IMAGINING THE TURKISH MEN AND WOMEN:
NATIONALISM, MODERNISM AND MILITARISM IN PRIMARY SCHOOL
TEXTBOOKS, 1928-2000

by

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ABSTRACT

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Kancı, Tuba
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By focusing on public education in general and textbooks in particular, this dissertation aims to provide insight into the formation and successive reconfigurations of national identity in Turkey. The research draws upon the primary school textbooks used in Turkey from 1928 to 2000. It analyzes the frameworks within which attempts have been made to (re)formulate the identities of the people, and seeks answers to the question of how the nation is 'imagined.' It is argued that public education is both one of the means and the loci used for imagining the national self, and that these imaginings, reflected in the textbooks, employ the discourses of nationalism, modernization and militarism interdependently, setting the boundaries of the national self in specific ways.

As the transmitters of officially organized knowledge, textbooks are among the sources that can be studied in analyzing the political and social order, as well as the formation of the body-politic and selves. Thus, by concentrating on gender as the main axis of the research, this dissertation carries out discourse analysis of the textbooks used in primary education, which, by virtue of being compulsory, reflect mass education in Turkey. The research covers a lengthened period of time so as to uncover the shifting boundaries of national identity, the formulation of which was attempted through education. As textbooks are analyzed with respect to the discourses of nationalism, modernization and militarization, the ways these discourses design and delimit the imaginings of the national self are uncovered along with the dependencies between them.

Keywords: national identity, education, nationalism, modernization, militarism

ÖZET

TÜRK ERKEĞİ VE KADININI HAYAL ETMEK:
İLKOKUL DERS KİTAPLARINDA MİLLİYETÇİLİK, MODERNLİK VE
MİLİTARİZM, 1928-2000

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Bu doktora tezi temelde örgün eğitim ve özelde de ders kitaplarının analizine odaklanarak, milli kimliğin kurgulanma ve yeniden biçimlendirilme süreçlerini aydınlatmayı amaçlamaktadır. Araştırma, Türkiye'de 1928'den 2000'e kadar kullanılan ilkokul ders kitaplarının incelenmesine dayanarak, kimliklerin hangi çerçeveler içinde tasarlandığını incelemekte ve ulusun nasıl hayal edildiği sorusuna cevap aramaktadır. Örgün eğitimin, milli benliğin şekillendiği ve kimliklerin yeniden üretiminin sağlandığı temel araç ve alanlardan biri olduğu, ayrıca bu yeniden üretimin ders kitaplarına milliyetçilik, modernleşme ve militarizm söylemleri eksenlerinde yansıdığı, ders kitaplarına yansıyan bu milli kimlik kurgularının da bu söz konusu eksenler bağlamında belirlendiği ileri sürülmektedir.

İlköğretim, zorunlu ve kamusal niteliği dolayısıyla, kitleler üzerinde belirleyici etkiye sahiptir. Ders kitapları resmi olarak düzenlenmiş söylemlerin taşıyıcıları olarak, birey ve toplulukların, ayrıca siyasal ve sosyal düzenin nasıl biçimlendiğini ve yeniden üretildiğini analiz etmek için kullanılabilecek kaynaklardan biridir. Bu noktalardan bakıldığında, bu tezin ilköğretimde kullanılan ders kitaplarını, söylem analizine dayanarak incelediğini söyleyebiliriz. Toplumsal cinsiyet bu araştırmanın ana ekseni olarak belirlenmiştir. Araştırma örgün eğitim üzerinden oluşturulmaya çalışılan milli kimliğin zaman içinde değişen ve keskinleşen sınırlarını ortaya çıkarmak için geniş bir zaman dilimini kapsamaktadır. Ders kitapları milliyetçilik, modernleşme ve militarizm söylemleri ve bu söylemlerin birbirleriyle nasıl ilişkilendirildiği üzerinden analiz edilirken, tüm bu söz konusu söylem ve ilişkilerin milli kimlik kurgularını nasıl sınırlandırdığı incelenmektedir.

Anahtar sözcükler: milli kimlik, eğitim, milliyetçilik, modernleşme, militarizm

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Over the last several years, Turkey has been subject to reform measures directed at the democratization of its laws and polity, as well as the European Union (EU) integration process. At the same time, increasing reactions to such measures, and to the EU integration process, coupled with the radical rise of a 'banal nationalism' in everyday-life have been witnessed. Most recently, a group of high school students in Kırşehir, a city in central Anatolia, replicated the national flag, painting a white cloth with their own blood, and sent it to the military High Commander with a note indicating that they wanted to be martyrs as their ancestors had.[1] This study, focusing on public education in general and textbooks in particular, is an attempt to make such developments intelligible through the analysis of the formation and successive reconfigurations of the national identity in Turkey. It aims to provide a background for understanding the present, and offer explanations for the established 'dependencies' between public education, nationalism, modernization, and militarism by analyzing the textbooks used in primary public education in Turkey. Using Eugene Weber's words, it can be regarded as an attempt at "putting some flesh on the bare bones of general facts that we know already in a general way."[2]

Textbooks are one of the sources that can be used to analyze the political and social order, as well as the formation of the body-politic and selves. Other sources include the writings of intellectuals, the declarations of intent and speeches of the ruling

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[1] See "Kanlarıyla Bayrak Yapan Gençler Konuştu," *Vatan*, 14 January 2008, <http://w9.gazetevatan.com/haberdetay.asp?tarih=14.01.2008&Newsid=156746&Categoryid=1> (17 January 2008); "Bayrağı Yapan Gençler: Gözümüzden Yaş Akmadı," *Sabah*, 14 January 2008, <http://www.sabah.com.tr/2008/01/14//haber,_E8DB8381255E4C8A8553A28D6CEBD365.html> (17 January 2008).

[2] Eugene Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: the Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976), xv.

elite, administrative, parliamentary, and/or judicial policies, laws and documents, literary and/or popular genres and works, and the media. Public mass education, a mechanism for political socialization, social legitimation, as well as the disciplining of populations, has been used worldwide as an instrument for creating social change and realizing the process of nation-building.[3] It has historically been state-sponsored and regulated. National curricula and textbooks, as the transmitters of selected and organized knowledge, are the result of these state-imposed guidelines.[4] In countries such as Turkey, where state-centric curriculum development and textbook production or authorization is the practice, textbooks are the major carriers of the state's discourses. Primary school textbooks, in particular, are materials that are read by most of the population. This is because of the mass character of primary public education and the fact that their internalization is required for succeeding and graduating.[5] Although public education, in general, and textbooks, in particular, can neither be regarded as the main source of modern Turkey, nor as the main reason behind the recent developments in the country, they are nevertheless influential elements.[6]

It is argued in this study that public education is both one of the means and the loci used for the imaging of the national self in Turkey, and that these imaginings,

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[3] Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*; Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism,* Revised ed. (London, New York: Verso, 1991)*;* Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (London, New York: Penguin Books, 1991). For further references, please see the next chapter.

[4] See, for example, Michael Young, ed., *Knowledge and Control: New Direction in the Sociology of Education* (London: Collier MacMillan, 1971); Ivor Goodson, *The Making of Curriculum: Essays in the Social History of Schooling* (London: Falmer Press, 1987); Ivor Goodson, ed., *International Perspectives in Curriculum History* (London, Sydney, Wolfeboro: Croom Helm, 1987); John W. Meyer, et.al., eds., *School Knowledge for the Masses: World Models and National Primary Curricular Categories in the Twentieth Century* (Washington D.C., London: Falmer Press 1992); Thomas S. Popkewitz and Marie Brennan, *Foucault's Challenge: Discourse, Knowledge, and Power in Education*, ed. Popkewitz and Brennan (New York, London: Teachers College Press, 1998); Stephen J. Ball, ed., *Foucault and Education, Disciplines and Knowledge* (London, New York: Routledge, 1990).

[5] However, it should be noted here that the research does not focus on the reception of the material in the textbooks.

[6] Education has been widely regarded as one of the central mechanisms of the making of modern Turkey. See *Cumhurbaşkanları, Başbakanlar ve Milli Eğitim Bakanlarının Milli Eğitimle İlgili Söylev ve Demeçleri* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1946); İlhan Başgöz and Howard Wilson, *Educational Problems in Turkey, 1920-1940* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1968), Fatma Gök, ed., *75 Yılda Eğitim* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1999), Füsun Üstel, *"Makbul Vatandaş"ın Peşinde: II. Meşrutiyet'ten Bugüne Vatandaşlık Eğitimi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004); Ayşe Gül Altınay, *The Myth of the Military-Nation: Militarism, Gender, and Education in Turkey* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); Sam Kaplan, *The Pedagogical State: Education and Politics of National Culture in Post-1980 Turkey* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006); İsmail Kaplan, *Türkiye'de Milli Eğitim İdeolojisi ve Siyasal Toplumsallaşma Üzerindeki Etkisi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1999).

reflected in the textbooks, employ the discourses of nationalism, modernization and militarism interdependently, setting the boundaries of the national self in specific ways. The research, by looking at the primary school textbooks used from 1928 to 2000, seeks answers to the question of how the nation is 'imagined,' and tries to determine the frameworks in which the formulation of the identities of the people has been attempted.[7] As textbooks are analyzed with respect to the discourses of nationalism, modernization and militarization, the ways these discourses design and delimit the imaginings of the national self are uncovered along with the dependencies between them.

The dependencies between nationalism, modernization and militarism, in addition to the interlinked usage of these discourses in the imaginings of the national self are not unique to Turkey. They can be seen throughout the world, e.g., nineteenth and early-twentieth-century-Europe. Especially in Germany, such dependencies were established in the early days of nation-state building, and were strengthened over the years, reaching a zenith in the 1930s. Although Germany has been one of the prime examples where the imaginings of the national self were closely structured by an ultra-nationalist and militarist discourse, which at the same time pervaded public education, the post-Second World War period witnessed the successful undoing of these dependencies, especially in the place of education and textbooks.[8] The unveiling of such dependencies and the delimitations they brought to the imaginings of the national self is indeed a step in undoing these dependencies.

1.1. Methodological Focus, Research Questions and Delimitations of the Research

In order to provide a multilayered analysis of national identity formation from the angle of the discourses of nationalism, modernization and militarism, this study conducts a discourse analysis of the textbooks used in primary public education in Turkey between the years 1928-2000. The research focuses on the textbooks used in primary public education because primary education by virtue of being compulsory

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[7] For the definition of nation as "an imagined community," see Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

[8] See Yasemin Nuhoğlu Soysal, "Identity and Transnationalization in German School Textbooks," in *Censoring History: Citizenship and Memory in Japan, Germany and the United States,* ed. Laura Hein and Mark Seldan (New York, London: M. E. Sharpe Inc, 2000), 127-149.

reflects mass education in Turkey. The analysis begins with the early formative years of the Republic, the year 1928 being significant because of the change in the alphabet. The main focus of the research is on "how" rather than "when" the national self and the nation are imagined. Nation-building is taken to be a process that requires rounds of restructuring rather than as a one-time event, and national identity is regarded as evolving within time.[9] The research, by focusing on a lengthened period of time, involves seeking the shifting, as well as unchanging boundaries of the imagined national identity, the formulation of which was attempted through public mass education in Turkey. The question of "when" is taken into consideration with respect to the shifts and transformations in the discourses of nationalism, modernization and militarism, which are reflected in the imaginings of national identity. Gender is taken into account throughout the research as the major axis of the analysis.

The term discourse is used in this study in a broader context than either its dictionary meaning or the meaning it acquired with the "linguistic turn" in the academic world of the 1950s and 1960s. The dictionary meaning of the term refers to conversation, talk; spoken or written treatment of a subject; communication of thought by speech; or the faculty of reasoning.[10] The "linguistic turn," based on the Saussurian model of language, led to a deep impetus in social science, the effect of which has been felt for decades. In this intellectual "turn," the text was reinterpreted as *text;* schools of literary and cultural theory, as well as philosophy, concentrated on text as "the object of the study," and became engaged with it "on its own terms rather than as something to be explained with reference to external factors."[11] Textuality was emphasized, and discourse was treated "simply as the text, or spoken word or as language in the sense of communication." Within this context, "discourse analysis" was based on the practice of textual deconstruction -- "unraveling the traces of meaning buried in *the text's operations*."[12]

The meaning employed in this study with regard to discourse does not focus on the textual structures or utterances; it goes beyond the boundaries of *langue* and *parole*.

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[9] Sylvia Walby, "Woman and Nation," *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* 3, no.1-2, (1992), 81-100; Anna Triandafyllidou and Anna Paraskevopoulou, "When is the Greek Nation? The Role of Enemies and Minorities," *Geopolitics* 7, no.2 (2002), 75-98.

[10] *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., s.v. "discourse."

[11] Michele Barrett, *The Politics of Truth: From Marx to Foucault* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 124.

[12] Ibid., 125, my emphasis.

It follows the lines of Foucauldian re-conceptualizations of the idea of discourse, which were developed with reference to broader contexts. With this re-conceptualization, discourse was moved away from being simply a technical, linguistic accomplishment. It was developed as the focus of an alternative theoretical model other than the one based on the concept of ideology, which is "enmeshed in the determinist base-superstructure model within Marxism," opening up new horizons of analysis intimately bound to the field of political science.[13] This shift from ideology to discourse did not occur as a direct substitution of the latter for the former.

The type of discourse theory to which Foucault contributed treated discourse in terms of bodies of knowledge, constitutive of both subjectivity and power relations, constraining and enabling the self. Discourses are "the epistemological enforces" constituting the practices responsible for "what (as well as how) people thought, lived and spoke."[14] Foucault's historical description of discursive practices "consists of not … treating discourses as groups of signs … but as *practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak.*" Foucault maintains that "discourses are composed of signs;" but he further argues that "they do more than simply use these signs to designate things. It is this *more* that renders them irreducible to the language (*langue*) and to speech. It is this 'more' that we must reveal and describe."[15]

This change of emphasis in the conceptualization of the term culminated in looking at discourses at the level of the statement, both in written and spoken form. The discursive field is composed of the subset of statements which cannot be equated to propositions, sentences, and speech acts, and which contain truth claims. Discourse analysis entails detailed textual documentation as well as the analysis of historical and contextual factors.[16] It enables "seeing historically how effects of truth are produced within discourses which in themselves are neither true nor false."[17] It uncovers the historical and contextual specificity of what is said and what remains unsaid, what we can know, and how we can act. As Barrett stresses "This is, perhaps, the most important

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[13] Ibid., 123.

[14] Edward Said, "Michel Foucault, 1926-1984," in *After Foucault*, ed. Jonathan Arac (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 10.

[15] Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 49. Original emphasis.

[16] Alec McHoul and Wendy Grace, *A Foucault Primer, Discourse, Power and the Subject* (London: UCL Press, 1995), 30-31, 35-41.

[17] Michel Foucault, "Truth and Power," in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (Brighton: Harvester, 1980), 118.

general point to grasp about Foucault's concept of a discourse: it enabled us to understand how *what* is said fits into a network that has its own history and conditions of existence."[18] Such an analysis is also based on revealing the different complex relations, "the play of dependencies," within and among discourses and non-discursive formations. For realizing such a multifaceted analysis, Foucault differentiates between three aspects of "the play of dependencies": *intradiscursive* (between the objects, operations, concepts, within one discursive formation); *interdiscursive* (between different discursive transformations); *extradiscursive* (between discursive and non-discursive transformations). He substitutes these analyses based on the "play of dependencies" between discursive formations for "the uniform, simple notion of assigning causality", and suspends "the indefinitely extended privileges of the cause, in order to render apparent the polymorphous cluster of correlations."[19]

Drawing upon from these insights provided by Foucauldian re-conceptualizations of the idea of discourse and discourse analysis, this study provides an analysis of the discourses of nationalism, modernization, and militarism by focusing on the primary school textbooks. As the research undertakes the analysis of the textbooks with respect to these themes, it looks for the play of intradiscursive and interdiscursive dependencies within and between the discourses of nationalism, modernization and militarism, as well as the extradiscursive dependencies between these discourses and the non-discursive transformations (such as socio-political transformations). Through such an analysis, the specifics of the imaginings of the national self provided in the textbooks, as well as the defining lines and the set boundaries of national order are unveiled.

The analysis first uses the ethnic-civic nationalism typology as a heuristic device in order to deconstruct the discourse of nationalism presented in the textbooks. The research at this point focuses on the following questions: How are the civic or ethnic elements used in the discourse of nationalism employed in the textbooks? Where are women in these civic and/or ethnic imaginings of the nation? Has this discourse of nationalism intersected at any point with other discourses, modernization and militarism? Have any changes and shifts occurred within time in the discourses of nationalism presented in the textbooks regarding the ethnic and civic sources of the

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[18] Barrett, *The Politics of Truth*, 126.

[19] Michel Foucault, "Politics and the Study of Discourse," *Ideology and Consciousness* 3 (1978), 7-26; quoted in Barrett, *The Politics of Truth*, 129-130. Barrett argues that Foucault presents such an analysis in reference to the determinist base-superstructure model in Marxism.

nation? The analysis with respect to the discourse of nationalism also concentrates on the concept of 'other.' The textbooks are analyzed to see if they present various people, nations and states as the 'others' of the nation. The research is undertaken with respect to the following questions: On what bases are peoples, nations and/or states represented in the textbooks as the 'others' of the nation? Are there any categorical and/or hierarchical differences between them? Have any changes occurred within time with respect to these specified 'others' of the nation? Are the civic and/or ethnic sources of the nationalist discourse utilized in these conceptualizations of the other? Have the discourse of nationalism, defined along the construction and naming of 'others,' intersected at any point with the other discourses analyzed in this study -- the discourses of modernization and militarism?

The analysis also concentrates on what is considered as modernization, and the concept and the discourses of 'modern,' through the lens of gender. The deconstruction of textbooks with respect to the discourse of modernization focuses on the following questions: What are the defining parameters of the Republican men and women presented in the textbooks? How is gender employed in the formulations of this new social order? Are there other visible and/or marginalized men and women in the textbooks, and what are their relations to these ideal models? How are the discourses of nationalism and militarism used to delineate the conceptualizations of the modern, realized in the textbooks through the representations of the hegemonic and subordinated men and women? What changes occurred within time in these hegemonic and subordinated men and women constructions represented in the textbooks, and under which socio-political contexts have these changes occurred?

The study at the same time deconstructs the discourse of militarism presented in the textbooks. Apart from the questions presented above, the analysis is undertaken also with respect to the following questions: Are wars, enemies, and defense of the territories, homeland, nation, and/or state among the recurrent themes of the textbooks? How and with references to which contexts are war-making and enemies emphasized? How are men and women represented with respect to the issue of defense? Is military service signified as a requirement of citizenship, a duty towards the state; if not, how else it is defined? How is the relation between military service and men, as well as between women formulated in the textbooks? Are self-sacrifice, death, and/or violence exalted in the textbooks, if so, in which contexts? Have the discourse of militarism intersected with the discourses of nationalism and modernization? What changes and

shifts have occurred within time, and under which socio-political contexts have they occurred?

