should be are different. In his expression:

The place attributed to Turkey in 1839, 1909, 1923 was a country which was extorted from its own traditions (Islam) and has placed in Modernization plane. But depending on someone's will; it is not possible to break away people and societies from their own tradition at once and to get a new identity for them. We can see that modernism conflicts with tradition and makes people nervous, both at the level of the magazine and at the political level" (Özdenören, 2017a: 409). As a supporting statement: "From the beginning all concepts were evacuated from the content of the sacred, the questions like "who defends what, who stands for or against what" has become incomprehensible. This, again, emerges as the evil face of the same modern situation. Turkey has still been spending life in the modernization environment which has attributed to the country for 150 years. But it should not be ignored that there exists another Turkey, a silent Turkey (Özdenören, 2017 to: 410).

On the other hand, this is not the case only in Turkey. A similar situation may be valid in Western-style democracies. Those who protect the power of the system, certainly keep it actionably for their own interests and consider it as licit. Since democracy is a product of Western culture, it is a product that can be saved by the owners (Özdenören, 2017a: 430).

Democracy experiences are developing differently in the countries of modernization. It is not possible to move to a democratic environment without rejecting the established culture. Conflict in these countries is not on the characteristics of democracy, but on the approaches of the old and new cultural supporters. As a result of this debate, a despotic administration emerges in the name of democracy (Özdenören, 2017a: 431). According to Özdenören:

Modernization, in this country, has resulted in differentiation in the aim of the state and nation. Sometimes this differentiation was tried to hide by bayonet or rifle but this can never actually be exterminated. Every time this nation feels free itself, this differentiation has emerged in some way (Özdenören, 2017a: 432).

The contrast between the democratic and the Islamic system, which is a modern style, has an important place in the statements of Rasim Özdenören. In this context, being modern is a phenomenon identical to the West, but also equivalent to non-Islamism. Therefore, it is not possible for a fact belonging to Western culture to exist in Islam. Suggestions for

reconciliation are rejected from the point of this incompatibility. Because every culture wants to put its social structure and perspective into the ruling system. The West is a reflection of a secular and profane character. Westernization or modernization requires entering this path. Islam cannot accept this style. The system which is not based on revelation or involves human will, has lost its Islamic property.

The West has a ruling and legal system established within the framework of its own culture and norms, and Islam has a systematic approach based on revelation and involving Muslims. At this point, Islam is available and meaningful when it is accepted totally. In the case of the volition of mankind or applying partially, the integral structure of the core is damaged and the character of being Islamic disappears. Islam is a coalescent system with its source, law and sanctions, and it is not possible to make additions and cut-backs in this system.

1.3 Laicism

Secularism is an institution that was born in Europe and is unique to Christianity. It is a product that has emerged as a result of social and political conditions. It has come into existence to provide state to protect itself against the church. At first, it was a problem in terms of fulfilling the aforementioned objective, and then, as a fundamental principle about the legal structure of the state, was manifested as an inseparable element of the modern state.

Therefore, in the beginning it was seen as a problem of existence in the church and state equation, evolved to a principle later. However, this situation did not show a sudden development. The Church welcomes this in order to feel more secure against the state, on the other hand, concerned about losing its pastoral power since the emperor accepted Christianity. The church authority gained great wealth and position until this period and did not want to leave its acquisitions to the state. The state does not want the church to be able to keep people connected to it, and the church to be perceived as a single and real

power. This occurred as an issue of authority. The essence of the conflict in the West is the problem of power between the church and the state (Özdenören, 2017b: 165-167).

Although the supremacy of the church was tidal, it continued until the Reform movement, and later lost its influence in the states and started to establish national churches apart from the Papacy.

The relationship between the state and the church in the historical phase is classified under three main headings. The first view is the one that the spirit represents the supremacy of the matter and that the church represents the real power. The second view argues that the religion is an institution within the state and values the state above the church. The third is the view that the pastoral and corporeal powers have separate features, does not value one above the other, and that they represent two independent powers.

Reformist entrepreneurs got closed to the state against the church that exploited people due to its privileged position and adopted the state as the supreme power. While the aim was to save people from being slaves of the church, the actuality was to leave them being slaves of the state.

The insight that the church is in a superior position from the state has changed in the course of time that the state is a separate authority from the church. In this change, the Church would no longer be able to intervene with the state, and the state would not intervene with the church in matters related to religion. The birth of the laic understanding spread from such a source in the West. Thus, laicism did not emerged as a targeted aim, but as a defeat of the church in Europe. Thus, religion was degraded into just a dimension of conscience (Özdenören, 2017b: 167).

The situation in Islam and in Christianity are different from each other. There is no room for conflict between the religion and state authorities in Islam. Islam is a state whose cause and effect based on itself. The state emerges in the structure of religion. There are no different authorities such as pastoral and corporeal. The state also refers to the same structure in power (Özdenören, 2017b: 170).

Secularism does not mean tolerance to religion when considering the environment at birth. In the beginning, it was only the separation of religion and state authorities, but later turned into an expression covering also freedom of conscience.

If secularism included only freedom of conscience and tolerance to religion, it was necessary to say that Islam was secular. So much so that; the Islamic state has been tolerant to other religions from the beginning. But the Islamic state cannot be secular. He is a religion-oriented state governed by the principles of law and institutions envisaged by religion (Özdenören, 2017b: 170).

In laic system, facts such as engagement, marriage, divorce, testament, inheritance and giving the due of God are determined by the state. For this reason, give the devil his due and give the God his due. But in these societies God is imprisoned in the church. The state has dominated the system. The job “giving due” involves only not messing with each other. Otherwise, the state has spread over every field in terms of dissemination to social life (Özdenören, 2017ç: 158-159).