There have also been other studies focusing on the textbooks used in Turkey with similar aims: Üstel's study on the civic textbooks used in the primary and secondary schools analyzing the changes in the notion of citizenship since the Second Constitutional Period; Antoniou and Soysal's work on the history textbooks used in the lower secondary school education in Greece and Turkey since the 1950s analyzing the conceptualizations of nation and identity; Copeaux's study on the official Turkish historiography as presented in the history textbooks used in Turkey in the primary and secondary schools between the years 1931 and 1993; Altınay's study of the textbooks of the national security studies courses focusing on the nation-building and militarization processes in Turkey; and Helvacıoğlu's work which analyzes gender discrimination in the primary and secondary school textbooks used in Turkey between 1928 and 1995.[20] Compared with these studies, this research covers a lengthened period of time, from 1928 to 2000. The sample analyzed in this study is also an extended one. This study, different from the existing literature, is based on a varied number of textbooks, other than being focused on one course book. However, it is specifically limited to the textbooks used in the primary school; the latter reflecting the standardized mass education in Turkey. The focus of this study is also a much broader one. Rather than concentrating on the conceptualizations of nation, identity, citizenship, and/or the notion of gender equality/discrimination *per se*, this study looks at these conceptualizations from the angle of nationalism, modernization and militarism. It analyses the specific and interlinked utilization of the discourses of nationalism, modernization and militarism in the imaginings of the national self in the place of education, which in turn defines the (re)constructions of identities. It provides a critique of the specifics of the political and social order through a multilayered analysis of these specific discourses, which also pays attentions to the dimensions of time and gender.

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[20] Üstel, *"Makbul Vatandaş"ın Peşinde;* Vasilia Lilian Antoniou and Yasemin Nuhoğlu Soysal, "Conceptualizations of the Nation and the Other in Greek and Turkish History Textbooks," in *The Nation, Europe and the World: Textbooks and Curricula in Transition*, ed. Hannah Schissler and Yasemin Nuhoğlu Soysal (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2004), 105-121; Etienne Copeaux, *Tarih Ders Kitaplarında (1931-1993) Türk Tarih Tezinden Türk-İslam Sentezine*, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2000); Altınay, *The Myth of the Military-Nation*; Firdevs Helvacıoğlu, *Ders Kitaplarında Cinsiyetçilik: 1928-1995* (İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 1996). See also Ayşe Gül Altınay, "Human Rights or Militarist Ideals? Teaching National Security in High Schools," in *Human Rights Issues in Textbooks: the Turkish case*, ed. Deniz Tarba Ceylan, and Gürol Irzık (İstanbul: History Foundation of Turkey, 2004), 76-90.

As stated above, this study is based on a varied number of course textbooks; the textbooks analyzed from 1928 to 2000 are the life sciences textbooks [*hayat bilgisi kitapları*], the language readers and/or Turkish language textbooks [*kıraat kitapları, okuma kitapları, Türkçe kitapları*], the history textbooks [*tarih kitapları*], the social studies textbooks [*sosyal bilgiler kitapları*], and the family studies/knowledge textbooks [*aile bilgisi kitapları*]. The research is limited to the textbooks related to language and social sciences because these textbooks carry the identity discourse more directly, and present the political culture in everyday experiences.[21] However, in order to make the scope of the study more manageable, in this research, the survey of geography textbooks, though they define and present the elements of the national space, and civics textbooks is not undertaken. In fact, Üstel's comprehensive study on civics textbooks successfully covers the periods this research analysis.[22] Although the lower grades of secondary school (from grade 6 to 8) have been made compulsory and became a part of primary education in 1997, they are also not included within the scope of this research.

The life sciences textbooks are designed for the first three years of the primary school in Turkey. They have the aim of giving the students a general understanding of the world, environment and society. Life sciences courses form the backbone of primary education for the first three years, and all the other courses are linked to these courses. In grades four and five, the natural sciences, history and geography courses replace the life sciences courses. However until the mid-1940s, the life sciences courses did not have a textbook. Nevertheless the course content was defined through the curriculum, and teachers' guide books, written specifically for this course, were available. Between the mid-1940s and the end of 1980s, the life sciences courses had supplementary course textbooks, which were again authorized by the Ministry of National Education. Only in the 1990s were primary textbooks, produced by the Ministry, introduced for this course. Language courses begin in the first grade, and continue until the fifth. The textbooks related to learning the official language of the state can carry ideologies more easily by presenting texts directed at specified thoughts, sentiments, behaviors, and morals. Until the 1980s, the language textbooks existed at the primary school level, first under the name *Kıraat Kitabı*, then *Okuma Kitabı* (Language Readers). After 1980, they were entitled *Türkçe Kitabı* (Turkish Books). History courses in primary schools in Turkey

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[21] See Falk Pingel, *UNESCO Ders Kitaplarını Araştırma ve Düzeltme Rehberi*, trans. N. Elhüseyni (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2003).

[22] Üstel, *"Makbul Vatandaş"ın Peşinde.*

used to start in grade four, replacing the life sciences courses. After the changes in the primary school curriculum in 1968, the social studies courses replaced the fourth and fifth grade history and geography courses. The family studies/knowledge textbooks, before the mid-1930s, were designed only for girls. With the changes in the curriculum, they were redesigned as courses for boys as well. Until 1968, these restructured courses continued to exist in the primary school in grades four and five.

The textbooks were gathered and surveyed in the National Library [*Milli Kütüphane*] in Ankara. According to the 1934 law on collecting printed material and pictures [*Basma Yazı ve Resimli Eserleri Derleme Kanunu, 1934*] a copy of every published material in Turkey is supposed to be sent to the National Library.[23] In the first part of the research, the life sciences textbooks, the language readers, the history textbooks, the social studies textbooks, and the family studies/knowledge textbooks in the archives of the National Library were cross-checked with the decrees of the Board of Education and Discipline [*Talim ve Terbiye Kurulu*] on the authorization of textbooks.[24]   The recurring textbooks, with the printed authorization decree of the Board, are included in the survey. Utmost importance is given to the primary school textbooks; however the authorized supplementary textbooks of specific courses, such as life sciences course, are also surveyed.[25] It should be noted that not all the textbooks surveyed are used in providing examples; some of these textbooks are different versions of the same textbook with little or no revisions. For the purposes of simplifying the research, the textbooks are gathered and surveyed along a general chronological periodization where the years 1948, 1968, and 1981 are taken as turning points. This general periodization, presented below, is set along the main content changes in the educational curricula and laws in Turkey.

i.   1928-1948: The period starts with the change of the alphabet in 1928, and lasts until the curriculum change in 1948. It covers the textbooks written under the 1926 curriculum, as different from the one issued in 1924, which was mainly a

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[23] See, T. C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, Milli Kütüphane, "Koleksiyon," <http://www.mkutup.gov.tr/?action=section1&fl=islevler> (14 August 2007).

[24] The Board of Education and Discipline was founded as a branch of the Ministry of National Education in the early years of the Republic. The Board specializes in educational policies and their application, curricula production and development, and teaching material (the textbooks). For further information on its activities, see http://ttkb.meb.gov.tr.

[25] As mentioned before, this course formed the backbone of the first three years of primary school education; yet, the course, until the mid-1940s, did not have a textbook, and until the 1990s, it only had supplementary textbooks.

continuation of the 1914 curriculum. This period also includes the textbooks written under the 1936 curriculum, the main curriculum of the single-party era, with the six Kemalist principles incorporated and set as the main focus of education. Both of these curricula were structured for urban schools. At the time, the village schools had similar but separate curricula, and were available for only three grades.

ii.   1948-1968: The curriculum prepared in 1948 was the first curriculum designed to be used by both village and urban schools. The era is marked by the end of the Second World War, and transition to democracy in Turkey, followed by the rule of the Democrat Party (DP) [*Demokrat Parti*], which ended in 1960 as a result of a military coup. The period also covers the aftermath of the coup since there were no curriculum changes during this period until 1968, except for the change in 1961 in the law defining the *raison d'etre* and aims of primary education. The new law, the Basic Law of Primary Education, stated that "primary education is the basic education that serves to develop all women and men mentally and morally, and to raise them in line with the national goals of Turks."[26] The subsequent 1968 curriculum was the outcome of the studies conducted throughout the 1960s; a draft version of it was issued in 1962 to be used in various pilot schools.

iii.   1968-1981: The era was indeed an overtly nationalist and chaotic one, subject to numerous government changes, and mobilized various forces, some of which also had an influence on locus of education. This period includes the military coup carried out in 1971, and covers the years until the next military coup in 1980. It ends with the first curriculum change of the 1980s. The era is signified by the new curriculum in 1968, as well as the 1973 Basic Law of National Education, issued before the general elections which took place later that year. The new 1968 curriculum replaced history and geography courses in the fourth and fifth grades with social studies courses. The Law of 1973 defined the aim of primary education as providing children with "basic knowledge, skills and habits necessary for good citizenship, and national morality," as well as "the development of interests, aptitude and talents and preparing for higher education." The law also stated that the *raison d'être* of Turkish national education was

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[26] Cavit Binbaşıoğlu, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde İlkokul Programları," in *75 Yılda Eğitim,* ed. Fatma Gök (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 1999), 164.

primarily to raise "all the individuals of the Turkish nation as citizens who are loyal to Atatürk's reforms and Turkish nationalism as defined at the beginning of the Constitution; who adopt the national, moral, humanistic, spiritual, and cultural values of the Turkish nation; who love and try to exalt his/her family, homeland, nation; who know his/her duties and responsibilities with respect to the Republic of Turkey, which is a national, democratic, secular, social state governed by the rule of law and based on human rights and on the fundamental principles laid out at the beginning of the Constitution; and who behave accordingly."[27]

iv. 1981-2000: This period analyzes the changes that took place in the aftermath of the military coup in 1980. It covers the curriculum changes of the early 1980s, and also the changes that took place in the curriculum and textbooks in the 1990s. Throughout these years, curriculum changes were not carried out in the form of a total change of the curriculum, but rather as separate modifications of the curricula of various courses. The first change was the new curriculum for Turkish language course in 1981. The same program was used throughout the period. The social sciences curriculum was subject to repeated changes in 1990 and 1998, due to the changing circumstances, such as the end of the Cold War, and the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and formation of new republics in its place. The life sciences curriculum of 1968 was not revised until 1998, and has been subject to only minor revisions since then.[28] The 1983 Basic Law of National Education, issued under the military rule, was almost the same as the one issued in 1973. The main change was the replacement of "Turkish nationalism" with "Atatürkist nationalism."

This periodization is used throughout the study in order to provide insights into how the discourses of nationalism, modernization, and militarism have been maintained throughout time despite changing circumstances. It is also employed to highlight the shifts and transformations as well as the continuities. However, such general periodization should also be read by taking the historical context of Turkey as its

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[27] İ. Kaplan, *Türkiye'de Milli Eğitim İdeolojisi*, 265-266.

[28] Other course curricula such as the curricula of the natural sciences, math, religion and morality knowledge, physical exercise courses were revised, respectively, in 1992, in 1983, 1990 and 1998, in 1992, and in 1987. See T.C. Milli Eğitim Gençlik ve Spor Bakanlığı, *İlkokul Programı* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1988), 531; Attilla Tazebay, et. al., *İlköğretim Programları ve Gelişmeler, Program Geliştirme İlke ve Teknikleri Açısından Değerlendirilmesi* (Ankara: Nobel Yayın Dağıtım, 2000), 123-175.

background because the changes in the educational curricula and laws have been closely linked with the socio-political developments in the country.

1.2. The Historical Context

Besides focusing on primary school textbooks with respect to the established dependencies within and between the discourses of nationalism, modernization and militarism, this study also undertakes the analysis of the dependencies between these discourses and the socio-political transformations. The quest for answers to the question "how is the national self imagined" requires this kind of consideration and analysis of the historical and contextual factors. The specific and interlinked utilization of the discourses of nationalism, modernization and militarism in the imaginings of the national self will be meaningful only if read and interpreted against the background of the major developments and events of the early formative years, as well as the subsequent years of the Republic. Thus, the socio-political history of the country is briefly narrated in the following pages. It also provides links to the international context in order to serve as a background for the entire analysis.

From the seventeenth century onwards, Europe increasingly became the center of the world. This development was accompanied by imperialist expansion of major European states. As they expanded, becoming part of the system these states made up became an overriding concern, mainly in the countries on periphery of the continent. Eighteenth-century Ottoman history is replete with such attempts to become a part of this new order, which, in time, came to be equated with a concern with Westernization, preserving the Empire and saving the state. The late-eighteenth century and the early years of nineteenth century increasingly witnessed the loss of lands and populations under the rule of the Ottoman Empire, due to the wars with the imperial European powers, the wars and secessions in the Balkans resulting from the newly emerging nationalisms, and the First World War. These developments triggered a reactionary nationalism, which had been shaped and reshaped throughout these destructive years.

The occupation and partitioning of the remaining Ottoman lands by the *Allied forces* in the aftermath of the First World War was followed by the resurgence of a liberation movement in Anatolia, the foundation of the *National Assembly* in Ankara (a

city at the center of mainland Anatolia), and the war years. The final wars were fought against the Greek army. The success of the new regular army (founded under the auspices of the National Assembly) in 1922 was followed by the abolition of the sultanate. Although the preservation of the state was still the most overriding concern, the state, in line with the European examples, was now to be re-formed as a nation-state with the assembly in Ankara as its major organ. The processes of the making of the nation had been going on since the nineteenth century, but had been especially significant since the Second Constitutional Period (1908-1918), marked by the rule of the *Young Turks* under the *Committee of Union and Progress*.[29] The losses of lands on which mainly the Christian populations had lived, and the migrations of Muslim populations from these lost lands had made the population of the Empire predominantly Muslim compared to prior times.[30] Within bureaucratic circles, nationalism became a sound ideology to be used for preserving the state.[31] Meanwhile the drive for Westernization had served to form bases of homogeneity through various measures, such as changes in military and economic practices (the most significant being the creation of an army-nation and the formation of a national bourgeoisie), as well as the changes in laws, the dress code, and educational institutions.

Creating a nation-state was in no way an easy task for the new cadres, the *Kemalists*, the heirs to the Young Turks. During and after the First World War, large numbers of Greeks, as well as Armenians, had emigrated from Anatolia. These emigrations, coupled with the prior loss of lands and populations, as well as the immigrations of Muslims from these lands, resulted in a predominantly Muslim community. With the *Treaty of Lausanne*, the peace treaty signed between the *Entente powers* and the National Assembly at the end of the War of Independence, only the non-

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[29] For a brief but comprehensive review of this era, see Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey. A Modern History*, 3rd ed. (London, New York: I.B. Tauris, 2005), 93-132.

[30] Çağlar Keyder, "A History and Geography of Turkish Nationalism," in *Citizenship and the Nation-State in Greece and Turkey*, ed. Faruk Birtek and Thalia Dragonas (New York: Routledge, 2005), 5-6.

[31] See the writings of the Young Turk elites such as Yusuf Akçura and Ziya Gökalp. Yusuf Akçura, *Üç Tarz-I Siyaset* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1976). (The article was first published in 1904 in the journal *Turk* in Cairo) Ziya Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Easasları*, 6th ed. (İstanbul: Inkılap Kitabevi, 2001). For secondary sources on these elites see, François Georgeon, *Türk Milliyetçiliğinin Kökenleri: Yusuf Akçura (1876-1935)* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996); Taha Parla, *Ziya Gökalp, Kemalizm ve Türkiye'de Korporatizm* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1989); Uriel Heyd, *Foundations of Turkish Nationalism, The Life and Teachings of Ziya Gökalp* (London: Luzac and Company and the Harvill Press, 1950), 19-40; Andrew Davison, *Secularism and Revivalism in Turkey : A Hermeneutic Reconsideration* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

Muslim inhabitants of Anatolia were regarded as minorities.[32] Under the provisions of the treaty, there was an exchange of populations, which consisted of the remaining Greek Orthodox population of Anatolia being sent to Greece and the Muslims from Greece being sent to Turkey.[33] Although the remaining population of the country mainly consisted of Muslims, it was not a heterogeneous one.[34] Besides creating bases for homogeneity, allegiances were to be re-organized towards the nation and the state, rather than the local community and the sultan. The proclamation of the Republic in 1923 - with Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk) as its president, as well as the abolishment of the caliphate and the formation of a new constitution the following year, were designed as major steps in providing a radical break with the past regime and its allegiances.

The Kurdish rebellion of 1925, led by Sheikh Said, and the measures taken to suppress this rebellion, marked a new phase both in the Republican People's Party (RPP) [*Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası*], the vanguard party of the Kemalist regime, and in the regime itself. Despite the declaration of martial law in the eastern provinces and the amendment of the High Treason Law to include the political use of religion among treasonable offences, hard-line measures continued with the passing of the Law on the Maintenance of Law and Order [*Takrir-i Sükun Kanunu*]. The Kemalist rule increasingly became transformed from one with pluralistic features to one with authoritarian ones.[35] The RPP assured complete domination of the political scene, and at the party congress of 1931, the country's political system was officially declared to be a one-party state.

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[32] This formulation is similar to the definition of communities under the Ottoman Empire where the communities, namely *millets*, were defined on religious bases.

[33] The Greek Orthodox people living in Istanbul, and the Muslim community in Western Thrace were kept out of this exchange. According to the 1928 census in Greece, the immigrants from Turkey consisted of about 1,200,000 people. This huge number was both the result of population exchange and the exodus of the Greek Orthodox population from Anatolia. This exodus was not only limited by immigration to Greece, some Greek Orthodox people migrated also to other neighboring countries. Çağlar Keyder, *Türkiye'de Devlet ve Sınıflar* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1989), 60, 67-68.

[34] While, at the beginning of the twentieth century, one-fifth of the population was comprised of non-Muslims, after the war this ratio decreased to one-fortieth of the population. According to the 1906 census, the population of the Empire was 15 million. The population of Muslims was 80 percent, whereas the *Rum* (referring to the people with Greek Orthodox origins) were 10 percent, the Armenians 7 percent, and the Jews 1 percent. In the 1927 census, the population of the country was only 13.6 million, with non-Muslims forming 2.6 percent of this population. Ibid, 67.

[35] The law gave the government absolute powers, and in effect until March 1929. The government closed down the opposition party, the Progressive Republican Party (*Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası*) on the charges that the members of the party had supported the rebellion and tried to exploit religion for political purposes. Important newspapers and periodicals were closed down, as were several provincial papers. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 171.

The monolithic political system established after 1925 provided an environment conducive to executing radical and extensive reforms. The modernization of the state, education and law, forming the first wave of Kemalist reforms, had already started through such measures as the abolishment of the sultanate and the caliphate. It continued with the adoption of the Swiss civil code, as well as the Italian penal code in 1926. In 1928, the clause stating that Islam was the state's religion was removed from the constitution. These measures constituted an extension of the *Tanzimat* and Unionist reforms which had secularized most of the state institutional systems. The educational system had already been centralized and modernized as it had been brought under the control of the Ministry of Education at the time of the rule of the Committee of Union and Progress. The Law on the Unification of Education [*Tevhid-i Tedrisat*] declared in 1924 completed this process of centralization and secularization of education, also bringing the schools administered by the minorities and foreigners under the Ministry of Education.[36] The reform measures (e.g., the sartorial reforms, changes in measurements, clock and calendar, and the reorganization of the work week) entailed the replacement of traditional symbols by ones derived from European civilizations. The most radical reform measure was the adoption of the Latin alphabet in 1928.[37] These measures not only gave the country a more European image, it made communication with the Western world easier and severed links with the Islamic world. The basic principles of Kemalism were laid down in the 1931 program of the RPP as republicanism, secularism, nationalism, populism, statism and revolutionism (or reformism). These six principles were incorporated into the constitution in 1937. This set of ideals had evolved gradually throughout the 1920s, and their meaning and content continued to be reshaped even after the 1930s.