Some concepts and thoughts in the western culture have changed over time and have become determinants of social life. Humanism, Rationalism and Positivism are examples of this. It is important to consider these opinions separately in order to get an understanding of how the structure of secular thought develops.

Humanism essentially places human being in the center of the universe. It is accepted that the element which is the source of the events and facts is human being. In this respect, the claim that everything starts and ends with human beings is based on a scientific basis. The human factor, as in Western thought, is also important in Islam, and seen as the most glorious among created. However, according to Islamic and Western perspectives, people are positioned in different styles (Özdenören, 2016b: 62-63). In the West, there is an understanding of anthropocentrism, ie human centrism. Accordingly, human being is at the center of the universe and it is accepted that everything exists for him. This understanding is similar with the expression that everything in Islam is for human. However, Islam does not permit destruction or exploitation of nature. In the West, this view paves the way for dominating everything through pragmatism (Özdenören, 2017c: 162-163).

In the West, human being is subject to an exaltation by accepting him the only subject in the universe. In Islam it is not possible for man to be the subject of this kind of glorification. In Islam, the value of man is proportional to his servitude and appreciates in the presence of God by this way. The West is trying to give power to human. In this respect, man exalts as he opposes to God's commands. Since the ultimate goal of humanism is the rebellious man, there is basically a reaction to religion and an evaluation of equating God with his intellect. Therefore, a human-led Western viewpoint is a first step in interpreting the facts against revelation-based Islamic sight (Özdenören, 2016b: 62-63).

Islam is not against the knowledge or cognition of man. He is neither rational nor irrationalist in a philosophical expression and as a resource. There is only one source of knowledge in Islam; revelation. In this sense; although there are things that go beyond intellect in Islam, there is no one contrary to it (Özdenören, 2017c: 160).

In the 19th century, the paradigm of humanism brought up the idea of superior humanity in a scientific cover. In view of this sight, it is assumed that the phenomena in the universe are shaped by and around the individual. Efforts of giving mankind divinity and the view that he is able to do versicles are externalised (Özdenören, 2017b: 54).

The common insight of today is that humanism derives from the drive to treat all humanly. Humanism, on the other hand, is a kind of attempt to deny the sacred statements, like other movements of Western origin. While God is being overthrown, the human factor is exalted and it is adopted that human being is the measure of all things. In this context, the foundations of individualism were laid while refusing to connect to a statement with an unknown source.

Özdenören, evaluates the situation in the West as diseased. The solution lies not in the West, but in an external perspective. The West, which forgets the fact of being a servant, acts from its point of view to eliminate problems it faces. The West does not have an objective criterion to criticize itself. As the criterion of knowledge makes it possible to make judgments within the available data, it is not absolute. The differences of thoughts not based on revelation are excluded as different reflections of the same structure. Therefore, the solution should be sought in the revelation (Özdenören, 2016b: 69-70).

The concept of rationalism, as a daily use, is perceived as a concept related to the evaluation. However, looking at the meaning of rationalism in a philosophical manner which is its original field; the rationalism also referred to as *phronimos* that is used for the statements about the source of information. At this point, it is the view that the source of knowledge is intellect.

According to rationalism, there is no source apart from intellect. Thus, the conclusion that even the idea of God is the product of the human intellect, has been put forward. According to the aforementioned acceptance, it is not possible to say that Islam is a rational religion, although it is possible to say that the provisions of Islam are reasonable. Hence, philosophical rationalism has a character both opposite to and outside of Islam. Islam is neither rationalist, nor positivist, nor can it be associated with any other ideology. As a result, no view is enough to define Islam alone. It can be meaningful only with revelation, not with philosophical views (Özdenören, 2017b: 45-47).

While the source of knowledge in rationalism was based on intellect, a further step was taken with positivism and the criterion has been an experiment hereinafter. Truth has been sought only in the things that can be experienced, tangible, seen, and whose experiments have the possibility of repetition. It is assumed that the other facts cannot be true. In general, the departure point is focused on rejecting the claims of religion rather than discovering the truth. The main purpose has been to disprove the religion-based verses and maintain the efforts of irreligion. Every new idea has been put forward as a force against religion (Özdenören, 2017b: 49).

First, the belief to intellect, then the developments in positivism and the advancement in science have brought to the fore the feeling of making everything in the realm of being meaningful within the framework of science.

In this direction, the idea that philosophy to gain a scientific character, has emerged. Science has increasingly influenced philosophy. The attempt to legalize everything that appears in science has also been manifested in social areas. It has now been said that individuals and communities act in accordance with the laws, and this has already spread the international arena, and even discussing a matter expressed by science has created a strongly rejected view (Özdenören, 2017b: 76-78).

At this point, it is necessary to renew the point of view and re-think about the subjects that are called science. So much so that; the rejection of the facts relayed by science is not possible in minds. This is a habit gained over time. Thus, individuals can be directed to the desired side, and many things are considered to be fixed truth (Özdenören, 2017b: 84).

In fact, the phenomenon of science, like ideological maneuvers, is the ideas and actions aimed at combating or eliminating religion. Since this aspect of science is now forgotten, scientific outputs are perceived as completely truthful. This appears as an approach that sets the gap between Islam and science. According to Özdenören:

The Church adopted scientific judgments to defend the truths of religion and with this way go under yoke of science step by step. This was thought to be progressive and intellectual vision. Since the last century, the attitude of church has been adopted as a method in Islamic world. Muslim intellectuals also argued that the truths of religion and the truths of science do not conflict and that they confirm each other. Here, the danger is always tried to be ignored: Once beginning to be ratified the rights of religion to the rights of science, it will be necessary to submit to same science when it contradicts with religion (Özdenören, 2017b: 88).

As a result of the returns of the Western thought structure, everything has been experienced in the material world and around humane factors. In this respect, the withdrawal of religion from practice is not very important for the individual and the society. Because Christianity, which has been changed with a profan view contrary to the projection in Islam, has lost its feature of being a determinant in the social and legal basis. According to Özdenören's view:

There is no change in the essence of religion in Islam. Islam maintains its feature of application from the beginning. The whole point is to understand the need to comprehend it sufficiently and in its own truth. Islam cannot be understood according to the mind patterns of the West. He does not allow to be approached to him by interpretations other than himself, but he is firm with itself and is understandable only to the Muslim. This is so much so that, even in the case of Islam, an orientalist cannot be compared to any Muslim in terms of understanding it in all dimensions. Because Islam is not understood by an abstract information about itself. There is surrendering to him before and beyond that. The activity of the orientalist is only to be informed without this deep participation. Only this kind of information is not enough to make somebody a Muslim (Özdenören, 2017c: 27).

As we regard Islam as an inseperable whole, it is necessary to see Western civilization as a single and indivisible whole despite all its diversities (Özdenören, 2016b: 43).

It is not acceptable for a Muslim to argue that religion and state are the facts apart from each other. For the Muslim, the state is perceived only as an organization that applies religion. The state, composed of people of common sense, on the one hand makes it easier for individuals to achieve the ultimate common goal and on the other compel them to

comply with the order. If there is a consensus between state and individual, it is possible that the system will work in harmony, otherwise there will be some problems in the functioning of the system if there is a conflict (Özdenören, 2017ç: 159-160).

One of the main characteristics of modern thought is that it develops arguments against religion. When considered in specific to Western Europe, it should be said that the fact which is intended to conveyed by the word “religion” is essentially the Church. In the context of modernization, this must be prioritized for societies and institutions in the West. Because the real meaning of an imported element in its own culture and its perception in the transmitted culture may not overlap.

When the concept of laicism is taken into consideration in this framework, its perception in Western societies is not based on the same ground with others. In both intellectual and institutional context, a certain definition cannot be made in non-Western societies. In the concept of laicism the word “religion” which describes a divergence between religion and state authorities, is expressed as the church institution in the West whereas in non-Western societies used literally with its direct mening.

With the collapse of the authority of the church, the realization of modern thought took place in connection with each other. Because the church is in a position to suppress individuals' will and freedom of thought. The thought currents developed by this reason have been directed towards the aim of establishing a power against the church by exalting the human being, and the reform studies aimed at removing the authority of the central church (Özdenören, 2017a: 42-45).

There are those who think that reform in Islam is possible in the same way as the dominant discourse in the world. However, neither Islam is an attempt to reform, nor can Islam be reconciled with other forms of ideology or governance. Since Islam is a distinctive structure, when it is intervened, loses its Islamic character.

Özdenören expresses the difference in the concepts of reform and renewal, which are novelty movements in religion. In this context:

Reform means re-shaping. The reshaping of religion is made possible by interfering with its principles. Whether these interpretations are made by deviating from their original meaning, whether by changing them or completely eliminating them, this means that they interfere with their meaning by wandering off these principles. The reform movement in the Christian realm was realized in this sense. However, there is no reform like this in Islam. The interpretation of religion from various perspectives is not a reform as mentioned. Because each of these interpretations consists of giving opinions on verses about how they should be understood without attempting to change them. These interpretations do not have a sacred nature. On the other hand, there is a concept of renewal (Tecdit) in Islam. This concept should not be confused with the concept of reform. Renewal means to reinterpret the world, the course of the world, the state of people. This does not mean interpreting Islam with concepts that are alien to itself (eg by trying to reconcile it with democracy, liberalism, socialism or secularism), on the contrary, it means purification of Islam from extraneous concepts. And this is repeated every century (Özdenören, 2017a: 93).

Due to modernization policies, non-Islamic order and life style, Muslims are in a position to live a life away from Islamic truth and to adapt to the order in which they live. However, Islam does not adopt such a way of life.

By going beyond the historical and geographical meanings, the West now refers to a structure of intellect and culture. The societies adopting this have agreed to come to the line that they envisioned from the very beginning. The Muslim should reject this. In order to do this, it is necessary to be purified from the attitude of intellect of current environment. Purification refers to the ability to think Islam in itself. The present orientalist point of view leads to the removal of Islam rather than understanding it (Özdenören, 2017ç: 38-40). According to Özdenören:

One of the mistakes that Muslims have been facing since the last century is that they thought Islam could be integrated with its antithesis and that it could reach new syntheses. We do not say that it is not possible to reach new syntheses in this way.

However, it should be noted that the new syntheses achieved will no longer be Islam, but something else” (Özdenören, 2017ç: 86-87).

At Özdenören’s view, the Muslim should have an effective attitude that intervenes in conditions and aims to change them in Islamic direction. In other words, it should be critical, intrusive, modifying and constructive (Özdenören, 2017ç: 91).

When Muslim cannot develop a conception as must be, as in the case of non-Islamic philosophical movements, the public acceptance of the proposition that Islam cares about intellect and is a rational religion, comes into the question. Instead of looking at the concepts in terms of Islam, non-Islamic interpretations are being brought to Islam (Özdenören, 2017b: 21).

The elimination of Islam due to Westernization efforts, caused Muslims to be appeared, who stated that they had an ideology or a philosophical perspective contrary to the spirit of Islamic perspective. The religion will be degraded into a philosophical view unless the Muslim applies the Islamic culture to his life. According to Özdenören:

Islam is not the antithesis of any thesis or the synthesis of the thesis and antithesis. He owns only his own, the owner of authentic truths. Whether the application of the truths or the methods that are followed when putting into practice are entirely self-contained. It is not possible to put Islam into practice by following any other method. There is a method that cannot be found in any political and social order, but is only a feature of Islam. It is the fact that Islam can develop even in the most extreme conditions. It can be said that this is the case for communism, as it is not possible to engage in class struggle and to realize socialism, which is one of the steps of communism, unless moved to a capitalist style and a class society structure has been developed (Özdenören, 2017ç: 142).