The Kemalist principles, enacted for Westernization and nation-formation, as well as the formation of a capitalist economy having a viable national bourgeoisie, were

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[36] Ibid., 173, 186, 187; Rıfat N. Bali, *Cumhuriyet Yıllarında Türkiye Yahudileri, Bir Türkleştirme Serüveni (1923-1945)* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2005), 191.

[37] The first attempts at alphabet reform can be traced back to the *Tanzimat* era. During the Second Constitutional Period, the adoption of the Latin alphabet was promoted by such Young Turk elites as Hüseyin Cahit (Yalçın), Abdullah Cevdet, and Celal Nuri (İleri). The adoption of the Latin alphabet by the Turkic republics of the Soviet Union in 1926, gave impetus to the developments in Turkey. On November 1928, the law introducing the new alphabet was issued, and it was made compulsory in all public communication by the beginning of the new year. A mobilization campaign was launched in the following months. The main reason for the reform of the alphabet was declared to be a fight against illiteracy. *Millet mektepleri* (schools of the nation) were founded for adults in order to spread literacy in the new alphabet. However, despite the mobilization campaign and *millet mektepleri*, lack of primary education in the villages remained high. See, Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 188-189.

realized as assimilatory measures for the cosmopolitan Muslim community of the country. Various measures the government undertook were aimed at "Turkifying" the economic and social life as well as the people living in the country. Some of these measures, besides being discriminatory, ended up as being exclusionist for the non-Muslims, the officially defined minorities.[38] The settlement law that was issued in the summer of 1934 can be regarded among these acts of Turkification. At the time, fascism was on the rise in Europe, with Hitler and Mussolini in power in Germany and Italy. Racist and anti-Semite influences had also reached and affected Turkey, though they did not become official policies.[39] The law enabled the government to resettle the people and communities living within the country as it saw fit.[40] As Thrace attained strategic importance due to the expansionist policies of the Mussolini's Italy, an attempt was made to apply the settlement law the Jews living in this region. Acts of intimidation and threats aimed at frightening Jews so that they would move out of this region started a few weeks before the passing of the law and continued for weeks.[41] The minorities were

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[38] For instance, in 1925, the non-Muslim minorities, under pressure from the government, declared that they rejected the 42nd clause of the Treaty of Lausanne, which granted them limited autonomy with respect to family law and personal status. In 1926, the government, in its attempts to create a national bourgeoisie instead of the non-Muslim one, declared Turkish as the only language to be used in business transactions. These measures were indeed aimed at the nationalization *cum* Turkification of the statutes of law and the economy. See, Ayhan Aktar, *Varlık Vergisi ve 'Türkleştirme' Politikaları*, 6th ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2006), 112-118. See also Bali for a more detailed account of these developments with specific reference to the Jews in Turkey; Bali, *Bir Türkleştirme Serüveni*, 54-102. Again in 1926, another law restricting civil service to Turks, rather than Turkish citizens, was issued, thus excluding non-Muslims from posts in the bureaucracy, and from the ranks of the Kemalist alliance. See, Aktar, *Varlık Vergisi ve 'Türkleştirme' Politikaları*, 119. Throughout this period, there were also campaigns, launched under the motto "Citizen, Speak Turkish!," led by the press and the government, forcing the non-Turkish speaking people and communities to use Turkish in public spaces. These campaigns, starting at the time of the single-party government, were repeatedly conducted until the mid-1960s. See, ibid., 130, and Bali, *Bir Türkleştirme Serüveni*, 102-149 and 265-295.

[39] These can be seen, for example, in the writings of the pan-Turkists such as Cevat Rıfat Atilhan and Nihal Atsız, who used in their writings especially phrases like "pure blood," "pure linage," and "real Turk." Bali, *Bir Türkleştirme Serüveni*, 244. The government, especially during the war years, approached the Turkists pragmatically - supporting them at times when it pursued a rapprochement with Germany, and banning their publication organs when it moved closer to the Soviet Union. See Cemil Koçak, *Türkiye'de Milli Şef Dönemi (1938-1945)*, vol. 1 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1996), 661-695; Cemil Koçak, *Türkiye'de Milli Şef Dönemi (1938-1945)*, vol. 2 (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1996), 210-230. For an analysis of the Turkist and pan-Turkist movements during the single-party period, see Günay Göksu Özdoğan, *"Turan"dan "Bozkurt"a: Tek Parti Döneminde Türkçülük (1931-1946)*(İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001).

[40] It had been prepared for the two previous years to be used with respect to the rebellions in the eastern part of the country. Bali, *Bir Türkleştirme Serüveni*, 246.

[41] The physical attacks, beating, rape, plundering and pillaging aimed at Jews started in various places within the region of Thrace on the same day (just a week after the issuing of the law on June 21), and spread to the whole region. Around 7,000 Jews, leaving their belongings behind, emigrated from Thrace, and resettled in various parts of the country, mainly in Istanbul. The government blamed the publications of the pan-Turkists for misleading the nation and causing the upsurge of an anti-Jewish sentiment.

already viewed with suspicion, and blamed for collaborating with the enemy, thus the defense of Thrace required cleansing of these "undesirable elements."[42]

Despite the friction within the Kemalist leadership that culminated in the resignation of İsmet İnönü in 1937, İnönü was elected president upon Atatürk's death. In the party congress held after the succession of Atatürk by İnönü, as Atatürk had been declared the *eternal party chairman*, İnönü was proclaimed the *permanent party chairman*, and national leader [*milli şef*].[43] The late 1930s and the early 1940s were burdened by the repercussions of the Second World War. The food shortages and increasing inflation in the country caused mass discontent within the population. The coalition on which the Kemalist movement had been built upon was also fractured.[44]

The Wealth Tax implemented in 1942 was one of the measures that caused the estrangement of the some parts of the population from the government. The attempt was made to legitimize it as a punitive measure for war-time profiteers, who, it was claimed, were mainly the non-Muslim citizens. It was also presented as a major measure taken to transfer wealth from the non-Muslim to the Muslim bourgeoisie. However, as Ayhan Aktar stresses, the results of the tax hardly justifies this argument.[45] Instead, it showed, also to the ranks of the Muslim bourgeois, "how arbitrary and unpredictable the autonomous state could be, even though its measures were [said] to be designed to benefit the bourgeois."[46] The government levied high taxes, determined on completely arbitrary bases, specifically from non-Muslims. Those who could not pay the required amounts within the issued time limits were sent to work camps, where they worked under harsh conditions, to pay their debt.[47]

However, the events were initially planned by the local organizations of the RPP in order to realize the necessary resettlement of the Jews, and took place under the knowledge and guidance of the government. Aktar, *Varlık Vergisi ve 'Türkleştirme' Politikaları*, 82.

[42] Ibid., 75.

[43] Koçak, *Türkiye'de Milli Şef Dönemi (1938-1945), Vol. 1,* 23-76, and 164-171.

[44] Feroz Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey* (London, New York: Routledge, 1993), 99-102. The government lost the support of the important elements of the coalition such as the landlords, as well as some parts of the bureaucracy. The tax on agricultural production estranged the land owners, while the consistently rising inflation created frustration among the ranks of the bureaucracy, because it produced an enormous decline in the purchasing power of civil servants. The infant bourgeoisie of the 1930s was already an actor in the system by the mid-1940s. Even so, it was estranged from the regime through measurements such as price controls, and punitive taxation.

[45] Aktar, *Varlık Vergisi ve 'Türkleştirme' Politikaları*, 209-210.

[46] Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 101.

[47] The tax was abandoned in stages up to March 1944. The way it was designed and put into practice made the Wealth Tax a discriminatory measure taken against minorities.

The end of the Second World War in 1945 marked a new era throughout the world. The defeat of the Axis powers and the emergence of the US from the war as the dominant world power were regarded as victories for pluralist, capitalist democracy. However, the rise of the Soviet Union (USSR) as the second major force shortly after the war created a bipolar world system characterized by the US *versus* the USSR. A "delicate balance of terror" held up the balance of power between these two new poles, and the new era was defined as the *Cold War* era. [48] The end of the Second World War also marked the beginnings of transition from the one-party rule to democracy in Turkey. The ruling elite tried to side with the winners of the war. The mass discontent in the country, when coupled with the fractions in the ruling coalition due to war-time measures, exacerbated the calls for political change in favor of democratic measures.[49] According to Zürcher, "It was clear to the Turkish leadership that, in order to profit fully from the American political and military support and from the Marshall Plan, it would be helpful for Turkey to conform more closely to the political and economic ideals (democracy and free enterprise) cherished by the Americans."[50] The Soviet demands about the correction of the border between the Soviet Union and Turkey, the establishment of communist regimes under the auspices of the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe, and the civil war in Greece between the communists and monarchists prompted the US to reconsider the strategic importance of Turkey. The US launched the *Truman Doctrine* (1947)*,* which consisted of military and financial support for Greece and Turkey, within the context of this atmosphere. The *Marshall Plan*, consisting of the US aid to Western European countries for the restructuring of Europe, began to be implemented in 1948. It was followed by the establishment of the *North Atlantic Treaty Organization* (NATO) in 1949, a military alliance formulated at peacetime against the Soviet threat in Europe.

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[48] Michael Howard, *War in European History* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1976; reprint, 1990), 136.

[49] İnönü, in his presidential speech on the opening of the Assembly on November 1945, stated that the system lacked an opposition party, and noted that they were prepared to make some changes in the political system to bring it in more line with the changed circumstances. Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 102.

[50] Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 209.

In the first elections that took place in 1946, the DP made its way to the parliament as the opposition party.[51] The party was founded on January 1946, and campaigned for the liberalization of the economy and society. It won the support of businessmen and the liberal intelligentsia. As it rhetorically attacked the "tyranny of the state," at the same time, it became "the party of the 'little man'."[52] Despite the liberalization measures of the RPP government, which included a liberalization of the economy, restoring religious instruction in schools, the next elections, held in 1950, resulted in the landslide victory of DP. The principal concern of the DP, like the RPP, was to transform the country, but this time the focus was especially on material aspects. The party depended on the free market, and followed an agriculturally based model of development. Massive infrastructural and agricultural investments (e.g., building network of roads and mechanization of agriculture through the importation of agricultural machinery) were made.[53] Urbanization, mass migration to the cities, and formation of squatter settlements [*gecekondu*] were also the features highlighting the era.[54] As migration in search of jobs in the newly developing industries increased throughout the 1950s, the culture of the countryside also started to be become more and more visible in the cities. The DP rule did not retain the militant secularist view it had previously held. As Zürcher argues "What the Democrat leadership was tacitly admitting by this attitude towards Islam was that religion was not necessarily incompatible with development."[55] They furthered the process of relaxing process the restrictions on the expressions of religious feeling (which had already begun in the 1940s). The party was at the same time cautious about combating anti-secularist tendencies. However, towards the end of its rule, it also accepted the existence of autonomous religious organizations, such as the brotherhoods, and the use of Islam as a weapon of political propaganda.[56]

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[51] In the 1946 elections, out of 465 seats, RPP won 390 seats, and DP won 65 seats. As Ahmad mentions: "There was a general consensus that the election was conducted in an atmosphere of fear and repression and as a result the political leadership between the parties was poisoned for years to come." Ibid., 107.

[52] Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 105-106.

[53] Ronnie Margulies and Ergin Yıldızoğlu, "Agrarian Change: 1923-70," in *Turkey in Transition. New Perspectives,* ed. Irvin C. Schick and Ertuğrul Ahmet Tonak (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 278-279.

[54] Çağlar Keyder, "Economic Development and Crisis: 1950-80," in *Turkey in Transition. New Perspectives*, ed. Schick and Tonak (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 296-297.

[55] Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 234

[56] Binnaz Toprak, "The Religious Right," in *Turkey in Transition. New Perspectives*, ed. Schick and Tonak (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 226-227.

Democracy was indeed the catchword of the era; however, its prospects were limited mainly to a majoritarian view. The landslide victories of 1950 and 1954 led the DP leadership and governments to see themselves as enacting the "national will," and to regard any opposition as futile. .This negative attitude towards the critics and the opposition were visible especially in the second half of the decade, and combined with discriminatory policies against the non-Muslims (although they had been supporters of the party). The 6-7 September 1955 demonstrations, which had been organized by the government, and the concomitant plundering of non-Muslim property, were indeed a violent instance of these policies.[57] The DP's negative attitude towards opponents culminated in repressive measures, especially after the Democrats lost votes to the RPP in the 1957 elections.[58] These repressive measures heightened the already existing tensions between the party and the political opposition, intellectuals, and military officers. The DP rule came to an end with the military coup on May 27, 1960; the government was overthrown, and its members were arrested and tried on the charges of violating the constitution. The party was suspended and dissolved.

The coup carried out in 1960 was "the first and last successful military intervention made from outside the hierarchical structure of the Turkey's armed

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[57] In 1954, the Cyprus issue became politicized as the Greek Cypriot nationalists pushed for an end to British colonization, and a union with mainland Greece. An attempt was made to have the issue presented as a national cause in Turkey. As discussed above, there was already a pre-existing discourse on the disloyalty and non-Turkishness of non-Muslims, and this was manipulated and exploited by the government oriented press. News on "how Istanbul Rums were supporting Greece, thus betraying the Turkish nation in the Cyprus *national cause*" was propagated. The Rums were "pinpointed as possible targets of anti-Greek feeling in Turkey through statements like "there are plenty of Greeks in Istanbul to retaliate upon." Ali Tuna Kuyucu, "Ethno-religious 'unmixing' of 'Turkey': 6-7 September riots as a case in Turkish nationalism," *Nations and Nationalism* 11, no. 3 (2005), 374-376. A tripartite conference was organized between the UK, Greece and Turkey in the summer of 1955 in London to elaborate upon the situation in Cyprus, and to decide on the island's future situation. In order to portray itself as being under intense domestic pressure, the DP government organized street demonstrations in Istanbul and Izmir. However, these demonstrations turned into a general rampage against the Rums. "Houses were raided, shops were set on fire, cemeteries and churches were desecrated—in short, what had been planned as a propaganda show degenerated into vulgar plunder and arson." Cem Eroğul, "The Establishment of Multiparty Rule: 1945-1971," in *Turkey in Transition. New Perspectives*, ed. Schick and Tonak (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 112. The events were fueled by the bombing of Atatürk's house in Thessaloniki on September 6, 1955, which had in fact been carried out by the Turkish National Security Services (*Milli Emniyet Hizmetleri*). Dilek Güven, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Azınlık Politikaları Bağlamında 6-7 Eylül Olayları* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 2005), 67-72. Martial law was declared in three major cities: İstanbul, İzmir, and Ankara. The events were described as "an expression of national excitement" and a "manifestation of national sentiments" which had gotten out of hand because of communist provocation. Kuyucu, "Ethno-religious 'unmixing' of 'Turkey,' 376.

[58] For a detailed analysis of these measures, see Feroz Ahmad, *Demokrasi Sürecinde Türkiye (1945-1980)*, trans. Ahmet Fethi (İstanbul: Hil Yayın, 1992), 55-82; Eroğul, "The Establishment of Multiparty Rule," 113-118.

forces."[59] Unlike the 1960 coup, the following interventions in 1971 and 1980 were "the work of the High Command." In fact, the measures that were initiated in the aftermath of the 1960 coup (such as the creation of the *National Security Council*, the *Armed Forces Union*, and the *Army Mutual Assistance Association*), in addition to institutionalizing the military's tutelage over the political system and securing its presence in the economy, had the effect of transforming the nature of the subsequent interventions.[60]

The National Unity Committee (NUC) [*Milli Birlik Komitesi*], formed after the coup by the military officers who had taken power, ruled the country for a year, and restored civilian rule in 1961 through a general election. The Committee invited a group of academics to prepare a new constitution. The 1961 constitution was a novelty since it contained explicit guarantees of political liberties, such as freedom of thought, expression, association, as well as social and economic rights. It also created a bicameral parliament, the Constitutional Court, and the National Security Council (NSC) [*Milli Güvenlik Kurulu*]. The NSC was to advise the government on internal and external security matters. It was comprised of the Chief of General Staff and the commanders of the land, sea and air forces, and chaired by the president. It had its own secretariat and a number of departments. The ministers joined the council when necessary. It was initially established in March 1962 by law, and gradually increased its influence over government policy over the years.

The first civilian government of the 1960s was a coalition between the RPP and the Justice Party (JP) [*Adalet Partisi*], a new party claiming the legacy of the Democrats. In fact, the 1960s were to be marked by the increasing power and the rule of the JP.[61] These years were also the years of pluralism; the political spectrum broadened to include various concerns, and parties, such as the Worker's Party of Turkey (WTP) [Türkiye İşçi Partisi], a party on the left of the spectrum, became a part of the political arena. These developments not only were reflections of the rights and liberties

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[59] Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 121.

[60] For a detailed analysis of these measures, see, Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 128-131; Eroğul, "The Establishment of Multiparty Rule," 126-130; Ümit Cizre, *AP-Ordu İlişkileri, Bir İkilemin Anatomisi*, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 53-98; Ümit Cizre, "Egemen İdeoloji ve Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri," in *Bir Zümre, Bir Parti: Türkiye'de Ordu*, ed. Ahmet İnsel and Ali Bayramoğlu (İstanbul: Birikim Yayınları, 2004), 135-161; Taha Parla, "Mercantile Militarism in Turkey, 1960-1998," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 19 (1998), 29-52; Ali Bayramoğlu, "Asker ve Siyaset," in *Bir Zümre, Bir Parti: Türkiye'de Ordu*, ed. Ahmet İnsel and Ali Bayramoğlu (İstanbul: Birikim Yayınları, 2004), 75-79.

[61] For a detailed analysis of the JP and the 1960-1980 period, see Cizre, *AP-Ordu İlişkileri*; see also Ahmad, *Demokrasi Sürecinde Türkiye.*

introduced by the new constitution, but also of the socio-economic changes that occurred throughout the 1960s. The import-substitution industrialization policy succeeded in transforming Turkey from being a predominantly agrarian country to an industrializing one with large-scale modern capitalist enterprises, and a growing private industrial sector. The concomitant rapid urbanization and increasing mass migration from the countryside to the cities were also major features of this era. As a result, the industrial bourgeoisie and the working classes became significant socio-economic groups in search of maintaining their political presence.

However, the increasing pluralism was not necessarily tolerated, and the governments of the 1960s, rather than undertaking a process of further liberalization and democratization, chose to suppress the expectations of the masses.[62] By the end of the decade, dismal economic conditions had exacerbated the situation even more. Eroğlu argues that

> The process of decay took place along three major axes: the first, within the Left, manifested itself as internal fragmentation and a shift out of the system; the second, within the Right, witnessed a process of regrouping and counterattack; the third stemmed directly from the actions of the ruler-- the government's aggressive stance directed towards suppression of the left rapidly brought the end of new pluralism.[63]

During this period, while the JP increasingly became the party of the industrial bourgeoisie, two new parties were established on the right. In 1969, Alparslan Türkeş founded the Nationalist Action Party (NAP) [*Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi*], a militant, ultra-nationalist party, and in 1970, Necmettin Erbakan founded the National Order Party (NOP) [*Milli Nizam Partisi*], an Islamist anti-Western party, which was to become the party of the traditional lower middle class (mainly consisting of small tradesmen, merchants, and artisans).[64] The country increasingly became divided into two camps:

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[62] Ahmad states that Demirel, the leader of the Justice Party, prime minister for much of the time, had "often complained that it was impossible to run the country with such a liberal and permissive constitution." Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 146.

[63] Eroğul, "The Establishment of Multiparty Rule", 134.