The institutions envisaged by Islam will only be able to carry out their functions if they are implemented in their own specific environment. Islam is first in a way that can only be experienced by Muslims. In the following stage, seeds of Islam that can be implemented

within the state should be laid first in an individual context. Therefore, people cannot reach a conclusion on social scale without experiencing Islam alone. The society in which a Muslim life is being experienced will establish an Islamic order by itself (Özdenören, 2017: 142-143).

The fundamental element in the root of civilizations is the mentality of individuals. Reflection of this in behavior comes in second. After people have grasped the facts according to their own intellect, they pass on to externalize their attitude to the facts. Thus, it is concluded that the expression is not a reason but a result. The way of establishing Islam as a social system is the observance of the issues declared by the revelation of individuals. The Islamic thought that permeates the conscience of individuals will then spread to their life and eventually to the social order. Revelation in West has no effect on social life. At this point, there are structural differences between two systems.

In the western concept, the ideas that derive from the fracture of the church can say that even the religion is produced by the human, by giving mankind divinity. However, this is different in Islam. After understanding the nature of religion, Muslim attempts to explain the universe and facts. Islam is not a theoretical and mental event, or just a mystical experience, but rather an actual and a practical religion. Therefore, their provisions shall not be limited to Hereafter. First it requires intervention in the world order. It must be intertwined with the state, politics and science. The cases should be handled with a Muslim consciousness according to Islamic concept. It is unacceptable to have a divisional structure. Therefore, at this point, a deductive method is being followed. Contrariwise, the interpretation of religion in a profane manner degrades it into a level of a humane, secular reality rather than a divine reality. Since the conditions of Islam are entirely completed, it is not allowed to turn back and articulate. He is alone and is the final product of divine power. He does not accept any other fact to be decisive or in reconciliation with it (Özdenören, 2016a: 19-22).

Considering reconciliation, there should be more than one party and a difference of opinion, insight or interest between them. The parties have to declare their will to eliminate the mentioned differences. On the other hand, in the subject matter of reconciliation, the parties should have ability to dispose. If the difference in the declarations is resolved, reconciliation can be achieved. However, if a situation exceeds the authority of the parties, the possibility of reconciliation is eliminated. From this point of view, a Muslim's declaration of consensus on Islam is always superstitious (Özdenören, 2017a: 459).

The reflection of trust in phenomena such as intellect and science in Western thought system has created the opinion that it will reflect it in an objective way. Nowadays, the Western view of Islam is in this direction, meanwhile the Muslim section who does not know beans about its culture or looking for the solution of the problems in the West also evaluates the facts in same perspective.

Islam is not a group of worship which is trapped in the conscience of individual. It essentially reflects a society and law order. Orders and bans are related to this social order. While worship depends on will of individual in the West, it is in a position that concerns public order in Islam and not left to the choice of individual and not bound to his will. On the other hand, in Islam social institutions are for implementation in this world. The acts contrary to the public order prescribed by Islam are subject to the sanctions imposed by Islam. As a result, in Islam there is a single authority; religion. The organization of religious provisions refers to the state and the state represents the will of God on earth (Özdenören, 2016b: 129-133).

Since our point of view is shaped by non-Islamic criterias instead of focusing on Islam, it is possible to perceive the facts within the framework of these criterias. In order to determine whether an issue is Islamic or not, the criterion is to look at whether or not god's sake is in question. This is also the case for political, social and worship issues (Özdenören, 2017c: 143). According to Özdenören:

Unless accepting that on the basis of the pro-Western policy since 1840 and the belief that Turkey cannot survive without West, it is not a prophecy to say that the same dilemma will persist in a vicious cycle. This claim consists of a simple phenomenon. In other words, it is a matter of expressing a certain phenomenon related to the past rather than the future (Özdenören, 2016b: 17).

The reason of the indecisive situation of Muslims is seen as looking at the phenomenon by the West with the mirror it holds or, in a more concrete expression, Westernization in spite of all odds. The first step that should be taken in the case of return to the essence of events is to give up trying for Westernization.

The essence of the Westernization activity is the attempt to validate Western mentality among all the world. In this way, it is aimed that the events take place in the way West wants. For other civilizations, this issue is not so much a problem, but for Muslims, is of vital importance. This is because the choice between faith and faithlessness. When the Islamic view is not preferred as a social perspective, the social ground is broken off from Islam even though individuals have an Islamic view (Özdenören, 2016b: 19-21).

It should not be forgotten that institutions and concepts in the countries where Westernization is effective are also Western. In Westernizing countries, laicism is a concept that is being discussed. However, to speak about secularism in a society without church is wasting time. Similarly, when we talk about democracy, Islam is considered as a democratic religion, and socialism as a socialist party in Islam. This shows an attitude that Muslims have been acquainted with for a few centuries (Özdenören, 2017a: 94).

It is not possible to appear laicism in a social structure dominated by Islam, as in other cases of Western culture. However, it was brought into Turkey from Europe in historical process.

The transfer of secularism can be handled in two ways. First, it can be said that the aim is to make a transition to a Western social and political structure, and second, the state aims to take control of religious activities. At this point, it should be emphasized that the concept differs from its meaning in the West. It is thought that the second possibility is considered more important in the administrative order. According to Özdenören; “It is useful to remind the following: While the legal and social institutions of their civilizations in Western countries were developed, in the Turkish political system after the Tanzimat, all legal institutions were established in a top-down style as laicism and others. There was no question of laicism being in the social and political structure of Islam. This could be possible in countries where religion (church) and political power (state), like the Western society, were separate authorities, or even as opposed to each other (Özdenören, 2016b: 130).

As a result, with daily discussion topics, behavior patterns, institutions and concepts, West is complete in itself. It reflects a way of thought that is meaningful with its cultural background. For other societies, an approach that suggests accepting or rejecting the West in parts will be just a deception. It seems inevitable that societies that seek to modernize adopt the value judgments required by the West as a part of the whole.

The issue of laicism is perhaps the most prominent point in this respect. Because there is a direct contact instead of coinciding with the concept of religion indirectly. The phenomenon of laicism, which frees the individual's conscience from revelation and frees it in his will, has the task of being one of the elements that undertakes the task of being the cornerstone of the modern Western mentality. However, it is an unacceptable attribute for the Islamic thought system. In Islam; it is essential to base all related to material world and Hereafter on revelation, whereas laicism, taking religion out of center the state and individual, has been rejected from the ground up.

1.4 Culture, Tradition and Social Transformation

Human being interacts with the society in which he was born and grew, the environment living in and belief systems. The system of belief and thought that is valid in spiritual world of individuals and the social order that they built according to their own value judgments in material world are defined as “culture” in general. Therefore, there is an

organic link between environment people live in, behavior patterns and culture. According to Özdenören:

The scope of culture constitutes of two elements; one of them is the objective world; the other is the inner world of man, in other words his attitude of mind, i.e. his mentality. The objective world, in other words, the outer world in which man lives, composed of things of all descriptions like property and clothes. In addition, behavior patterns of human being are images of his culture reflected in outer world. I'm not saying today's architectural style, but when it comes to architectural style of periods in which Islam lived as a way of life, its relation with Muslim way of life is appreciable. Thus we can say that the basic and essential factor that creates a culture stems from our attitude of mind (Özdenören, 2016b: 28-29).

Culture is primarily a product of people's and their society's view of life. For this reason, every culture has a function to meet needs of its society. In other words, the situation that must be in relation between human and culture is that culture satisfies needs of people by its institutions and practices. The fact that human beings adapt to living in a culture that does not conform to their intellectual life through sacrifice is essentially the result of a false thought.

Culture, as it is a nature of the community that brings itself to life, it is not possible for a society to be free from concepts of itself. In this context, Western culture and Islamic culture are fundamentally different. In order to express this in a concrete manner, both cultures should be observed in their own course and by their main sources.

As the dominant factor in society is human being, it is appropriate to take the issue of perspective for humanity in terms of Islam and Western culture separately.

According to Özdenören, three basic points of Western culture are; Roman law, Greek philosophy and Christianity. In Roman law, there are two applications for slaves and citizens. A slave is accepted as an object which has no humanly qualifications, can be

bought and sold and completely owned by possessor. Citizen law, also, putting a deceitful type of man who regards people as non-valuable, lacks in good faith, devotes to his interests, ignores spiritual principles, in the basis of the approach and seeking remedies to restrain this person. On the other hand, Greek philosophy adopts the same slave and citizen distinction, on the other hand, theorizes about state in a polytheistic and confrontational closed-site concept. This confrontational structure constitutes the essence of universal state idea and humanist approach that will emerge in the future. The meaning of Christianity is not the system of religion that comes with Jesus, but a structure whose source is humanized. Islam does not see human as an entity that contains deity, and qualifies him as the most valuable among created and does not prefer them by race or another material approach. Slavery, which is at the basis of the West culture and an element in the subconscious of today's human being, is not an institutional system in the opposite direction of the West, but a matter related to captivity. When it comes to systematic of law, there is a system based on existence of good will and principles of trust different from the West. The general principles of Islamic law, such as “pacta sunt servanda” and “ignorance of the law excuses no one”, are diversified in this direction (Özdenören, 2016b: 54-61).

Christianity has followed a course other than the announcement by losing its essence based on revelation and interacted with old Greek thought system, which is another of the roots of Western culture. As a result of this, it has been evolved to a structure able to be expressed by mind, and the idea that religion and state are different and independent facts became popular later (Özdenören, 2017b: 176).

Interpreting cultures other than its own, West has always acted in the direction of his own criteria and pre-acceptance. However, it was not considered whether the same criteria and pre-acceptance are valid for non-Western culture participants. Thus, the result reached within the limits drawn by the values of West. Accordingly, other societies were classified as underdeveloped, backward or primitive. In societies that are outside the West and who choose the way of westernization, the same value judgments are considered valid, and labeling does not create any dissatisfaction. Because it is assumed that the result is

presented with scientific data and this reflects an objective situation. On the other hand, Western culture and thought system has penetrated into minds of individuals because of deepening motives of Westernization over time, and even the proposal of thinking different from this culture has got reaction. However, neither science is unique, nor the values and judgments of West have an absolute certainty (Özdenören, 2016b: 33-36).

As in case of Islam, West is integrated with its own conception and institutions. Therefore, views and ideologies that take their origin from Western thought structure and value judgments should be accepted as different reflections of same culture.

While looking at present reflections of Western culture, it is observed that there has been a transformation in the previous stages that reveals the result of the declaration of differentiation and independence over time, after religion and state struggled for sovereignty. Parallel to this transformation, while there is a contrast between Christianity and notions of knowledge and intellect, the perception of religion as a way to reach truth is engraved as a result of destruction of repressive system of Church and loss of power in this struggle. In this way, attempts to demolish dogmas of church through scientific research and their efforts to disseminate the perception of irreligion progressed together (Özdenören, 2016b: 89).

The slave perspective, which is at the core of Western culture, emerged as colonialism when balance of power in world politics turned in favor of Western countries. For this reason, to see colonialism as a step in the way of maximizing economic interest will be to ignore the actual source that feeds it.