[64] Türkeş had actually come to power in the Republican Peasant's Nation Party [*Cumhuriyetçi Köylü Millet Partisi*] in 1965, and changed the party to NAP in 1969 by adopting an ultra-nationalist program. For a detailed analysis on the ultra-nationalist right in Turkey before 1980, see Mehmet Ali Ağaoğulları, "The Ultra-Nationalist Right," in *Turkey in Transition. New Perspectives*, ed. Schick and Tonak (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 177-217.

the "pro-American right" and the "anti-American left."[65] By the end of the decade, both camps increasingly resorted to violence.[66]

As the country seemed to be in a state of chaos economically as well as socially and politically, the military intervened on March 12, 1971 through a memorandum demanding the government to resign. For the next two years, interim governments, which were said to be "above-parties," were formed. The constitution was amended to curb liberties and social and economic rights. The University Supervisory Council was set up in 1973, marking the end of university autonomy.[67] The repression of the left increased steadily.[68] Various measures were taken also against the Islamists; in 1971, the NOP was dissolved by the Constitutional Court on grounds of violating secularism.

The interim governments came to an end with the 1973 elections, from which the new social democratic RPP emerged as the leading party. From the mid-1960s, under the leadership of Bülent Evecit, the RPP, abandoned its commitment to militant secularism, and moved to "the left of center." The elections resulted in a RPP-NSP coalition government. The NSP (the National Salvation Party) [*Milli Selamet Partisi*] was founded in 1972 by the same leadership to replace the NOP. However, violence in the streets, political terrorism, and the economic crisis hampered any possible prospects of democratization. The intervention of the Turkish army in Cyprus in 1974 (after the *coup d'état* against Makarios, the president-archbishop of Cyprus, by the Cypriot National Guard under the auspices of the junta in Greece) turned Ecevit, the prime minister, into a national hero. As Ecevit resigned to call for early elections, the country entered a period of crisis. The crisis, instead of an early election, ended with the coalition of the JP, NSP, NAP, and RRP (Republican Reliance Party) [*Cumhuriyetçi Güven Partisi*], which is widely referred as the *Nationalist Front.*

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[65] Such a division into two camps should not be taken at face value. This is a rather crude and simplified labeling of the existing polarization, and the two camps were hardly uniform.

[66] The Cyprus problem flamed up again at the end of 1963. Against the acts of communal violence in Cyprus, while the İnönü government threatened to use military force, it did not.. The events led to the expulsion of 40,000 Rums and Greek nationals from Turkey in 1964. Kuyucu, "Ethno-religious 'unmixing' of 'Turkey' ," 377. US president Johnson's letter to the İnönü's coalition government prohibiting any unilateral action by Turkey in Cyprus, the US intervention in Vietnam, and the 1967 war in the Middle East resulted in an increasing anti-Americanism, and polarized the country.

[67] Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 156.

[68] The WPT was prosecuted and dissolved, strikes and lockouts were declared illegal, trade unionists and intellectuals were taken into custody. See ibid, 148, 151.

Violence in the streets and political terrorism become a fact of life during these years.[69] By the end of 1970s, the country was economically bankrupt. The economic crisis had been escalating throughout the 1970s. By January 1980, there was an attempt to put into practice the *24th of January measures,* strict austerity measures designed in line with the proposals of the *International Monetary Fund* (IMF). The threat of Islamic fundamentalism also became an important issue, given the revolutionary turmoil in Iran and Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. These two specific developments transformed Turkey's instability into a strategic matter for the West. The 12 September 1980 military intervention occurred within such a context.

The coup was an attempt at political and economic restructuring. Depoliticizing of the whole society was undertaken; all public discussion of political matters was prohibited. All the political parties, associations, professional organizations were closed down. The universities were put under tight centralized control through the establishment of the Board of Higher Education (YÖK) [*Yükseköğretim Kurumu*]. The new constitution of 1982 strictly limited the political rights and liberties of individuals, as well as social and economic rights. It strengthened the National Security Council, and provided the presidency with a wide range of powers.[70] Turgut Özal, the architect of the *24th of January measures*, was put in charge of the economy. This IMF-inspired reform package, besides being a program of economic stabilization, consisted of measures designed to open the economy to the tides of economic neo-liberalism, and globalization.

Civilian rule was restored in 1983; however, "it did not constitute a significant step toward the "civilianization" of politics."[71] The resumption of party politics on April was followed by the foundation of a large number of new parties; yet only three of them

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[69] The NAP's young militants, the *Grey Wolves*, "with Türkeş as the deputy premier, also saw themselves as part of the state and operated with greater confidence in creating a climate of terror designed to intimidate their opponents." (Ibid.) Their actions were legitimized as countering the "communist threat." The radical leftist factions also engaged in such acts of violence. The intensity of violence increased sharply before the 1977 elections. Even the political rallies of the RPP were attacked and disrupted, and political terror reached its climax on May Day 1977. Following the elections, second Nationalist Front government was founded. It was followed by the governments of RPP, and JP. By the time, the political terror and bloodshed were at the climax; there were attacks on specific intellectuals and public figures, and also on the *Alevi* community.

[70] Evin states that "the military retained considerable influence over governmental policymaking through its majority representation in the National Security Council," and "the presidency itself provided a significant means for keeping the military's guiding hand in matters of state." Ahmet Evin, "Demilitarization and Civilianization of the Regime," in *Politics in the Third Republic*, ed. Metin Heper and Ahmet Evin (San Francisco, Oxford: Westview Press, 1994), 25-26.

[71] Ibid., 23.

were allowed to function and enter the general elections of November 1983. The Motherland Party (MP) [*Anavatan Partisi*] emerged from the elections as the leading party. Successive MP governments were founded throughout the 1980s under the leadership of Özal until 1989, when he became the president. The institutional and ideological economic restructuring processes continued throughout the same period. Export-promoted growth was initiated in place of the import-substitution policies of the previous years. Emphasis was placed on laissez-faire market ideology, and on the discourse of economic rationality. This restructuring was also in line with the rise of the New Right produced the presidency of Regan and the government of Thatcher in the US and the UK, respectively. A gradual political liberalization was also initiated as the martial law started to be lifted partially and selectively by the mid- 1980s.

Despite the depoliticizing measures of the post-1980 era, civil society started to flourish by the mid-1980s. It was an effort at intervening at the level of everyday beliefs and practices, and to establish a link between the everyday life and politics, with the women's movement being one of its forerunners.[72] Besides contributing to the rise of such elements of civil society as woman rights activists, ecologists, and Islamists, economic liberalization also resulted in the emergence of "a multiplicity of economic actors and economic pressure groups accepting the rules and norms of economic globalization and demanding a minimum state intervention." Within time, this development gave rise to the radical transformation of "state-bourgeoisie relations in such a way that autonomy, civil rights, democracy, European integration and economic efficiency became the main discourse of the Turkish bourgeoisie."[73]

The collapse of the Soviet Union and the dissolution of the Eastern block at the end of the 1980s and early 1990s brought the end of the Cold War era. The countries that had belonged to the former Eastern Block had gone through double transformations: transitions to capitalist economy and democratization. New nation-states were founded in both Europe and Central Asia. Europe was burdened with the

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[72] Sirman argues that Western feminism had a significant impact on the movement. "Non-hierarchical and independent forms of associations, consciousness-raising groups, issue-oriented *ad hoc* committees are clearly reminiscent of the Western experience," whereas "*Ad hoc* organizations were instrumental at a time when state repression discouraged all forms of extra-parliamentary political activity." Nükhet Sirman, "Feminism in Turkey: A Short History," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 3, no.1 (1989), 19. For a general analysis civil society in the post-1980 era, see Nilüfer Göle, "Toward an Autonomization of Politics and Civil Society in Turkey," in *Politics in the Third Republic*, ed. Metin Heper and Ahmet Evin (San Francisco, Oxford: Westview Press, 1994), 213-222.

[73] E. Fuat Keyman and Ahmet İçduygu, "Introduction," in *Citizenship in a Global World. European Questions and Turkish Experiences*, ed. Keyman and İçduygu (London, New York: Routledge, 2005), 7.

issue of defining its frontiers, and establishing a new European identity. Following the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait in 1990, the American-led United Nations coalition waged war against Iraq. The 1991 Gulf War signified the US as the world hegemonic power, and at the same time, showed the limits of this power. Although Turkey was an ardent supporter of the coalition, not only did it fail to acquire any strategic gains, it suffered losses.

The end of the bipolar security system resulted in a political and cultural identity crisis for Turkey as well as Europe. An effort was made to develop an active foreign policy with respect to the new Turkic states founded in Central Asia. The governments of the 1990s tried to make Turkey the leader of the Turkic world. However despite the private sector ties, and the activities of some religious brotherhoods, Turkey's influence in these republics has been very limited. The pan-Turkist card has mostly been used rhetorically in national politics.

The end of 1980s and the 1990s was also marked by the "Kurdish question," and the rise of political Islam. The "Kurdish question" assumed a new form in the mid-1980s with PKK (the Kurdish Workers Party) "attacks on Turkish military posts starting in 1984."[74] The violent conflict in the southeastern part of Turkey escalated to the point of "low-intensity war" in the 1990s. In addition to enormous loss in human life it brought, it polarized the country politically.[75] The Welfare Party (WP) [*Refah Partisi*] was founded in 1983 "as the third political party of the Islamist National Outlook Movement [*Milli Görüş Hareketi*], which had been the expression of Islamism in the political arena since 1970."[76] As the party steadily gained power, the political arena gradually became polarized between the "secularists" and "Islamists." The WP gained the highest share of votes in the 1995 elections, and became the major partner of the coalition government formed in 1996. Against this rising tide of political Islam, the military intervened on February 28, 1997 to restore secularism. The coalition government of the WP and True Path Party (TPP) [*Doğru Yol Partisi*] was forced to

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[74] Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 316.

[75] E. Fuat Keyman, "Articulating Citizenship and Identity. The "Kurdish question" in Turkey," in *Citizenship in a Global World. European Questions and Turkish Experiences*, ed. Keyman and İçduygu (London, New York: Routledge, 2005), 267-288; Ümit Cizre, "Turkey's Kurdish Problem: Borders, Identity and Hegemony," in *Right-sizing the State*, ed. B. O'leary, I. S. Lustick, and T. Callaghy (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 222-252.

[76] Ümit Cizre and Menderes Çınar, "Turkey 2002: Kemalism, Islamism, and Politics in the Light of the February 2008 Process," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 102, no. 2/3, (2003), 322.

resign.[77] The WP was dissolved by the Constitutional Court on the grounds that it had become the focal point of anti-secular activity, its leader Erbakan was banned from politics, and a number of WP mayors were prosecuted.[78]

Regional integration in Europe and Turkey's application to the EU for full membership status also dominated the scene in the 1990s. The customs union established in 1995 between Turkey and the EU deepened economic ties. Throughout the 1990s, the EU increasingly became an actor in Turkish politics; civil society, political parties and state institutions either got closer to or found themselves within EU networks. Politics in Turkey entered a new phase at the end of the decade as Turkey became a candidate for inclusion within an expanded EU. This status, which was declared e at the EU Helsinki Summit of 1999, was made conditional on the fulfillment of the *Copenhagen criteria* – which were formulated in 1993 and included issues such as the existence of stable democratic and economic institutions, and respect for human rights and minorities.[79] The following decades in Turkey were marked by the 1999 Helsinki Summit decision.. It lead to such developments as the increasing significance of civil society organizations and the language of rights, attempts at redefining Turkey's identity *vis-à-vis* the West, increasing banal nationalism, as well as the 1997 restructuring, the rise of the reformist wing of political Islam, and the "Kurdish question."

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[77] A list of demands designed to curb the influence of the Islamists in the state apparatus, economy, and education was first presented to the government and, then put forward as an ultimatum. The media, unions, and civil society organizations were called upon by the military to step in and form pressure for the government to actualize the demands that were put forth or to resign. The trade unions and employers' federations formed the "front for secularism" against the government. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 300-301. For more detail on these measures and the extent of the restroration, see Cizre and Çınar, "Turkey 2002."

[78] However, the WP delegates in the parliament reorganized into a new party, Virtue Party, which was also to be banned in 2001, leading to the partitioning of the movement, and the formation of two different parties by the conservatives and reformists; the Party of Happiness, and the Justice and Development Party.

[79] See Meltem Müftüler Baç, *Enlarging the European Union: Where does Turkey Stand?* (İstanbul: TESEV, 2002).

1.3. The Organization of the Study

The following pages first focus on the literature on education from the perspective of explanations of *raison d'etre* of public education. The chapter, "Education and Textbooks: A Theoretical Introduction," through a review of these studies underline the linkages between modernization *cum* industrialization, development of the capitalist economy, enhancement of the modern state, and creation of disciplinary societies. The discussion then unfolds around the arguments in political and social theory, and theoretical, socio-historical and feminist studies in nation-state formation and nationalism which provide insights with respect to the linkages between the origins and the enhancement of mass public education with the development of the nation-state, modernization, and universal military service, as well as the concerns for providing grassroots enthusiasm for nationalism and instilling nationalist ideology. The central premise arising from the review of all these works is that public education is specifically utilized for the processes of state and nation-building, and has been historically linked to the concerns and discourses of modernization, nationalism, and defense. The chapter highlights the 'play of dependencies' established between public education and the development of the nation-state, the latter being closely linked to modernization, nationalism and militarization. The second part of this theoretical chapter concentrates on the importance of textbooks for education through a discussion of the international development of the studies in the area of textbooks, and signifies textbooks as major elements in public education. The chapter then undertakes the review of the studies conducted on textbooks in Turkey, which provide insights with respect to the foundations of the new order that was forged with the Republic.

The analyses of the following chapters are based mainly on the original research of the textbooks, and focus, respectively, on the discourses of nationalism, modernization, and militarization, by utilizing the general periodization provided. The third chapter, "Nationalism and the Making of the Nation," provides an analysis of the textbooks with respect to the discourse of nationalism by focusing on the ethnic and civic sources of the nation. In order to analyze the making of the national self through the nationalist discourse of the textbooks, the chapter first briefly introduces the discussions on the origins of nations and nationalism, and singles out the modernist

approach as the basis of the analysis. It then focuses on the nationalist discourse of the textbooks through the lenses of ethnic and civic elements of nationalism. A short critical analysis of the much contentious ethnic *versus* civic nationalism debate is provided. The ethnic-civic nationalism debate is not considered to be a schema befitting the nationalist discourse. Instead, it is viewed as a heuristic device for uncovering the basics of the ideology of nationalism that have been inculcated through education. The analysis shows that ethnic and civic elements exist in varying degrees and combinations, depending on historical and contextual conditions.

The second part of the chapter concentrates on the construction of the national self through the construction and naming of 'others'. Collective identity formation, besides underlining, imagining and/or inventing sameness, also entails stressing differences, which in turn constitute the boundaries of the community. Throughout the textbooks, people, nations and states are defined as the 'others' of Turkish national identity, and also as the enemies of the nation and the state. In line with the classification used in the textbooks, the presented 'others' of the nation are analyzed in the chapter in two categories, as the internal and external others.

The fourth chapter, "In the Footsteps of the West? The Modern Men and Women of the Nation," focuses on the analysis of the textbooks with respect to modernization discourses. From the eighteenth century onwards, the Western European-inspired changes defined the boundaries of the 'modern,' yet at the turn of the nineteenth century, modern came to be defined in the Ottoman Empire along with the concepts of nation and nationalism. These developments have been studied in the literature mainly by focusing on the late-Ottoman and the early-Republican periods. This chapter analyzes what is considered as modernization, the concept and the discourses of modernity, and their relation to the nation-formation processes by extending the focus onto a much broader time period, i.e., the whole Republican era.

The chapter first presents the two basic classical approaches to the study of social change as provided by Weber and Marx. It then introduces the modernization and dependency paradigms, and their critiques to provide further insights, since the studies focusing on social and institutional transformations of the late-Ottoman and the Republican periods mainly work within these paradigms of social change. The chapter, following these theoretical discussions, focuses on the works of Mardin and Keyder, which provide valuable insight and tools for contextualizing and analyzing the social changes and transformations of the late-Ottoman and the Republican periods. This

review provides the background of the analysis of textbooks with respect to the modernization discourses. Besides using these two classical approaches of social change in Turkey as the background, the analysis of textbooks mainly drew insights from Foucault's work. The analysis presented in this chapter also places specific emphasis on gender because the conceptualizations of the modern focuses specifically on the re-gendering of the social order. The defining parameters and the boundaries of the modern self are analyzed in the chapter under two main themes: "the civilized national subject," and "the bound modern self." Under the first subheading, the analysis focuses on the prominent and acceptable practices, values and norms that were defined as signifying the so-called 'civility.' Under the second subheading, the constrained nature of modern men and women in relation to the nation, and the family as its micro-cosmos, is presented.

The fifth chapter of the dissertation, "Militarization of the National Self," introduces the concepts of militarism and militarization into the analysis. The chapter first presents theoretical discussions of militarism and militarization in order to define these concepts. Then it introduces the historical aspects of the relationship between nation-state formation and war-making, the introduction of conscription, and nation-in-arms model in order to provide insights into the interdependency of the nation-state formation and militarization processes. The chapter underlines the intricate linkages between state and nation-building, nationalism, modernization and militarization processes. Building upon the insights presented by these discussions, the chapter, analyzes the militarization of education in Turkey through three basic themes: "the primacy of war, the cult of defense and military service," "the glorification of the warrior identity as the national character," and "the naturalization of violence and the exaltation of death." The analysis of textbooks under these themes highlights the militarized dimensions of the nation-building processes, and the imagined military nation, as well as their reinforcement and legitimization through education.

CHAPTER 2

EDUCATION AND TEXTBOOKS:
A THEORETICAL INTRODUCTION

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are crucial periods in the histories of public education systems in Europe and the US. They are marked by such fundamental phenomena as modernization, industrialization, the rise of bureaucratized and class-based social structures, the spread of nationalism, and the formation of nation-states. Many scholars have drawn attention to the opportunities and problems posed by these changes, which include the increasing involvement of states in the systems of schooling, and the linkages between this increasing involvement and the rise of mass systems of schooling. As public mass education increasingly assumed a state-sponsored and/or state-regulated mass character, it began to be used widely as an institution for political socialization and social legitimation. It also became an instrument for realizing the potential of individuals, creating social change (which at times is referred to as progress), and establishing social and political control. It has been continuously shaped by the state and by other actors from within and without (e.g., students, teachers, pedagogues, families, ruling classes, working classes, intellectuals), and has been a locus of contestation, struggle and resistance, configured along the relations of power.

The first part of this chapter touches upon on the relations between education, modernization, and nation building. In doing so, it first concentrates on the literature on education from the angle of the explanations regarding the *raison d'être* of public education, and review the significant debates in the history of education regarding the rise of public mass school systems in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Europe and the United States. It then refers to the related arguments in political and social theory, and theoretical, socio-historical studies in nation-state formation and nationalism, as well as feminist studies on militarization. It looks for the "play of dependencies" established

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between public education, on the one hand, and the development of the nation-state, nationalism, the processes of modernization, and the institution of universal military service, on the other. The second part of the chapter focuses on school textbooks, the major carriers of discourses defining the locus of education. It also provides a brief historical background on the studies on textbooks, and review the research conducted in this area in Turkey.