According to Özdenören, colonialism is not only a matter of economic reason, but also a reflection of Christianity in the way of establishing universal site. However, the universal site, which is intended to be established with a Western approach, will not be able to make sure that only one race or society is dominant. It is not possible to establish dominance in a

place where there is no absolute understanding of justice for all people (Özdenören, 2017b: 178-179).

While interpreting facts in terms of differences of cultural structures, there are Western culture and value judgments on one side and Islam and its systematics on the other. At this stage, the structure, nature and formation characteristics of Islamic culture should be put forth.

Islam should first be seen as a religion which should be evaluated in its own and does not aim at only spiritual satisfaction. Because spiritual needs are not only met by religion but also by art, science and literature. A different attitude may also give rise to the idea that religion can be substituted by these areas. Islam is a system with provisions and institutions related to material world. Therefore, it is not only a tool of spiritual satisfaction (Özdenören, 2017b: 105-106). Özdenören's description of the Islamic culture:

Since Islam is self-contained and self-sufficient religion, its culture, which we can define as a way of life that determines environment, attitudes and behaviors of a person in a way, will appear as a unique fact. In other words, Islamic culture is a function of Muslim life style. People who have lifestyle envisaged by Islam will ultimately create an Islamic culture around them. It is seen that the person who kneads his own cultural conditions (especially his environment) started to live with respect to demands of that culture he created later. In other words, if we try to observe the case in a certain time period, we see that human is under influence of culture. He adjusts his own lifestyle with regard to the culture he is in. The more this cultural environment far away from Islam and unfamiliar with it, the more mindset of people based on their behaviours and attitudes be far away from Islam and unfamiliar with it (Özdenören, 2017c: 145).

At this point, there are approaches to evaluate Islam as one of the institutions of culture by ignoring the fact that Islam is shaped by religion and provisions of it. According to these approaches, religion is considered as a tool that provides historical consciousness to individual. In some ways, religion is seen as one of the factors that make up nation. Such an approach brings about the possibility that religion can be abandoned when it loses its social function. However, there is an unnoticed point that religion is not an element of

culture, but a system that can create its own cultural institutions. A muslim who looks at Islam from this aspect and respects to it, rejects the idea that it is an institution that constitutes a culture. In conjunction with this, it should be kept in mind that religion is a personality that comes from revelation rather than a structure formed at an individual or a social platform (Özdenören, 2017b: 108-111).

When we look at the sub-branches of Islamic culture and issues that formed it, it is appropriate to say that the concept of Sufism has an important place. In the words of Özdenören:

Sufism is the name of the process that is envisaged to equip Muslim with Islamic morality. In this process, human being is directed to big jihad, the struggle with self and ways of dhikr and more importantly to practice. Sufism is the identification of worship and taqwa, the inner and outer side, the essence and form of Islam. It is the training of man and especially Muslim to deal with all kinds of idolatry. For those who perceive Islam on such a plane, salaah brings cognizance of satisfaction of man to all gods other than Allah, fasting brings cognizance of saturation of soul, pilgrimage brings cognizance to the house of God and the consecrated land. With these aspects, Sufism is not related to Christian mysticism or to any other mysticism. Islamic mysticism is a phenomenon which exists with the law of Islam (jurisprudence or sharia) and cannot exist without it. The source of Sufism is the Qur'an and his teacher is the Messenger of Allah. There are false charges that Sufism has joined Islam later and it is an innovation was added to Islam after Muhammed (Özdenören, 2017a: 456).

Particularly in non-Muslim world, what makes Islam appealing is mysticism and its moral reflection. However, in order for Sufism to be experienced, it is essential to fulfill the worship required by Sharia. The idea of mysticism without them is seen as an empty mold. From this point of view, Sufism has a special function in terms of re-understanding of Islam by people (Özdenören, 2017a: 458).

The point that is emphasized is that religion cannot be degraded into a social phenomenon like culture because Islam has a sui-generis character. It is an expected attitude to say that religion and tradition are synonymous as in the approach that focuses on Western culture.

One who is unfamiliar with Islam or takes it as a Christian-like religion can consider it as a traditionalist structure. From the perspective of today's society, there is a perception that tradition or in other words unwritten law has an unorthodox role that prevents, suppresses the development process of society. In this direction, people who desire to live a life conventionally are considered to be conservative. Religion is not regarded as a norm in its own course and is accepted in the content of tradition structure. This issue is addressed with similar approaches for Christian individuals. Therefore, there is the understanding that religion can be lived through in the form of dependance on certain habits. In the words of Özdenören, religion has been transformed into a “holy habit” (Özdenören, 2017b: 114).

It is not possible for a Muslim to accept a traditionalist style in West. A tradition in this sense means preservation of existing values, in other words, preservation of existing status. If status deteriorates, it will be necessary to adopt new habits and adapt to them. For this reason, traditionalism has been accepted as an obstacle to advance and progress. This kind of traditionalism is not adopted in Islam. There is no place for innovation after Muhammed in Islam. What is intended is to change the status not to protect. In this respect, instead of current position, it is the goal of re-reaching the level of people who lived essence of Islam in their self-respects. The only status that is desired to be protected is in the “era of bliss” (Asr-ı Saadet). This desire requires a spirit excretion and dynamism. From this point of view, culture is not a tradition for Muslim, but a way of life. Bounding to culture comes from the belief that the purpose of life can be realized through it. This is the meaning of culture. The main purpose of Muslim is not to hide behind past successes, but to live Islam. Therefore, culture which does not provide this environment does not appear to have acceptable content and quality in terms of being Islamic (Özdenören, 2017c: 157-159).

Hence, Islam absolutely refuses to fit into a pattern of tradition or habit. In Islam, the duty of the Muslim is only to serve. Faith system, worship cycle and practices are only intended to fulfill this duty. It is not possible for any tradition or adherence to be decisive in Islam.

One of the concepts deemed necessary to be mentioned when talking about difference between Western and Islamic cultures is the sense of virtue. Both communities look at virtue through the window of their cultural structures and develop different understandings.

According to Özdenören, it is claimed that understanding of virtue is not entirely subjective, but that difference between these two cultures occurs in reaching the consent of God. In Western concept it is important whether the purpose of an action is ethic or not. In a case where a person who pays his debt; it is examined whether the aim is to discharge debt or to deceive someone in order to borrow again. In first case, there is a moral, so a virtuous behavior while the latter is not like this. In Islam, what sought in this action is the consent of God. In a voluntary manner without sensualism, and behaviors towards the sake of God are regarded as virtuous (Özdenören, 2017b: 139-142).

Another reflection of cultural difference is the concept of lore. While by some, lore only refers to a state of knowledge or to be knowledgeable, in fact, the term “lore” involves the ability of the human to reach what they know by not knowing.

In practice and daily use, the concept of “lore” seems to be substituted for culture. However, the concept of culture in sociology does not bear the same meaning as in daily use. The daily use of culture is abstract as indicated in the example of “cultured man” who is used instead of intellectual. However, the equivalent of culture in sociology is based on a fact that predicates on attitudes and behaviors of human beings, develops through their needs and produces various institutions and tools in this field. In a way, the material facts are expressed through the concept of culture. “Lore”, on the other hand, is an abstract concept related to knowing and aiming to reach what they do not know. At this point, there are differences between mentalities of the wise person and intellectual one. Intellectual reaches to conclusion by making inferences through some data given, whereas intuitive elements are included in attitudes and behaviours of the wise one. Here, intrinsic tendencies rather than external data come to the fore (Özdenören, 2017b: 91-92).

In addition to relation between culture and lore, there are those who want to deal with a similar approach with the concept of “prosperity” (umran) or culture (hars).

While culture is a kind of body of tools produced at the point of satisfying human needs, and in this direction expresses a life style and body of behaviors, the concept “hars” is a product that is produced later and is intended to be replaced instead of culture. Culture in every period of humanity and in every society has constituted with a unique structure. Rejecting its own culture because of certain orientations and trying to fill the gap that will arise from it with some concepts will be just sisyphian tasks (Özdenören, 2017b: 98-99).

Western culture and thought systematic has declared its hegemony in today’s world. In non-Western societies, those whose approach is similar to Western viewpoint are in a tendency to attach Islam the fact that it does no longer make sense to individuals.

At this point there are declarations in this way: “Islam was a valid system within a simple social structure, now social and legal institutions and organizations are so complex that the rules which were once capable of responding to simple relations of ordinary people cannot meet today’s needs. However, the approach that time-varying quantitative differences will eliminate the facts of qualifications that were valid before is unable to go beyond groundless theorems. Therefore, it is not possible to say that Islam is no longer valid (Özdenören, 2017c: 47).

The process of interaction of cultures, one's dominance on other are not always progressing in usual way, and are often carried out by means of repression. In history of Turkey there were turning points to this manner. According to Özdenören these points are declaration of Tanzimat and Republic. In this context, it is possible to subordinate society to non-Islamic order in a period that has developed outside of itself and internalize this within time and take present environment naturally for individuals (Özdenören, 2017c: 146).

Tanzimat period, which was accepted as the first stage of Turkish modernization, led to formation of a culture that desires to connect Western culture and the facts that it yielded with this specific culture and its concepts and institutions by joints. By the way, the birth of a dual mechanism in social life was realized.

During Tanzimat period, “partitioned institutions” which were first adopted in administrative field, established a division structure in mentalities in later stages. Bilateral implementation was characteristic in this period. As a result of mentioned practice, it was thought that religious and Nizamiye courts in justice, Western tendency schools and madrasahs in education, may coexist together and the belief that Islamic elements can exist throughout and within non-Islamic ones in intellectual realm emerged and settled. This took effect on those who chose to be Western and who essentially asked for protection of Islamic system. Both the adoption of preservation of basic values and defending importation of Western institutions and concepts emerged as a manifestation of “partitioned structure”. The synthesis efforts made over time were the attempts made to ensure that mentioned “partitioned structure” can be placed in social life (Özdenören, 2017b: 25-26).

The reflection of human behavior has a course related to their culture. As appropriate for its culture, Western society is in a parallel manner with a materialistic moral philosophy. However, the cultural interaction, whether voluntary or by oppression, causes individuals to move away from a system which is yield of their own culture.

On the occasion of modernization, people who reshape themselves according to Western norms are becoming more and more identifiable with Western cultural system. This is seen in internal structure of human and also in his perception of outside world. Therefore, a society that thinks like West, lives like it and has the institutions of it, is realized. Thus, there is a process of imitation. In the words of Özdenören; “This process has not keep up with our intellectual world. In fact, imitation is nothing but a manifestation of inner adoption” (Özdenören, 2017b: 101-102).

Since Islamic way of life was interrupted after initiation of Westernization attempts, a cultural gap was formed between complete Muslim and existing Muslim. Complete muslims are seen as companions of Muhammed and it is not possible to compare this group with today's individual. However, since this is the ideal type of living Islam, this example is used in order to reveal this gap. The result of Westernization process is that there is a cultural difference rather than a cultural gap between these two Muslim types. Because understanding, attitude, values and judgments are now built on different foundations (Özdenören, 2017b: 103).

As a result, the essence of cultural differences cannot be considered independent of the processes and factors involved in formation of those cultures. Culture in Islamic societies, has come to life as a deduction. Here, Islam is a determinant, and culture is shaped according to conditions set by Islam. However, in Western style, religion is seen as one of the factors that constitute culture. These points are important in conflict between religion and modernization. As modernized societies want to establish Western culture and institutions and concepts related to this culture instead of their own cultures, the process of breaking away from Islamic culture will accelerate. Because Islam, except for an environment prescribed by its own systematic, will not maintain its existence in full. There are rules that are no longer Islam, that is not based on revelation, and which are the product of humane factors. For this reason, abandoning non-Islamic elements and reorienting to Islam at first as an individual and then as society, are presented as must do's in a society believing in Islam.