2.1. Education, Modernization, Nationalism and Militarization

The debates in the history of education about the rise of public mass school systems can be classified as the explanations based on liberal theory, the revisionist view (which stem from the Marxist debates about the nature of the capitalist state and which put emphasis on the rise of industrialization, urbanization and the need for social control), and the explanations influenced by Althusser's reproduction thesis and Gramsci's theory of hegemony, both concentrating on the particular nature of capitalist industry and its requirements. More recently, explanations referring to state-building, as well as the explanations focusing on patriarchy and gender, and Foucaldian insights have also enriched these debates.

The first explanations regarding the origins of mass schooling offered by the students of the history of education were based on liberal theory, which was also known as the "Whig explanation." According to this perspective, which was dominant until the 1960s, "mass education was first stimulated by the Reformation, with the recognition by Protestants of the 'proselytizing' potential of schooling, and thereafter developed first and farthest in Protestant countries of northern Europe and the Puritan states of the north-eastern United States."[1] This early Protestant impulse was coupled with the intellectual thrust of the Enlightenment, and fed into the movement towards political democracy. Thus, the liberal view regarded public education as a means to substantive democratization.

The liberal or the Whig perspective has been subject to wide criticism, and by the late 1960s, it had been succeeded by explanations which put emphasis on the rise of

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[1] Andy Green, "Education and State Formation Revisited," in *History of Education, Volume 2,* ed. Roy Lowe (London, New York: Routledge, 2000), 306.

industrialization and urbanization. This 'revisionist' view utilized the Marxist debates about the nature of the capitalist state.[2] For instance, in Britain, the explanations regarding the origins of public education systems focused on the changing social conditions and the relationships occurring with industrialization, on class domination and change in the class structures. This approach is best exemplified in Richard Johnson's work. Johnson, in his article "Educational Policy and Social Control in Early Victorian England"[3] gives us an explanation about the nature of the educational enterprise in late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century England, and analyzes the reasons for the development of mass education in this period.

In this article, Johnson concentrated on the writings of one of the chief educational policy-makers within the British government in the 1840s. At the same time, he also analyzed the reports of the inspectors on public education in England. Johnson further compared these with the measures that are put forth with respect to public education in the *Minutes* of 1846, which designed educational practice. Linking the recurrent themes of the writings of the policy-makers and inspectors, the measures put forward in the *Minutes*, and the social conditions of the era, Johnson argued that the *Minutes* of 1846 was "an attempt to create powerful systems of control, centering upon the teacher as a social missionary and the school as a functioning centre of sound influences."[4] Thus, he concluded that the early Victorian attempts at diffusing mass education were indeed "a concern about authority, about power, about the assertion (or the reassertion) of control" in the face of the changes that came with industrialization. It was "through the capture of educational means" that an attempt was made to determine "the patterns of thought, sentiment and the behavior of the working class." Schools were supposed to rear "a new race of working people –respectful, cheerful, hard-working, loyal, pacific, and religious."[5] As the last point in his article, Johnson set the lines of inquiry for future studies as the following:

> For if control was the essence of the phenomenon, explanation should centre, … upon points of contact between class cultures, upon social

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[2] Ian Davey, "Capitalism, Patriarchy and the Origins of Mass Schooling," in *History of Education, Volume 2*, ed. Roy Lowe (London, New York: Routledge, 2000), 141.

[3] Richard Johnson, "Educational Policy and Social Control in Early Victorian England," *Past and Present*, no.49 (1970), 96-119.

[4] Ibid., 116.

[5] Ibid., 119.

relations of authority, and upon the ways in which these were changing in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century England.[6]

The connections between social classes and the origins of mass schooling, and their relation to the imposition of social control also assumed a central position in the literature in the United States. With respect to the revisionist debates there, Davey argues that they were "more influenced by anthropological notions of culture and structural functionalist sociological theories of socialization and social control." While some revisionists emphasized specialization and role differentiation in a more complex urban, industrial society, others emphasized the changing social structure and problems of social order. According to them "the schools were forced into existence as a means of social control by the newly ascendant urban middle class."[7] Michael Katz's *The Irony of the Early School Reform,* which focused on the north-eastern regions of the United States around the mid-nineteenth century, is considered to be one of the first and most significant examples of the studies on the social control thesis. In this study, Katz argued that reform of education and mass public schooling were favored by the middle class in the mid-nineteenth-century United States as a way of containing and controlling the forces unleashed by industrialization and rapid urbanization, and used to instill moral discipline in the populations.[8]

Both Johnson's and Katz's works are indeed insightful studies showing the linkages between changing social conditions and changing educational practices. However, they are functionalist explanations, tying the origins of mass schooling to such structural changes as industrialization and urbanization, providing a mechanistic relationship between schooling and changing social conditions, and closing any space for agency. Although industrialization, urbanization, and the perceived need for social control can be among the reasons for favoring and attempting to establish public mass education, both -- the practices of the actors who take part in this process, and the public's reception (including the students' reception) of these changes -- need to be considered.

Although both Johnson's and Katz's works are prominent examples of the social control approach, and insightful accounts of the developments in Britain and the north-

[6] Ibid.

[7] Davey, "Capitalism, Patriarchy and the Origins of Mass Schooling," 141.

[8] Michael B. Katz, *The Irony of the Early School Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968).

eastern parts of the United States in the early and mid-nineteenth century, they do not provide universal and comparative explanations. In fact, in many countries the development of mass systems of schooling pre-dated industrialization. This is not only true for continental Europe, with Prussia being the seminal example, but also for a wide range of countries from Russia and Japan to the British colonies in Canada.[9] Considering these cases, it is hard to identify industrialization and urbanization, and the accompanying necessity of social control, as the only or the most prominent factors in the expansion of mass education.

In the 1970s, the adequacy of these revisionist explanations on the origins of mass schooling, which were based on the process of industrialization and urbanization, and the concomitant need for social control, began to be questioned by some scholars. According to them, "it was the particular nature of capitalist industry and its requirements which was the motive force behind the establishment of mass school systems."[10] These new studies were mainly influenced by Althusser's reproduction thesis and Gramsci's theory of hegemony.[11] Althusser provided the concept of "ideological state apparatus," and drew attention to the question of how ideology helps the ruling class to re-produce capitalist production relations. According to him, ideology gives individuals the impression that they are the real authors of their actions. But this impression is mistaken or misleading. They are simply the bearers of prevailing relations of production. Education is regarded as one of the state apparatuses, which exercises ideological functions, and operates through creating consent.[12]

The key concept in Gramsci's works is "hegemony." According to Gramsci, ruling classes do not rule only by coercion, but they also rule by securing consent. Any power, to win hegemony (and consent), should find the way of equating its own interests with the interests of the whole society by diffusing its own world-view

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[9] See Green, "Education and State Formation Revisited," 310; Davey, "Capitalism, Patriarchy and the Origins of Mass Schooling," 146; Bruce Curtis, "Capitalist Development and Educational Reform: Comparative Material from England, Ireland and Upper Canada to 1850," *Theory and Society* 13, no.1 (1984), 41-68; Andy Green, "Education and State Formation in Europe and Asia," in *Education, Globalization and the Nation State*, ed. Andy Green (London: Macmillan Press, 1997), 29-51.

[10] Davey, "Capitalism, Patriarchy and the Origins of Mass Schooling," 141-142.

[11] Johnson and Katz have also revised their positions; they have abandoned the social control argument, and developed much more refined arguments using the Gramscian notion of hegemony.

[12] Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus," in *Lenin and Philosophy, and Other Essays* (London: New Left Books, 1971).

throughout the society. Gramsci conceptualizes hegemony as "an inherently relational, as well as practical and dynamic notion."[13]

> [Hegemony comprises] 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is 'historically' caused by the prestige (and consequently confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production."[14]

Gramsci, in his analysis, makes a distinction between civil society and political society (the state), and associates the notion of hegemony with the realm of civil society. Direct domination or coercion is associated with the realm of state. On the other hand, all the institutions and means mediating between the state and economy, like family, church, schools, the media, can be seen as apparatuses of hegemony, tying individuals to ruling authority by consent rather than coercion.

One of the most prominent examples of these new neo-Marxist studies influenced from the works of Althusser and Gramsci is Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis' *Schooling in Capitalist America.* In this widely cited study, published in 1976, Bowles and Gintis, analyzing the relationship between the educational system and capitalism, put forward a theory of reproduction. The central argument of their study concerns the role of public education in reproducing the social relations of capitalism. Focusing on the United States, they tried to present the "dominant effects of schooling and the structural mechanisms which produce these effects." They argued that "the fit between schooling and work" is an essential structural characteristic of the education system.[15] In this study, Bowles and Gintis also analyzed how the school systems changed in the US in general, and in Lowell, Massachusetts in particular, in the early nineteenth century. They indicated that the public school systems came into existence to produce a productive workforce by inducting the children into a new set of roles and routines in line with the needs of industrial capitalism. They argued that:

> There can be little doubt that educational reform and expansion in the nineteenth century was associated with the growing ascendancy of the capitalist mode of production. Particularly striking is the recurring pattern of capital accumulation in the dynamic advanced sectors of the economy, the resulting integration of new workers into the wage labor system, the

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[13] Terry Eagleton, *Ideology: An Introduction* (London, New York: Verso, 1991), 115.

[14] Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971), 12.

[15] Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Conditions of Economic Life* (Basic Books, 1976), 151.

expansion of the proletariat and the reserve army, social unrest and the emergence of political protest movements, and the development of movements for educational expansion and reform. We find also a recurring pattern of political and financial support for educational change: While the impetus for educational reform sometimes came from disgruntled farmers and workers, the leadership of the movements – which succeeded in stamping its unmistakable imprint on the form and direction of educational innovation — was without exception in the hands of a coalition of professionals and capitalist from the leading sectors of the economy.[16]

As seen above, according to Bowles and Gintis, the growing pressure for public education in the early nineteenth century came from the coalition of capitalists, mainly manufacturers, and professionals, and was related to the needs of industrial capitalism. "Creating, controlling, and extracting ever-increasing amounts of work from a permanent labor force" were the essential problems of the times that had to be dealt with.[17] Because of the vital role of education in the economic system, the support for public education among the employers became virtually unanimous. According to this view, the reasons why most of the larger employers supported public education were related to the "hidden agenda", which was indeed the inculcation of subordination and obedience. Bowles and Gintis also mentioned that the objectives of this coalition of professionals and capitalists were not confined to the inculcation of mere obedience and subordination.

> The schools must train young people, argued Mann, so that the citizen of tomorrow will "…think of duty rather than of the policeman." A stable body politic and a smoothly functioning factory alike required citizens and workers who had embraced and taken on as their own the values and the objectives of those in authority.[18]

Bowles and Gintis argued that it was the moral influence of school that was deemed crucial. The habits that the school was supposed to inculcate in the children in forming their character were, besides obedience and subordination, attention, self-reliance, orderliness, neatness, politeness, courtesy and punctuality. According to the perspective of the promoters of educational reform and expansion, these were the habits that would increase the productive capacities of the workers.[19]

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[16] Ibid., 178-179.

[17] Ibid., 164.

[18] Ibid., 170.

[19] Ibid., 169.

As seen from this brief review, Bowles and Gintis' work presents a critique of liberal theory, and is based on a much more sophisticated theoretical foundation than the social control theory. In fact, they indicated that "no very simple or mechanistic relationship between economic structure and educational development is likely to fit the available historical evidence." They also noted that the "political factors have intervened between economic structures and educational outcomes in complex and sometimes, apparently contradictory, ways."[20] However, despite the fact that they stressed the complexity of the relationship between economy and education, and acknowledged the existence of other factors besides economic ones, they posited a structural-functionalist argument, directly linking both the structure of schooling and its historically specific character to the systemic needs of capitalism. They defined people in terms of their positions within the system, as if the positions of the capitalists and the reformers were pre-determined by the system itself. The outcome of educational reform is described in a teleological way. Other than noting that the Irish community fought for its own schools[21], Bowles and Gintis treated the masses as submissive objects.

Besides these functionalist limitations, the over emphasis on mass industrialization creates other limitations. As mentioned earlier, public education was implemented in various areas before the industrialization process. Thus, the work of Bowles and Gintis should be regarded as a case study for the US; it does not provide universal explanations. This structural-functionalist focus on the needs of capitalist economy, led them to disregard other dynamics such as the power struggles that arise within the modern state, and the processes of building a body politic, and nation formation. Although Bowles and Gintis stressed the educational reformers' and the employers' concern for creating "a stable body politic" with citizens aware of their duties, again they connected this concern to the necessities of capitalist production. They passed over this point by stating that a productive labor force required not mere obedience but also self-control, and did not delve into such explanatory notions as state, nation, and citizenship.

Another article "Notes on the Schooling of the English Working Class 1780-1850," again by Richard Johnson, appeared about the same time as Bowles and Gintis' work. In this article, Johnson refrained from focusing exclusively on the social control

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[20] Ibid., 179.

[21] See ibid., 175.

approach, which he had done in the "Educational Policy and Social Control in Early Victorian England." Instead, he utilized the Gramscian notion of hegemony in analyzing the formation of public education system in England.[22] He argued that this process was linked to two other processes; the Industrial Revolution, and the reassertion of class control. According to this argument, modern industry needed "new elements in human nature," and "the learning of new relations."[23] Not mere social control, but transformation of popular culture was also required in the transition to industrial society. Not only were the changes in the education system, but all the liberal policies of the early 1800s, such as New Poor Law, were related to this required transformation of culture.[24] Johnson also asked "why bourgeois educational responses were thrust into a new mode in the 1830s."[25] In his analysis, Johnson focused on the arguments of three main groups of educators, and situated these in the socio-historical context. The three groups he studied are the monitorialists, radical working class educators (especially journalists of the radical press), and the liberal 'experts' of the 1830s. His answer to the question of why bourgeois educational responses changed from the monitarialists' crude power-oriented methods to liberal policies of the 1830s was based on two developments: class cultural conflict, and crisis in hegemony.

The end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries were years when working class radicalism was at its peak. Especially with the Chartist movement, the working-class challenge and the crisis in hegemony were widely recognized. As Johnson stated, "popular radicalism from its origins in the 1790s possessed its own educational traditions," and the cultural conflict between the monitorialists and the radical working class educators resulted in the reworking of the hegemony, with the policies of the 1830s being a part of this process.[26] Johnson explained this "crisis in hegemony" and its re-establishment in the following way:

> Working class radicalism did constitute a threat to the propertied classes,
> even momentarily and usually from limited regional bases to the security of

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[22] Johnson, "Educational Policy and Social Control in Early Victorian England." The article is already reviewed on the previous pages.

[23] Johnson, "Notes on the Schooling of the English Working Class 1780-1850," in *History of Education, Volume 2*, ed. Roy Lowe (London, New York: Routledge, 2000), 43. It was originally published in R. Dale, G. Esland and M. Macdonal, eds., *Schooling and Capitalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976).

[24] Ibid., 44.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid., 45.

the state. But a challenge was also posed, over a longer period, to the cultural hegemony of the dominant classes. One way of viewing the social history of the whole period from the 1790s to the mid-1840s is as an extended war over winning consent, a prolonged crisis in hegemony, marked by partial stabilizations but also, in default of this, the repeated use of the rather underdeveloped coercive apparatuses of the state to reinforce the economic power of the gentry and industrial bourgeoisie. It was not until 1840s that … hegemony was re-worked in new forms. Formal educational institutions and their corresponding politics have come, in a later period, to play a large part in the processes of hegemony. In this period, schooling as a public if not a state apparatus was *actually forced into existence* in England by the collapse of older systems of control.[27]

Johnson's study is indeed an insightful and comprehensive one. He did not posit a theory based only on functional-structural factors, such as the needs of industrialization and capitalism, but conducts a multi-leveled analysis, and examines actor strategies and forms of resistance. Johnson also drew attention to the limitations of his work with respect to reception of educational curricula by the masses and cultural reproduction. He indicated that "it is not to be supposed that the effects [of educational expansion] were those that were intended." He also stated that schools are "merely one of the means of cultural reproduction," and that they also reproduce forms of resistance.[28] Cautiously disavowing any notion of perfect reproduction or wholesale transformation through schooling, Johnson stressed the significance of actor (i.e. students, teachers, families) strategies such as resistance or instrumental utilization of schools.[29] Despite all these valuable insights, Johnson's emphasis on industrialization makes his analysis applicable mainly to the British case, and prevents it from being a universal explanation. However replacing Johnson's emphasis on industrialization with modernization (a broader term which may or may not include mass-scale industrialization, and can be taken to include proto-industrialization, development of bureaucracy, the modern state, etc.) provides us with useful tools for further analysis. Modern society indeed entailed a different culture than agrarian society for its realization and preservation --what Johnson refered to as "new elements in human nature," and "the learning of new relations."

In recent decades, these revisionist and European Marxists theory based studies on the *raison d'etre* of public education and educational reform have been challenged by explanations referring to state-building and governance, as well as the analyses based on

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[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid., 47-48.

[29] Ibid., 47.

Michel Foucault's work. This challenge initially came from the scholars working within the disciplines of history and sociology, whose specific agenda was hardly analyzing the history of schooling. As Green stresses: "a key moment in this regard was clearly the publication in 1985 of Corrigan and Sayer's book, *The Great Arch: English State Formation as Cultural Revolution*," which was in a sense documenting the ways in which the state "has educated its subjects into their national class and gender roles."[30]

Around the same dates, the sociologist Bruce Curtis provided a novel analysis of state formation and its relation with education in the context of nineteenth century Canada in his article "Preconditions of the Canadian State: Education Reform and the Construction of a Public in Upper Canada." Here Curtis criticized the neo-Marxist works on educational reform and the origins of publics mass educational for their economically deterministic understanding of causality (development of state schooling as the result of the effects of industrial capitalism). Drawing mainly from Foucault's insights to construct his argument, he argued that the educational reformers in Upper Canada "attempted to *construct* a public, to create and to extend a sphere of classnessness in which the state could rule through impartial administration."[31] He stressed that the construction of a state educational administration transformed the debate over education "from one over competing and conflictual forms of education into one over the management of a state form."[32] In his book *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-71,* Curtis further argued that the internalization of discipline and moral responsibility was indeed seen as a precondition for the political order. State schooling in this sense was used to "anchor … the conditions of political governance in the selves of the governed."[33]

More recently, Ian Hunter in "Assembling the School" provided a rather different explanation of the origins of public education again by utilizing Foucault's works. Hunter argued that the school, rather than being "an agency of economy or of the Repressive Apparatuses," is a "form of disciplinary and bureaucratic governance," and

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[30] Green, "Education and State Formation Revisited", 305.

[31] Ibid., 114. Original emphasis.

[32] Bruce Curtis, "Preconditions of the Canadian State: Educational Reform and the Construction of a Public in Upper Canada," *Studies in Political Economy*, no. 10 (1983), 115.

[33] Bruce Curtis, *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-71*, Studies in Curriculum History Series (Philadelphia: Falmer Press, 1988), 15.

works through a variety of technologies of domination.[34] He stressed that the rise of the first popular school systems in Europe was specifically related to the religious efforts of "the Reformed Churches to Christianize the European peasantries, as a method of 'injecting religion into daily life'."[35] Thus, Hunter further argued that state schooling "must be seen instead as the outcome of technical faculties of administration and as a vehicle for transmitting of pastoral pedagogy."[36]

The significance of Foucault's works should indeed be considered with reference to a broader framework: the intellectual tradition of post-structuralism, which presupposes a different understanding of history and historical writing, and a different conceptualization of subject formation. According to this understanding, history does not have a center and a logical structure; it is only contingency that counts and matters. Similarly, discourse is not a mere reflection of the real world, but in a sense constitutes it. Foucault's historical description of discursive practices, defined by him as archeology, "consists of … treating discourses … as practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak."[37] As Barret suggests, Foucault's elaboration on discourse highlights discourses as producing their own objects: criminality and sexual deviance, for instance, becomes an object of medical and psychiatric discourses.[38]

Foucault's concept of discourse is closely connected with other broader issues like the question of power-knowledge and the constitution of subject. His definition of discourse underlines the specific relation between bodies of knowledge and disciplinary practices. The object of Foucauldian historical inquiry is 'power-knowledge.' Foucault maintains that power produces knowledge and that "power and knowledge directly imply one another." This means that "there is no power-relation without correlative

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[34] Ian Hunter, "Assembling the School," in *Foucault and Political Reason: Liberalism, Neo-liberalism, and Rationalities of Government*, ed. A. Barry, T. Osborne, and N. Rose (London: UCL Press, 1996), 149; quoted in Mark Olssen, *Michel Foucault: Materialism and Education* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing, 1999), 167.