CONCLUSION

When analyzing the relationship between religion and modernization, firstly, how these elements evolved in a universal dimension are examined. In this context, in theoretical background of the concept of modernization, it is seen that there is a philosophy of enlightenment that bases sources of facts on “reason” by refusing to be determinant of elements originating from religion, tradition and metaphysics in every field related to life and desires to dominate nature and other people with continuous progress. In parallel with this, secularism, which envisages elimination of power of phenomena such as religion, tradition, dogma and metaphysics over state and social life and laicism, which expresses separation of religion and state affairs, emerges as underlying factors of modernism.

In relationship between religion and modernization, there is a power struggle between religion which is seen in the category of tradition and modernism which adopts concrete and rational knowledge according to basic proposition of modernism.

In case of Turkish modernization; the point of departure of movement was to eliminate the deteriorations in administration and to restore the state, which had lost its power in world politics, to its old days. Although westernization actually began in the late 18th century, prioritising military necessities, a political transformation began since declaration of Tanzimat. Thus, it was aimed to revive a state which was about to collapse by new principles. In education and justice: Old institutions were maintained on one hand and Western-style institutions were added to system on the other. Thus, a dual mechanism was implemented. The promises given to Christians by the Edict of Reform were reiterated. Together with these two Edicts, Ottomanism began to develop, an idea that gives everyone equal rights and thus aims to keep them loyal to the state and prevent separatist movements. During the reign of Abdulhamit II, firstly the idea of Ottomanism, but then an Islam-oriented policy was adopted. In this sense, it was aimed to keep Muslim subjects in the Ottoman Empire together and to gather Muslim communities in other countries around the Caliphate. After the declaration of Constitutional Monarchy II, Islamist policy was replaced by Ottomanism. In the following process, separatist movements, wars and migrations led to the gathering of people of same language, religion or origin and gave rise to development of Turkish Nationalism.

In company with Kemalism, which became dominant along with proclamation of the Republic, the course of events differed. Islam, a radical secularism against intrinsic tradition within it, a nationalism that embraces cultural homogeneity, even if not ethnic, and an all pervading state bureaucracy, lie at the core of Kemalism. With the help of bureaucratic power, it was aimed to completely break ties of society with tradition and to establish a modern nation state in a secular style and a new civilization as in West. A political authoritarianism was adopted in order to realize the change process in West in a short time.

Within the framework of Özdenören's perspective, Westernization attempts were intensively criticized. At this point, Western and Islamic cultures were analyzed separately, and reasons why facts derived from another source cannot be found in Islamic culture were emphasized. Prominent considerations as a whole in Özdenören's approach, generally modernization and in particular the relationship between religion and modernization are mentioned below;

(a) Religion and state in the West are independent powers. The power struggle experienced by these forces led to the emergence of new governance mechanisms and ideologies in Western society. The systems and approaches that can be diversified as in the case of democracy, secularism, laicism and nationalism stem from the West's own internal Dynamics. The power struggle experienced in the historical process has created a structure based on the mind and human will in the West. In the process of this formation, the religion or concrete expression of the church was dominant in the society and the people were in an environment of oppression and exploitation. As the institution of the church weakened in the balance of power, facts as the state and the individual became dominant. Thus, although the provisions of the religion of Christianity have been disrupted in social life, they have been removed from the agenda.

(b) This internal conflict in the West has not been experienced in the Islamic world. The only source in Islamic order is religion. Religion has remained intact and maintained its validity. The state is on the stage on a duty to ensure the practice of religion. Similarly, Islamic culture is obliged to reveal the necessary structures in order to help religion to be practiced comfortably in society. In this context, it is not seen as one of the factors

constituting religious culture. On the contrary, culture is shaped in connection with the principles of Islam.

(c) The facts that constitute the source of today's Western culture are considered as Roman law, Greek philosophy and Christian religion. The society's view of the events and the manner of behavior are essentially shaped according to these facts. These institutions have no place in Islamic culture. Law systematics, state administration and consequently people's movements are shaped in accordance with Islamic provisions. Because a source other than revelation does not have a validity of a source in Islam.

(ç) Instead of accepting the results of a society's own essence, trying to imitate the facts valid in other cultures is considered to be equivalent to the construction of unfounded structures. Modernization and policies implemented in this way are attempts to break the ties of the human belief system.

(d) Considering the subject from the perspective of Turkish society, it is argued that policies of breaking away from Islam were brought to the agenda through an initiative based on the Tanzimat era. On the one hand, Westernization and on the other hand, separation from Islam were realized simultaneously. The people of Anatolia adopted Islam and maintained with the institutions and concepts produced in the culture formed on this basis. With the modernization, the concepts and institutions of Western culture were started to be imported and the idea of using the mentioned facts together with the domestic ones was adopted. Until the proclamation of the Republic, this approach was focused and the new structure and the old structure were tried to be used together. However, the proclamation of the Republic and the Kemalist period expressed a sharp twist. Because now it was only aimed at establishing a Western style state and society, and in this context, it was essential to eliminate all related to old culture. In line with this idea, the society was asked to adopt the policies implemented without considering the intention and choice.

(e) From Rasim Özdenören's perspective, this situation cannot be accepted. People should live in reference to the system they want. In fact, this desire comes to light spontaneously in the periods when the oppressing environment is abolished. Therefore, what need to be done in a society believing in Islam is to abandon non-Islamic elements and return to Islam

both as an individual and as a society. The solution of problems in such a society is presented as the re-implementation of the Islamic system.



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