[35] Ibid., 159. There have indeed been former studies focusing on the relation between the Lutheran churches and mass education. Gerald Strauss argued that the Lutheran churches had "embark on an experiment in mass education," in "intimate alliance with political authorities" and "backed by the legal and financial power of territorial and municipal states." Yet, the results of this experiment were "a failure when judged by their own aims." See Gerald Strauss, "The State of Pedagogical Theory c. 1530: What Protestant Reformers Knew About Education," in *Schooling and Society, Studies in the History of Education*, ed. Lawrence Stone (Baltimore, London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 69-94.

[36] Ibid., 169.

[37] Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge*, 49.

[38] Barrett, *The Politics of Truth*, 130.

constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power-relations."[39]

Foucault's account of the relationship between power and knowledge consists of several important elements. One of these elements is his conceptualization of modern power. He offers a new definition of power which is explained neither in terms of social and economic structures nor social actors and their corresponding interests, but rather through micro strategies and technologies adopted in numerous practices. The new physics of power confined the everyday life of human beings -- modern power is now everywhere, in all forms of social relations. Power, for Foucault, "is exercised rather than possessed." This power "is not the 'privilege', acquired or preserved, of the dominant class, but the overall effect of its strategic positions – an effect that is manifested and sometimes extended by the position of those who are dominated."[40] Power is no more a negative force, acting from an external location to limit and repress, but coming from everywhere; it is creating, controlling and managing. It does not have one location, one center, but various local points, operating through various technologies at the macro and micro levels. Foucault's theory of power also involves a new definition of subject constituted by the power itself. Foucault proposes that

> The individual is not to be conceived as a sort of elementary nucleus, a primitive atom, a multiple and inert material on which power comes to fasten or against which it happens to strike, and in so doing subdues or crushes individuals. In fact, it is already one of the prime effects of power that certain bodies, certain gestures, certain discourses come to be identified and constituted as individuals. The individual, that is, is not the vis-à-vis of power; it is, I believe, one of its prime effects. The individual is an effect of power, and at the same time, or precisely to the extent to which it is that effect, it is the element of its articulation. The individual which power has constituted is at the same time its vehicle.[41]

Foucault's work also implies a critique of modernity. In his article, "What is Enlightenment?" Foucault makes a general reflection on the "attitude of modernity." For Foucault, modern philosophy "simultaneously problematizes man's relation to the present, man's historical mode of being, and the constitution of the self as an

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[39] Michel Foucault, "The Body of Condemned," in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Rabinow (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 175, extracted from Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of Prison*.

[40] Ibid., 174.

[41] Foucault, "Two Lectures," in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977,* ed. Colin Gordon (Brighton: Harvestor, 1980), 98.

autonomous subject."[42] In this sense, "a permanent critique of our historical era" provides the possibility of an investigation of the questions of "what we are, what we think and what we do today." Foucault also offers a critical conceptualization of our historical era. Modern society, for Foucault, is characterized by the new disciplinary technologies of power. His book *Discipline and Punish* looks at the emergence of new technologies and strategies of power-knowledge at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Power now relies on new means of surveillance and discipline, crystallized in a series of new institutions like schools, prisons, factories, hospitals; the result is the "disciplinary society". Foucault asserts that

> The historical moment of the discipline was the moment at which an art of the human body was born, which was directed not only at the growth of its skills, nor at the intensification of its subjection, but at the formation of a relation that in the mechanism itself makes it more obedient as it becomes more useful, and conversely. What was then being formed was a policy of coercions that act upon the body, a calculated manipulation of its elements, its gestures, its behavior… it defined how one may take a hold on others' bodies, not only so that they may do what one wishes, but so they operate as one wishes, with the techniques, the speed and efficiency that one determines. Thus the discipline produces subjected and practiced bodies, 'docile bodies.'[43]

In his more recent works, the problem of government constitutes a central place, and he defines power in a new way. He argues that:

> since the sixteenth century, a new political form of power has been continuously developing. This new political structure, as everyone knows, is the state… The state's power… is both individualizing and a totalizing form of power. Never, I think, in the history of human societies… has there been such *a tricky combination in the same political structures of individualization techniques and of totalization procedures*.[44]

According to him, this period also witnessed the rise of "the art of government" which was then "supplanted by the administration of bodies and calculated management of life."[45] He asserts that a transition took place in the eighteenth century "from an art of

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[42] Foucault, "What is Enlightenment?" in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Rabinow (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 42.

[43] Foucault, "Docile Bodies," in *The Foucault Reader,* ed. Rabinow (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 182, extracted from Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of Prison*.

[44] Foucault, "The Subject and Power" in *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, ed. Hubert Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 208; quoted in Rabinow, "Introduction," in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. P. Rabinow (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 14.

[45] The main concern of the art of government, for Foucault, is "how to introduce the correct manner of managing individuals, goods and wealth within the family, … and how to introduce this meticulous attention of the father towards his family, into the management of the state." Foucault, "On

government to a political science, from a regime dominated by structures of sovereignty to one ruled by *techniques of government.*"[46] Foucault's definition of governmentality, in this sense, ranges from the objectification of the self to the management of population. As Rabinow interprets, "as the fostering of life and the growth and care of population becomes a central concern of the state, articulated in the art of government, a new regime of power takes hold."[47] This new regime, Foucault refers to as bio-politics, is also closely linked to the rise of modern society and the development of capitalism:

> [T]here was a rapid development of various disciplines – universities, secondary school, barracks, and workshops; there was also the emergence, in the field of political practices and economic observation, of the problems of birth rate, longevity, public health, housing, and migration. Hence there was an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugation of bodies and the control of populations, marking the beginning of an era of 'bio-power.'[48]

The works of Foucault have had a growing impact on educational studies since the beginning of the 1990s. The current interest in Foucauldian analyses focuses on exploring the complex power relations involved in schooling. As Popkewitz points out: "This challenge [in the field of education] to Marxist theories is not to displace them," but instead "to recognize that there are certain changing conditions in the construction of power that are not adequately articulated" through these theories.[49] For instance, referring to *Discipline and Punish,* the school and the classroom are regarded as apparatuses which function to define power relations in terms of everyday life. As Ball interprets "In the nineteenth century they [the school and the classroom] emerged as particular organizations of space and persons experienced by virtually all people, at one

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Govermentality," *Ideology and Consciousness*, no. 6 (1979): 8-10; Rabinow, "Introduction", in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Rabinow (London: Penguin Books, 1991), 15.

[46] Foucault, "Governmentality," in *Power, Essential Works of Foucault, Vol. 3*, ed. James D. Faubion (New York: New Press, 2000), 217-218.

[47] Rabinow, "Introduction," 17.

[48] Michel Foucault, "Right of Death and Power over Life," in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. P. Rabinow, 262, extracted from Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1*.

[49] Thomas S. Popkewitz and Marie Brennan "Restructuring of Social and Political Theory in Education: Foucault and a Social Epistemology of School Practices," in *Foucault's Challenge: Discourse, Knowledge, and Power in Education*, ed. Popkewitz and Brennan (New York, London: Teachers College Press, 1998), 4. For some of these studies see Popkewitz and Brennan, *Foucault's Challenge*; Ball, ed., *Foucault and Education, Disciplines and Knowledge*.

and the same time totalizing the power of the state and producing and specifying particular individualities."[50]

In fact, the studies reviewed up to this point provide partial explanations, and the complex dependencies between public education and the processes of state and nation-building, modernization, and militarization, as well as nationalism need to be examined more. The following discussion aims to provide further insight into the dependencies between these processes and discourses. The succeeding pages analyze the intricate linkages between public education and the development of the nation-state (the latter being closely related to modernization, nationalism, and universal mandatory military service) referring to the related arguments in political and social theory, as well as the theoretical and socio-historical studies in nation-state formation and nationalism.

Ernest Gellner in his major study *Nations and Nationalism*, which is a widely referred one within the scholarship of nationalism, concentrated on cultural change and public education as the main elements in the formation of nations and nationalism. In this study, he argued that national movements create nations, and that both, nations and nationalisms, result from the cultural transformations necessary for modernization.[51] Gellner defined three types of societies: the hunter-gatherer, agro-literate and the industrial society. The agro-literate society was characterized by a differentiation between "high" and "low" cultures; the former is the culture of the elite, whereas the latter is defined as belonging to the masses. The modern era is defined by the industrial society, and it is an era of progress, mobility, continuous economic growth, depending upon specialization realized in terms of social and economic division of labor. According to Gellner, the industrial society required a different culture than the agro-literate one for its actualization and preservation. A homogenous and egalitarian population with specialized and capable persons was necessary for the realization and flourishing of industrial society. He further argued that the way to realize such a society was through universal, standardized and generic public education. This process of "exo-

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[50] Stephen J. Ball, "Introducing Monsieur Foucault," in *Foucault and Education, Disciplines and Knowledge*, ed. Stephen J. Ball (London, New York: Routledge, 1990), 5. Ball, referring to Foucault, further argues that "[t]he use of testing, examining, profiling, and streaming in education, the use of entry criteria for different types of schooling, … in these ways, using these techniques and forms of organization, and the creation of separate and different curricula, pedagogies, forms of teacher-student relationships, identities and subjectivities are formed, learned and carried. Through the creation of remedial and advanced groups, and the separation of the educationally subnormal or those with special educational needs, abilities are stigmatized and normalized." Ibid., 4.

[51] Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*.

education" transformed the high culture of the elite into a broadly shared one.[52] As traditional culture was replaced by the new culture of modernity through public mass education, this process also turned people into citizens. In fact, Johnson's emphasis on industrialization and the accompanying necessity of cultural transformations has similarities with Gellner's arguments presented here.[53] Although Gellner's theory is rather functionalist, places too much emphasis on industrialization, and overemphasizes the effects of mass education, it provides valuable insight with respect to the linkages between public education, modernization and nation-formation -- the aspects which are indeed missing in Johnson's analysis. Yet these relations need to be examined more, and his arguments need to be refined.

A more nuanced and detailed study on modernization and nationalism, focusing also on cultural transformations, is Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*. In this book, Anderson argued that nationalism is a historical contingency, and nations are cultural artifacts, "imagined communities."[54] According to this argument, nationalism emerged towards the end of the eighteenth century due to the historical-social conditions which were related with the advent of modernity, and once created, became a ready-made model. The historical-social forces to which Anderson refered are the decline of the religious community, and the dynastic forms of legitimation, as well as the emergence of a new sense of temporality with its new conceptions of time and space. The gradual decline of the former two, the religious community and the dynastic forms of legitimation, provided the historical and geographical space necessary for the rise of the nations, while the latter, the new sense of temporality, was the direct result of the modernity. Although Anderson presented these historical-social forces as necessary, he did not regard them as sufficient conditions for the realization of nationalisms and the establishment of nations as imagined communities. He specifically stressed the importance of "print-languages." The printing process coupled with a new mode of production, namely print-capitalism, led to the creation of print languages, due to the inherent logic of capitalism. Print languages formed the bases for national consciousness through various processes such as standardizing the language below the high languages as Latin and above vernaculars, creating unified fields of exchange and

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[52] Ibid., 29-32.

[53] Johnson, "Notes on the Schooling of the English Working Class, 1780-1850."

[54] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.

communication (through newspapers and novels), and forming languages of power as the administrative languages.

Besides these general factors, according to Anderson, there were also contextual factors which led to different types of nationalisms, if not typologies. He presented the first examples of nationalism as "*Creole* nationalisms," which were the national movements that rose in Latin America. He argued that these movements were led by *Creole* elites (and not by the intelligentsia), and language did not play an important role in these movements. Moreover these movements were not only due to suppression or the liberalizing effect of the Enlightenment ideals, but also due to the fact that each republic had been an administrative unit which led to the development of a consciousness supported by administrative pilgrimages. These first examples of nationalism were followed by "European nationalisms." Anderson considered the earlier examples of European nationalisms as different from the *Creole* nationalisms. First, these nationalisms had models which they could apply. Second, these were popular vernacular-based nationalisms; print-languages were an important factor in their formation. The consumers of the material produced by this vernacular press were "the families of the reading classes –not merely the 'working father,' but the servant girded wife and the school-age children."[55]

> The lexicographic revolution in Europe, however, created, and gradually spread, the conviction that languages (in Europe at least) were, so to speak, the personal property of quite specific groups –their daily speakers and readers– and moreover that these groups, imagined as communities, were entitled to their autonomous place in a fraternity of equals.[56]

Such developments created political problems for many dynasties, eroding their bases of legitimacy. In an attempt to reassert their legitimacy, they tried to model these new formations, by setting "language-of-the-state." These developments led to the creation of "official nationalisms." Official nationalisms developed after, and in reaction to, the popular national movements proliferating in Europe. According to Anderson, "these nationalisms were historically impossible until after the appearance of popular linguistic-nationalisms, for, at bottom, they were responses by power-groups –

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[55] Ibid., 75.

[56] Ibid., 84.

primarily, but not exclusively, dynastic and aristocratic – threatened with exclusion from, or marginalization in, popular imagined communities."[57]

Anderson's temporal sequencing of nationalisms ended with the "colonial nationalisms" as the last-wave. He argued that

> [colonial nationalisms] took from linguistic European nationalism its ardent populism, and from official nationalism its Russifying policy-orientation. … This is why so often in the nation-building policies of new states one sees a genuine, popular nationalist enthusiasm and a systematic, even Machiavellian, instilling of nationalist ideology through mass media, the education systems, administrative regulations, and so forth.[58]

The modern-style education system of the colonial state, "in part to produce the required subordinate cadres for state and corporate bureaucracies," was one of the main factors in generating an imagined national consciousness in the colonized country.[59] This development was due to both the content, and the centralized and standardized structure of the education system. These nationalisms were indeed led by bilingual intelligentsias who came into existence through such colonial education. Through this education, they attained the means necessary to acquire American and European ideas and models on nationalism. They also gained national consciousness through educational and administrative pilgrimages.

Anderson's study presents us with a thorough and insightful analysis of the intricate relations between nationalism, development and enhancement of the modern state and modernization processes, linking these to the nature of capitalism and the development of capitalist economy. Print languages, the standardization of language and its dissemination among the public, settling of the languages-of the-state, and the following measures directed at its inculcation are in fact related to the development of mass education. Anderson also specifically elaborated on the significance of modern public education, with its centralized and standardized structure, in the realization of the official and colonial nationalisms. For further insight and analysis of these relations between education and nationalism, in the following pages, specific historical case studies are referred to.

Hobsbawm's *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780* can be regarded as such a historical case study on the development and change of the phenomenon of nationalism

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[57] Ibid., 109-110.

[58] Ibid., 114.

[59] Ibid., 140.

from the late eighteenth century onwards – a time when the "nationalist programmes acquire mass support."[60] In this study, Hobsbawm argued that nationalism generally attained mass support in the aftermath and as a consequence of the creation of a national state.[61] He abided by Gellner's definition of nationalism, and stressed that the rise of nationalism is dependent upon the "intersection of politics, technology and social transformation." His account of nations and nationalism (since the late-eighteenth century) took into consideration the political, economic, administrative and technological changes, and focuses on both the processes of modernization from above, and the reactions from below.

As Hobsbawm focused on the processes of modernization from above, he also paid specific attention to the issues of language and mass education, the latter realized through primary public education and universal mandatory military service. He stressed that "All the more so as *the two great institutions of mass education, primary school and army,* brought some knowledge of the official language into every home."[62] With respect to the significance of the primary schools, Hobsbawm further argued that

> Naturally states would use the increasingly powerful machinery for communicating with their inhabitants, above all the primary schools, to spread the image and the heritage of the 'nation' and to inculcate attachment to it and to attach all to country and flag, often 'inventing traditions' or even nations for this purpose.[63]

These government attempts at "ideological engineering" were in fact, for the most cases, not only exercises of "pure manipulation from above," but built upon the already existing sentiments. Furthermore, the governments were not totally able to control the forces they had released.

Hobsbawm's study is a generalized one focusing on a historical account of nations and nationalism, analyzing these with respect to the development and enhancement of the modern state and modernization processes, as well as the development of capitalist economy. He also presented a more general analysis of the relations between language, education, military service and nationalism. The following pages discuss much more

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[60] E.J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth and Reality,* 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 12.

[61] Ibid. Yet, Hobsbawm also notes exceptions such as in Ireland, where nationalist programs gained mass support before the creation of a national state, or as in the case of the so-called Third World, it does not gain such support even after the foundation of the national state. Ibid.

[62] Ibid., 115. My emphasis.

[63] Ibid., 91-92.

specific historical case studies: Eugene Weber's, *Peasants into Frenchmen* and Isser Woloch's *The New Regime*. These two seminal studies are based specifically on the history of France, and focus on the dependencies between the development of the modern state, and the development of public education, as well as the processes of modernization, militarization and nation-formation.

In *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France 1870-1914,* Weber focused on the making of the French nation, and looked at how the policies of the Third Republic created a sense of French nationality in the rural areas of the country. This argument was at the time pretty very contradictory to the official and mainstream views about the formation of French nation-state. As Weber pointed out:

> By 1808, as Hippolyte Taine asserted in his preface to *The Origins of the Revolution in France*, "all of France's traits" were "set and definitive." This is pretty much what the schoolbooks of the Third Republic taught: one people, one country, one government, one nation, one fatherland. This is what historical studies expounded and still expound an axiom most recently repeated by Albert Soboul: "The French Revolution completed the nation which became one and indivisible."[64]

However, what claimed to be a description of France in textbooks and in the historical studies was more of an unfinished blueprint rather than the way things were. Until the late nineteenth century, "the larger abstraction" of *patrie* (fatherland) was far from the "immediate experience of a man's *pays* [region]".[65]

As Weber set out to show "how undeveloped France was integrated into the modern world and the official culture of Paris, of the cities", he first took the reader back to the nineteenth-century traditional village, and described the daily life, conditions, and mentalities there.[66] In the late-nineteenth century, despite the Revolutions of 1789 and 1848, most of France consisted of an isolated country side and impoverished peasant communities. French was a foreign language for over one-quarter of the population.[67] As Weber described, this was "*a France where many did not speak French* or know (let alone use) the metric system, where *pistoles* and *ecus* were better known than francs, where roads were few and markets distant, and where a subsistence

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[64] Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen,* 95.

[65] Ibid., 96.

[66] Ibid., xii.

[67] Ibid., 67.

economy reflected the most common prudence."[68] The policies of the Third Republic resulted in "a sort of precipitation process": "material conditions, mentalities, political awareness, all underwent massive alterations."[69] The construction of secondary transportation networks (railways and roads), the experience of military service, and the development of the public school system acted as "the agencies of change."[70] Unlike the arguments that focus on education as the main agent of change, here, the argument was that the schools' "success was an integral part of a total process."[71] Weber stressed that

> Like migration, politics, and economic development, schools brought suggestions of alternative values and hierarchies; and of commitments to bodies other than the local group. They eased individuals out of the latter's grip and shattered the hold of unchallenged cultural and political creeds— but only to train their votaries for another faith.[72]

All these processes resulted in the assimilation of the countryside by urban institutions, values, and culture. The process was akin to colonization.[73] Popular cultures disintegrated and were replaced by the official culture of the elite.

In his study, Weber examined a wide range of materials, such as school records, migration patterns, travel accounts, military service documents, economic trends, and the folkloric literature (festivals, proverbs, dances, songs, etc.). The book is an ambitious synthesis of all these materials and documentation. There have indeed been questions about how accurate and representative Weber's account of French history was. It is argued that he simplified the complexity of rural social structure. The timing and the extent of the changes he described are also questioned. For instance, Reed-Danahay, in her study of the relations between schooling and family strategies in a village in the south-central France, argues that even in the 1980s, these people "had not, as Weber (1976) concluded, made the transition from 'peasants into Frenchmen.'"[74] However her argument does not present a complete refutation of Weber's thesis, since she further argues that this peasant community "forged an identity that allowed the coexistence of both rural Auvergnat [the name of the village where ethnographic reach

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[68] Ibid. My emphasis.

[69] Ibid., xi.

[70] See ibid., 195-374.

[71] Ibid., 303.

[72] Ibid., 338.

[73] Ibid., 486.

[74] Deborah Reed-Danahay, *Education and Identity in Rural France: The Politics of Schooling* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 207.

was conducted] identity and French national identity."[75] The development of a new identity, which carries the elements of the local and national identities, indicates that the transformations Weber argued had in fact occurred, but in locally specific ways. Although original and informative, as he himself also indicated, Weber's study is not a definitive one, but a "suggestion of the work still to be done."[76] Yet it provides valuable information about the relations between the development and enhancement of the modern state, modernization, public education, the introduction of universal military service, and nation-formation, and proves to be an excellent beginning for further analyses of these processes.

In his *The New Regime: Transformations of the French Civic Order, 1789-1820s,* Woloch also focused on France and highlighted the continuities and the changes that took place in the aftermath of the Revolution with the establishment of a new regime.[77] The study unfolded along the following question: "What civic values animated the new regime, what policies did it adopt, what institutions did it established, and how did they fare when carried into practice?"[78] It provided detailed analysis of the primary material on the organizations and reorganizations of the civic order –"the values, policies, and institutions at the juncture of state and civil society"-- throughout the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries.[79] Woloch argued that the new regime was based on the "new, integrative ideology of national unity and civil equality," which meant a new kind of polity with new laws, new structures and new values.[80]

Although Woloch excluded from his analysis issues such as state-church relations, state intervention between labor and capital, secondary education, his analysis is full of rich and detailed information and facts. He showed that the new regime tried to create a new administrative framework which would allow central control over the polity. Besides the forging of a novel administrative framework, his analysis also focused extensively on the rise and decline of political participation, the integration of rural institutions to the central government, the development of centralized and standardized

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[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid., xv.

[77] Isser Woloch, *The New Regime: Transformations of the French Civic Order, 1789-1820s* (London, New York: W.W. Norton, 1994).

[78] Ibid., 14.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Ibid., 26.

policies of primary education, the introduction of poor relief, the renovation of the judicial system, and the implementation of a permanent system of military universal conscription. He showed that the changes Weber put forth as being realized in France by the end of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries were already underway after the Revolution of 1789, at least in the form of ideas. The first attempts for realizing these changes, though not necessarily successful, were made in the aftermath of the Revolution. These initiatives were followed by a series of others, as well as retreats and reformulations.

In this analysis, Woloch concentrated extensively on the origins and enhancement of public education. Primary education was already established in many regions in France before the Revolution, mainly due to the Church's belief in the cause of literacy in serving against heresy. It was supposed to reproduce the local social order and promote piety. He argued that with the Revolution, primary public education acquired a central position in the ideology of the new regime. This new significance was in part related with the vacuum created by the destruction of the Church's corporate autonomy. Yet as Woloch stressed there were also other reasons:

> [M]ore was involved than filling a vacuum. Education quickly assumed an unparalleled ideological and instrumental importance. The revolutionaries came to regard universal primary schooling as *the hallmark of a progressive nation* and as a key to the future prospects of the French people.[81]

Now primary education was regarded as an institution and a tool of the state. The primary schools would teach the elements of republican morality, and inculcate "the republic's secularizing moral vision", thus transforming the society.[82] As Woloch pointed out, the governments taking over after 1789 repeatedly asserted that "the fate of the Republic depended on regenerating the people through education."[83] They provided various master plans all of which proposed measures that would bring primary education under state supervision, and make universal primary schooling normative and secular.[84] Although the governments in power in the aftermath of the Revolution attempted to realize state penetration in and through primary public education, they were not really successful in the beginning. Yet, as Woloch stressed, these attempts

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[81] Ibid., 177. My emphasis.

[82] Ibid., 234.

[83] Ibid., 179.

[84] The earliest examples of these plans were Talleyrand's project and Condocet's plan. Some plans, such as the LePeletier's plan, even argued that the children belonged to the state rather than their families. Ibid.

were continuously carried out, bringing primary education increasingly within the sphere of the state.[85]

In this study, Woloch also focused on the practice of military service in the after the Revolution, and argued that military service based on universal conscription had been the most controversial issue in the countryside, and yet became the most decisive institution that increased the power of central government over the localities and individuals. The measures undertaken in this area by the new regime, and especially the ones introduced by Napoleon, strictly subordinated all parts of the country to the central government, leading to the integration of the body politic. Woloch argued that:

> By Napoleon's choice, conscription constituted the ultimate frontier of state building, of the articulation of the administrative state projected by Revolution. … Under the relentless pressures of the state…. became a cornerstone of the new civic order.[86]

These two seminal studies by Weber and Woloch highlighted the intricate linkages between the development of the modern state, and the development of public education, as well as the processes of modernization, militarization and nation-formation. More direct analyses of the relations between public education, militarization and the military can be found in the recent works of various feminist scholars. Ayşe Gül Altınay, in her *The Myth of Military Nation,* concentrates on how the military service and education has been seen as "the nation's two fronts" in Turkey by the ruling elites, and how they were utilized in building of the nation.[87]

In another study, Lutz and Bartlett provide insights to the militarization of education and its relation with the processes of industrialization, and national identity formation, as well as the growth of the modern state and technologies of governing, through an analysis of the *Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps* (JROTC) program's origins in the US. Drawing from Katz's work, Lutz and Bartlett argue that public education in the US in the late nineteenth and especially in the early-twentieth century, increasingly "invoked [in the schools] a military model, along with a factory model, as routes to the desired hierarchization, specialization, rationalization, and standardization." This was especially the case with respect to the crowded urban schools

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[85] See also Isser Woloch, "The Right to Primary Education in the French Revolution: From Theory to Practice," in *The French Revolution and the Meaning of Citizenship*, ed. R. Waldinger, P. Dawson, and I. Woloch (Westport, London: Greenwood Press, 1993), 137-152.

[86] Ibid., 433.

[87] A detailed analysis of this book is provided in the following pages.

which "imitate aspects of the military organizational model because the two institutions were sometimes seen as confronting the same problem – that of controlling and training large groups of dangerous young people."[88] They further argue that developing social cohesion and national identity became particularly important during the early twentieth century, as a response to mass immigration and the increasing organization of labor. In this context, "military training and several other features of high schools in this period have been seen as attempts to manage or otherwise respond to class and racial conflict."[89]

From the late-nineteenth century onwards in the US, both in and outside of schools, a variety of military and paramilitary youth training programs emerged. The JROTC program originated and was introduced to the public schools during the First World War. Lutz and Bartlett stress that the program was indeed promoted by civilian rather than military elites, and the idea behind its development was not teaching military skills to students, but rather "to recruit and develop public support for military definition of the situation."[90] The program's central target was to "reverse moral decay among youth, provide citizenship training for immigrants, and inculcate much needed discipline and respect for authority."[91] Lutz and Bartlett further argue that the JROTC program has been expanding rapidly during the 1990s. They stress that the program has been recently promoted as providing help and discipline for "at-risk" students (a "racially coded discourse" mostly used to refer to black and male students), and as aiming to "make better Americans."[92] Yet, its dominate claim that "soldiering is the avenue to citizenship for minorities" has not changed over the years.[93]

Cynthia Enloe also draws attention to the JROTC program in the US public high schools, and its role in the militarization processes in *Manuevers*. Enloe highlights the content of the JROTC's American history curriculum which glorifies the military in the country's development, and its militarizing role. She explains the radical expansion of the JROTC program during 1990s, with the acquiescence of the public in the military's

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[88] Catherine Lutz and Lesley Bartlett, "Disciplining Social Difference: Some Cultural Politics of Military Training in Public High Schools," *The Urban Review* 30, no. 2 (1998), 121.

[89] Ibid., 120.

[90] Ibid., 124.

[91] Ibid., 119-120.

[92] Ibid., 125-127.

[93] Ibid., 131.

argument that "in post-Cold War America, militarized training in high school will instill discipline in 'marginal' students, will teach patriotism, and will provide a post-school career track."[94]

Jackyln Cock's work provides an extreme case of militarization of public education where the military-based education programs are directly introduced to the white educational system in South Africa. The Youth Preparedness Program was introduced in 1972 as a compulsory subject to all white schools. The school cadet system, which was officially launched in 1976, was linked to this program. It exposed students to paramilitary training, and was coordinated by the *South African Defense Force* (SADF). It specifically emphasized military preparedness, discipline and patriotism, and was described by the military officials as "an attempt to cultivate the military spirit," and "a positive attitude" towards the SADF.[95] According to the 1986 Cadet Training Manual, students were to be "warned of the 'threat to peaceful co-existence and prosperity in South Africa'," and taught that "cadet training is necessary to 'prepare themselves against this threat'."[96]

The debates and studies presented here provide insights for the origins and development of public education, and their linkages to the growth of the modern state and technologies of governing, the enhancement of capitalist economy, and the processes of industrialization, modernization and nation-formation.[97] They also show that the introduction of the institution military service based on conscription, and the idea of nationalism have also been a part of these processes. Concentrating on the specific case of Turkey in the light of these discussions, it can be argued that the emergence of public mass education in the late Ottoman times was based on the development of the modern state, and the mechanisms of state intrusion. The first modern government schools of the Empire were founded at the end of the eighteenth

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[94] Cynthia Enloe, *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 14.

[95] Jacklyn Cock, *Colonels and Cadres: War and Gender in South Africa* (Cape Town, New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 70.

[96] Ibid.

[97] For other case studies on the relation between schooling and nationalism, see Wayne Dowler, *Classroom and Empire, The Politics of Schooling Russia's Eastern Nationalities, 1860-1917* (Montreal & Kinston, London: McGill-Queens University Press, 2001); Aurolyn Luykx, *The Citizen Factory, Schooling and Cultural Production in Bolivia* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999); J.J. Tomiak, ed., *Schooling, Educational Policy and Ethnic Identity, Comparative Studies on Governments and Non-Dominant Ethnic Groups in Europe, 1850-1940* (Dartmouth: New York University Press, 1991); Stephanie Schwandner-Sievers and Bernd J. Fischer, eds., *Albanian Identities: Myth and History*, (London: Hurst & Company, 2002).

century as military institutions. By the end of 1830s, civil government schools designed to educate civil servants were established in order to actualize a new, efficient, centralized and rational administrative apparatus. Thus, the beginnings of the modern education coincided with nineteenth-century state reform in the Ottoman Empire, which was indeed a part of the attempts at Westernization undertaken "to ward off Western encroachment."[98]

Somel, in his meticulous study on the modernization of public education in the Ottoman Empire, argues that these first civil government schools did not necessarily constitute the basis of Ottoman modern public education; a concern for public school network emerged in the aftermath of these developments:

> However, when the first civil institutions were established in 1839, there emerged considerations of an educational system also for political (to promote patriotic feelings, to strengthen the idea of an abstract state), cultural (material progress of humanity), and economic (to promote industrial and artisanal production as well as individual profit) ends. The concrete outcome of these considerations, on the other hand, appeared as circular measures that promoted religious and moral values. *Correction of human beings*, one of the aims of public education, could be traced back to earlier traditions, the understanding of *schools as agents for correcting and disciplining students particularly within the historical context of military reforms and administrative centralization.* This could be compared with the early modern European absolutistic policies of social disciplining.[99]

As Somel points out, the Absolutist period in Europe "witnessed the industrial disciplinization of Western societies parallel to the military disciplinization, which reflected itself in the structural reorganization of schools."[100] Ottoman educational

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[98] Benjamin J. Fortna, *The Imperial Classroom: Islam, the State, and Education in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 12.

[99] Selçuk Akşin Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline* (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2001), 16. My emphasis.

[100] This term could be understood within the contexts of early-modern Absolutism and within the framework of the eighteenth century European Enlightenment. With the emergence of territorial and absolutistic states in early modern Europe, church discipline, the strengthening of religious identity, and the enforcement of religious conformity were used for aggrandizing the authority of the ruler, while people were expected to become obedient, pious and hard-working subjects. The humanist Dutch scholar Justus Lipsius systematized this policy of absolutism under the label 'Neo-Stoicism.' In the Netherlands, in Prussia, and in other absolutistic regimes military reform, state-building and Neo-Stoic philosophy of 'social disciplining' were closely connected to each other. This religious notion of social disciplining was closely connected with the ear of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, where the monarch was conceived as a theocratic ruler and had the mission to spread the true faith among his subjects. The expansion of the rational and secular philosophy of the Enlightenment among intellectual circles of Western and Central Europe from the eighteenth century onwards led to the phenomenon of 'enlightened despotism' in central and eastern Europe, where enlightened rulers tried to reshape their societies according to rational principles, like in Prussia, Austria, or Russia. The object of these attempts at social engineering was to provide extensive administrative centralization and rationalization of the economy and

reform was based on similar concerns of disciplining, as a part of the process of the Westernization of education.

In fact, Somel also notes that the tradition of social disciplining in the Ottoman Empire, in the sense of "raising hardworking subjects loyal to the state and the sultan" by inculcating certain religious and authoritarian values, went back to the sixteenth century.[101] The state, from the nineteenth century onwards, tried to use public education as an institutional tool of social disciplining, as well as modernization. During the course of this century, the mainly religious character of social disciplining attained a new aspect, "uniforming regulatory disciplining," through the use of schools and textbooks. The use of textbooks (their contents approved by the Ministry of Education) became a standardized procedure in the Ottoman educational system during the Hamidian period. The increasing process of uniforming in public education also manifested itself in the "school uniforms, class system, formal examinations, and levels of graduation within a tight system of educational promotion."[102]

The Ottoman state began promoting public education during the *Tanzimat* era (1839-1876). The Ministry of Public Education was founded in 1857 in order to better coordinate the increasing number of government schools in the Empire, and to efficiently supervise the non-Muslim and foreign educational institutions. It was also a step in the secularization of public education. Somel argues that until this time, all educational reform policies contained a "duality of technological modernism and Islamism."[103] The gradual shift of the late *Tanzimat* reformers toward a more secular understanding of primary education was reflected especially in the reform document of the *Regulation of Public Education* (*Maarif-i Umumiyye Nizamnamesi*) of 1869, which was prepared under the influence of the French Minister of Education. This document envisioned schools to be supervised by the government. The concern with education increased considerably in the Hamidian era (1878-1908). Although the duality between technological modernism and Islamism was gradually set aside by the late *Tanzimat* era,

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the finances with the ultimate aim to create an efficient army. These objects could not be realized without measures of social disciplining. ... This period witnessed the industrial disciplinization of Western societies in parallel with the military disciplinization, which reflected itself in the structural reorganization of schools." Ibid., 5-6.

[101] Ibid., 271.

[102] Ibid., 7.

[103] Ibid., 3.

in favor of the former, it was reasserted again in the Hamidian era, with a view to creating a synthesis of modernization and Islamism.

In the *Tanzimat* era, the main steps of reform were taken mainly in the fields of secondary and professional institutions. The primary schools, the Quran or *sıbyan* schools, were oriented mainly towards the teaching of religious subjects. They were traditionally considered to belong to the religious realm, and controlled by the pious foundations. As Somel states, "Only when the insufficient quality of education provided by the traditional Quran schools became obvious to the later *Tanzimat*-period bureaucrats, did they take concrete steps from the 1860s onwards to include positive and practical course subjects."[104] However, this attempt at reforming the Quran schools was not successful. From 1870s onwards, government primary schools, *ibtidai*s, were founded as an alternative solution, and they coexisted alongside the traditional schools. Somel argues that

> The expansion of public schools in the provinces constituted a major challenge, which was not fully overcome until the end of the Empire. This venture harbored several problems: lack of funds; the need to set up local educational administration and inspection; the need for trained instructors; and question of non-Turkish ethnic groups.[105]

The Ottoman public education system was not successful especially in the peripheral areas because it "was not designed with adaptability to local conditions and needs of a vast empire." In fact, "it was a rigid system, which aimed at molding individuals into politically loyal and obedient subjects."[106]

First used for the purposes of state enhancement and social disciplining, public mass education increasingly became an arena where maneuvers of preserving or saving the state took place. From the early-twentieth century onwards, public education continued to be directed to the purposes of state preservation and enhancement as well as disciplining, and it was at the same time used for the endeavors of nation formation. The development of modern techniques and technologies of governing provided the means, and the socio-historical conditions provided the impetus for the utilization of education for such ends. Nevertheless, the specific development of public education also depended on the conscious choices of the ruling elite – most of whom being

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[104] Ibid., 3.

[105] Ibid., 272.

[106] Ibid., 274.

educated in this new system.[107] It was increasingly utilized by these elite for the purposes of legitimizing the new forms of governance, the initiated cultural changes, and forming a stable, productive, liable, disciplined, obedient body politic. This concern with governmentality is especially evident in the years after the foundation of the Republic,[108] as we will also see in the following chapters through an analysis of the educational material and discourses.

2.2. Textbook Research

The previous discussion tried to uncover the established dependencies between public education, on the one hand, and the development of the nation-state, nationalism, the processes of modernization, and the institution of universal military service, on the other. It focused on the debates regarding the *raison d'être* of public education, and the related arguments in political and social theory, and the theoretical, socio-historical studies in nation-state formation and nationalism. This section will concentrate on one of the major tools of public education – textbooks. Textbooks are the major instruments in realizing the state policies and discourses in education.[109]

As discussed in the previous section, since the late eighteenth century, education has increasingly been subject to state regulation and control, and utilized for the realization of specific ends. In Turkey, also, especially since the foundation of the Republic, education has been strictly defined and controlled by the official policies through state-imposed guidelines and national curricula. Educational loci are "centrally involved in the propagation and selective dissemination of discourses, the 'social

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[107] Ibid., 275-277; Şerif Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri*, 1895-1908, 11th ed. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004); Şerif Mardin, "Introduction," in *Religion, Society and Modernity in Turkey* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2006), p. xiii, xvi.

[108] For analyses of educational developments and transformations in the Republican period, see, Başgöz and Wilson, *Educational Problems in Turkey*; Osman Ergin, *Türk Maarif Tarihi* (İstanbul: Eser Matbaası, 1977); Necdet Sakaoğlu, *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Eğitim Tarihi* (İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2003); Gök, ed., *75 Yılda Eğitim*; Kaplan, *Türkiye'de Milli Eğitim İdeolojisi ve Siyasal Toplumsallaşma Üzerindeki Etkisi*; S. Kaplan, *The Pedagogical State.*

[109] Young, ed., *Knowledge and Control*; Goodson, *The Making of Curriculum*; Goodson, ed., *International Perspectives in Curriculum History*; Meyer, Kamens, and Benavot, et.al., eds., *School Knowledge for the Masses*; Michael W. Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum,* 3rd ed. (New York, London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2004).

appropriation' of discourses."[110] It is through these discourses and educational technologies that "individuals are to be disciplined and self-regulated."[111] Textbooks, being the result of state imposed concerns or at best the officially defined guidelines, can be regarded as the major carriers of the discourses of the social and political system of that state. In places where state-centric curriculum development and textbook production take place, as in the case of Turkey, these aspects are much more pressing.

Textbooks are the products of a double discourse; scientific and social-political. Even when a textbook belongs to a purely scientific area (such as mathematics, physics, chemistry, etc.), it carries the elements of a social-political discourse. The textbooks related to learning the official language and literature of the state can carry the discourses more easily by presenting texts, which can then direct the thoughts, sentiments, behavior, and morals of a specific society.[112] While history textbooks create a particular historical definition of the past through which they attempt to define the present, geography textbooks, particularly through mapping, present the "geo-body" of the nation.[113] Both of these textbooks try to create a national memory in relation to time and space, upon which a collective identity is founded. Meanwhile, civics textbooks aim to construct responsible individuals with respect to their collectivities.[114] The following pages first provide a brief historical background on the international development of the studies on the area of textbooks, and then review the studies conducted on textbooks in Turkey.

The international concern with textbooks goes back to the aftermath of the First World War. The *League of Nations*, which was founded after the war, called upon the nation states to consider analyses of their textbooks and revise them in order to prevent the commitment of atrocities between states.[115] Since the end of the Second World War, textbook analysis and revision have increasingly become pressing issues. Upon its

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[110] Ball, "Introducing Monsieur Foucault", 3.

[111] Popkewitz and Brennan "Restructuring of Social and Political Theory in Education", 13.

[112] See Copeaux, *Tarih Ders Kitaplarında (1931-1993) Türk Tarih Tezinden Türk-İslam Sentezine.*

[113] See Antoniou and Soysal, "Conceptualizations of the Nation and the Other in Greek and Turkish History Textbooks"; T. Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994).

[114] See Üstel, *"Makbul Vatandaş"ın Peşinde*; Yasemin Nuhoğlu Soysal, Teresa Bertilotti, and Sabine Mannitz, "Projections of Identity in French and German History and Civics Textbooks," in *The Nation, Europe and the World: Textbooks and Curricula in Transition*, ed. Hannah Schissler and Yasemin Nuhoğlu Soysal (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2004), 13-34.

[115] Pingel, *UNESCO Ders Kitaplarını Araştırma ve Düzeltme Rehberi*, 5.

founding in 1946, UNESCO acknowledged that history textbooks have been used to generate atrocities between the states. In its first general conference, promoting studies about textbooks and their revision in its program were included.[116] Since then, various international, bilateral and/or national studies on textbook research have been conducted under the auspices of UNESCO or with its support.[117] UNESCO has been cooperating with the *Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research* (Barunschweig, Germany), and these organizations have developed, since 1992, the *UNESCO International Textbook Research Network*. The *Council of Europe* (1949) has also been a promoter of textbook studies across Europe.[118] Both the initiatives of UNESCO and the Council of Europe have been carried in cooperation with national committees, non-governmental organizations, institutes, and scholars. For instance, the *Improvement of Balkan History Textbooks Project,* completed in 2002, was undertaken by the *History Foundation of Turkey*, supported by UNESCO together with other organizations (the Heinrich Böll Foundation and Consulate General of the Netherlands in Turkey). Selections of primary and secondary level history textbooks used at the time were analyzed by the national committees of academics and history teachers from five countries: Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Romania, and Turkey.[119] Besides these international initiatives, there have also been regional ones, generally taking the form of bilateral national committees.

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[116] Linda King, "UNESCO's Work in Peace and Human Rights Education," in *How are We Educated? International Symposium on Human Rights Education, April 17-18 2004, Istanbul* (İstanbul: History Foundation of Turkey, 2007), 16; *İlk ve Orta Öğretim Düzeyinde Tarih Öğretiminin Yeniden Yapılandırılması, Atölye 1,* 2-3 Aralık 2000, Ankara (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2000), 8.

[117] See for example, UNESCO, "Bilateral Consultations for the Improvement of History Textbooks," in *Educational Studies and Documents*, no. 4 (Paris: UNESCO, 1953); Pingel, *UNESCO Ders Kitaplarını Araştırma ve Düzeltme Rehberi*.

[118] See for example, *Tarih Öğretiminde Çoğulcu ve Hoşgörülü Bir Yaklaşıma Doğru*, Sempozyum, 10-12 Aralık 1998, Brüksel, Belçika, "20. Yüzyıl Avrupa Tarihini Öğrenmek ve Öğretmek" Projesi (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2003); *Tarihin Kötüye Kullanımı*, "Tarihi Kötüye Kullanma Biçimleriyle Yüzleşmek" Sempozyumu, 28-30 Haziran 1999, Oslo, Norveç, trans. N. Elhüseyni, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2004); Falk Pingel, *Avrupa Evi: Ders Kitaplarında 20. Yüzyıl Avrupa'sı*, trans. N. Elhüseyni "20. Yüzyıl Avrupa Tarihini Öğrenmek ve Öğretmek" Projesi (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, 2003).

[119] See *Improvement of Balkan History Textbooks Project Reports* (İstanbul: Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey, 2002). Besides textbooks analyses, the reports also included information about the current situation of the educational systems of these five countries. A cross-reading of these reports shows that Turkey has the most state-centric system educational system among these countries. The report on Turkey stressed the necessity of further analyses of textbooks used in the country, and that "history education is still conceived as a directly political issue and as a tool of "psychological war." Ibid., 183.

Apart from the international and non-governmental organizations, national and bilateral committees, scholars have also focused on textbook research. Textbooks, worldwide, have been a major source for the analyses of the identity discourse, historical discourse and/or nationalist discourse.[120] One of the latest studies in the field is the book edited by Schissler and Soysal, *The Nation, Europe and the World: Textbooks and Curricula in Transition*, which is a compilation of the studies of scholars from various disciplines on the recent developments in curricula and textbooks in various countries.[121] With respect to textbooks analysis, the book contains case studies and comparative works from Germany, Greece, France, Netherlands, Russia, Spain, and Turkey, written by Antoniou, Bertilotti, Luzon, Ohliger, Maier, Mannitz, Pereyra, and Soysal. In "Projections of Identity in French and German History and Civics Textbooks," Soysal, Bertilotti and Mannitz discuss the findings of their analyses of the French and German history and civics textbooks. The sample is taken by reference to major educational reforms taking place during three periods: the 1950s, 1970s, and 1990s. The authors argue that German textbooks have moved away from focusing extensively on national history, and try to create an inclusive European identity. In the recent German textbooks, "the nation is valorized negatively, if not disavowed, for its dangerous inclination toward nationalism."[122] According to the authors, "French textbooks also deploy an increasingly less nation-oriented approach, and certain openness to world history."[123] While German textbooks increasingly include linguistic and cultural diversity, and state "the necessity of recognizing others and being in solidarity with them as fellow citizens," the French textbooks stress diversity only in conjunction with unity.[124] The authors conclude that in the German textbooks, there is no conflict between the national and transnational levels, such that the nation and

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[120] For some examples of international research, see Jean Anyon, "Ideology and United States History Textbooks," *Harvard Educational Review* 49, no. 3 (1979), 361-386; Ruth Miller Elson, *Guardians of Tradition* (Nebrasca: University of Nebraska Press, 1964); Frances Fitzgerald, *America Revisited: History Schoolbooks in the Twentieth Century* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1979); Rubina Saigol, *Knowledge and Identity: The Articulation of Gender in Educational Discourse in Pakistan* (Lahore: ASR Publications, 1995); L. Hein and M. Selden, eds., *Censoring History: Citizenship and Memory in Japan, Germany and the United States* (New York: Sharpe, 2000); Hanna Schissler and Yasemin Nuhoğlu Soysal, eds., *The Nation, Europe and the World: Textbooks and Curricula in Transition* (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2004).

[121] Schissler and Soysal, eds., *The Nation, Europe and the World.*

[122] Soysal, Bertilotti, and Mannitz, "Projections of Identity in French and German History and Civics Textbooks", 16.

[123] Ibid., 17.

[124] Ibid., 28-29.

identity are situated within a transnational context. However, for the French textbooks situating the identity within a transnational context presented a challenge due to the strong tradition of political centralism and a more abstract understanding of nationality. The authors argue that the recent textbooks in France face this challenge by approximating national identity with the transnational identity. "The universalistic impetus of French self-definition" makes it possible to present "the principles that constitute Frenchness" also as "European principles."[125]

In another comparative work from the same book, entitled "Conceptualizations of the Nation and the Other in Greek and Turkish History Textbooks," Antoniou and Soysal analyze the history textbooks used in the lower secondary school education in Greece and Turkey.[126] In Greece, lower secondary school covers grades 7 to 9 (ages 11-14), while in Turkey, it includes grades 6 to 8 (ages 12-15). Lower secondary school is compulsory in both countries, and thus reflects mass education.[127] The data of the analysis is from two separate longitudinal studies conducted on the history textbooks of each country; however, the article focuses mainly on the period after 1970s. The examples provided in the article are from the textbooks of the 1990s; these textbooks are compared with the textbooks of the earlier periods, yet no examples from the earlier periods are provided. The article discusses the main elements of nation-formation in Greece and Turkey, and analyzes the conceptualizations of nation and identity in these two countries. In Turkey, since the 1980s, the emphasis on national history in education has steadily increased. In contrast, in Greece, after 1974, with the fall of the military dictatorship, some of the nationalistic sentiments in the textbooks and curricula were modified. However, in both countries, history textbooks place a strong emphasis on the nation. Analyzing the Greek history textbooks, Antoniou and Soysal argue that the textbooks emphasize temporal continuity between the past and the present, and highlight culture as "the defining signifier of the nation." The Greek nation is presented as "a cultural community traveling through time." Beginning with the ancient Greeks, proceeding into the Byzantium, and culminating in the construction of the nation-state, the national narrative unfolds around the "Hellenic-Christian" tradition. It stresses the "accommodation between the Hellenic and the Christian world," and signifies the Greek

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[125] Ibid., 31.

[126] Antoniou and Soysal, "Conceptualizations of the Nation and the Other in Greek and Turkish History Textbooks", 105-121.

[127] In Turkey, lower secondary school, grades 6 to 8 became compulsory after 1997.

Orthodox religion as a major characteristic of Greekness.[128] The Ottoman rule is regarded as the "black period," while Turks as referred as the only and the persistent 'other.'[129]

In contrast to the Greek case, in the Turkish history textbooks, it is the territory of the state that is presented as the defining signifier of nationness. The national narrative of the Turkish history textbooks proceeds with breaks as the territories of the nation change from the Central Asia, to the vast lands of the Ottoman Empire, and to Anatolia. The narrated heritages of the Turkic tribes, the Ottoman Empire, and the new Republic remain discrete in the textbooks; they are not organized into one seamless history. With the history of the Republic, the nation proper, "the national time begins anew."[130] The focus on territory, together with this specific narration of national history, results in the projections of national identity being expressed with reference to multiple 'others'.[131] Besides territory, emphasis on national ancestry and culture also plays an important role in the textbooks. Cultural continuity is presented via the language, and the idea of conquering, ruling new territories, and consecutive building of states.[132] The authors argue that the textbooks "simultaneously embrace and dispute cultural influences (for example, the Arabic civilization and the Ottoman period) as well as downplaying … the Islamic heritage," and, with the 1980s, the Turkish Islamic states and their successes becomes the focus.[133] All these add up to formulate a "disjointed national history and identity."[134]

Upon this analysis of Greek and Turkish history textbooks, Antoniou and Soysal conclude that while Greek national identity is cultural, the Turkish one is essentially state/political. With respect to the Turkish case, it is argued that "the creation of a secular state based principally on a civic conception of membership demonstrates the modernizing (European) values that characterize modern projections of the nation and identity."[135] Although the analysis of Antoniou and Soysal of the Greek and Turkish

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[128] Antoniou and Soysal, "Conceptualizations of the Nation and the Other in Greek and Turkish History Textbooks", 106.

[129] Ibid., 107.

[130] Ibid., 106.

[131] Ibid., 110.

[132] Ibid., 112-113.

[133] Ibid., 113.

[134] Ibid., 106.

[135] Ibid., 113-114.

history textbooks is rather insightful, and presents a great deal of information on the conceptualizations of nation and identity in these two countries, their conclusion as Greek national identity being cultural and Turkish one as state/political, and thus implying a civic conception of membership, is indeed reductionist. Although this reductionism can be regarded as helpful for the purposes of comparison, the problems it poses should nevertheless be acknowledged. The emphasis on territory of the state as the defining signifier of the nation does not necessarily mean that the formulated identity is primarily political, and it does not necessarily point to civic membership to the state. In fact, as we will see in the analysis presented in the following chapter of this study, in the conceptualizations of Turkish national identity, there has been a double emphasis; on the territory of the state, and on cultural continuity. The stress on these two notions can change from time to time, and defining these changes requires a longitudinal analysis of the textbooks. Although Antoniou and Soysal acknowledge the significance of culture in the analyzed textbooks, they do not proceed further with this analysis.

Another problematic argument of the article is that both Greece and Turkey are located "beyond the boundaries of European modernity proper":

> [I]ts past association with the Eastern Roman Empire, Orthodox Christianity, and Ottoman rule, plus its geographical location, keep Greece in the margins of Europe, tainting her modernity and character with Easternness. Turkey, on the other hand, claims a formal place in Europe, as a result of a history of nation-making practiced and expressed as European-style modernization. However, it is located beyond the cultural and political boundaries of European modernity proper. In other words, both Greece and Turkey, located in the margins of Europe—Greece inside but outside, Turkey, outside but inside—differentially persist as 'others' in and of Europe.[136]

The authors seem to essentialize the boundaries of Europe; they do not define these boundaries clearly, but set them against Easternness. It is also argued in the article that both Greek and Turkish "exercise in nation-building remains incomplete and questionable by European standards."[137] However, these European standards are not defined. The authors further stress that "Achieving Europeanness demands that, first

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[136] Ibid., 107. My emphasis.

[137] Ibid.

and foremost, Greece and Turkey realize a proper and unchallenged nationness based on the Western European model"; what "proper nationness" includes is again left open.[138]

Despite the international concern on textbook research, until recently there have not been many critical works in this field, in Turkey. However, in the 1990s, scholars, universities, and non-governmental organizations started to conduct critical studies on the education system in general, and they have arranged conferences and made publications in the field of textbook research in particular.[139] Some of these efforts were also supported by international and/or supranational organizations. The efforts at textbook research were first and foremost focused on the history textbooks. In the mid-1990's, the Turkish Institute of Philosophy and later the History Foundation of Turkey conducted analyses of the history textbooks used in Turkey with the goal of re-writing these books with a world history focus. The symposium about the teaching of history and the analysis of history textbooks, organized by the History Foundation of Turkey and Dokuz Eylül University in Buca in 1994, was the result of these efforts. It included papers on the analyses of history textbooks used in Turkey at all levels.[140] Following this symposium, in 1995, the Second International Congress of History organized by the History Foundation critically examined the history education and the issue of the 'other' in history in various countries. The congress focused extensively on textbook research.[141]

Most recently a major project involving the analysis of textbooks has been conducted under the auspices of the Turkish Academy of Sciences (TÜBA) [*Türkiye Bilimler Akademisi*] by the History Foundation, in cooperation with the Human Rights

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[138] Ibid.

[139] For some of these studies on education see Büşra Ersanlı-Behar, *İktidar ve Tarih: Türkiye'de Resmi Tarih Tezinin Oluşumu (1939-1937)* (İstanbul: AFA Yayınları, 1992); Salih Özbaran, *Tarih ve Öğretimi* (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1992); Bülent Tanör, Zafer Toprak and Halil Berktay, *'İnkılap Tarihi' Dersleri Nasıl Okutulmalı?* (İstanbul: Üniversite Öğretim Üyeleri Derneği, 1997); Ali Berktay and Hamdi Can Tuncer, eds., *Tarih Eğitimi ve Tarihte 'Öteki' Sorunu.* 2. Uluslararası Tarih Kongresi, 8-10 Haziran 1995, İstanbul (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998); İlhan Tekeli, *Tarih Bilinci ve Gençlik: Karşılaştırmalı Avrupa ve Türkiye Araştırması* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998); Kürşat Bumin, *Okulumuz, Resmi İdeolojimiz ve Politikaya Övgü* (İstanbul: Yol Yayınları, 1998); Kaplan, *Türkiye'de Milli Eğitim İdeolojisi*; Ayşe Gül Altınay, *The Myth of the Military-Nation*; Kenan Çayır, "Demokratikleşme Yolunda Eğitim ve Militarizm," *Sivil Toplum Dergisi* 3 (12) (2005), 139-142. For alternative textbooks in citizenship studies and peace education, see İpek Gürkaynak, et.al., *Yurttaş olmak için...Eğitici El Kitabı* (İstanbul: Umut Vakfı, 1998); Jennifer Mansur Sertel and Güliz Kurt, *WINPEACE Barış Eğitimi: Barış Bireyde Başlar* (İstanbul: WINPEACE, 2004).

[140] Salih Özbaran, ed., *Tarih Öğretimi ve Ders Kitapları.* 1994 Buca Sempozyumu, 29 Eylül -1 Ekim 1994, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2007).

[141] Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, *Tarih Eğitimi ve Tarihte Öteki Sorunu.* 2. Uluslararası Tarih Kongresi, 8-10 Haziran 1995, İstanbul, (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1998).

Foundation of Turkey (TIHV) [*Türkiye İnsan Hakları Vakfı*], and *Eğitim-Sen* (the teachers' union).[142] The project, entitled "Human Rights in Textbooks Project," focused on the analysis of textbooks on the basis of a set of human rights criteria determined by taking the *UN Declaration of Human Rights* as the basis. The criteria were developed by an advisory committee of scholars after a series of workshops. Upon these criteria, 190 textbooks were scanned by volunteers such as teachers, parents, PhD and MA students. The survey covered all major subjects in the primary and secondary curriculum. The surveyed textbooks were the ones that were in circulation from Fall 2001 to Spring 2002. The History Foundation and TÜBA, in 2003, publicized the findings of this research, and also published the articles written by various scholars analyzing these findings.[143] The project also included a series of national and international conferences, surveys about students' and teachers' evaluations of textbooks with respect to human rights, and formulation of guide books for teachers and textbook writers.[144] A report which made recommendations for curriculum reform and revision and re-writing of textbooks was also prepared, and presented to the Ministry of National Education, and to the public.[145]

In evaluating the findings of the Human Rights in Textbooks Project, Ceylan and Irzık group the violations of human rights in the textbooks under four headings: i) pedagogical problems; ii) "passages, phrases and expressions that are prejudiced, degrading, discriminatory or insulting to persons, cultures, countries, nations, groups and the like;" iii) "misinformation and incomplete information regarding human rights issues;" and iv) "ideological and cognitive patterns which hinder the teaching, learning

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[142] The project was supported financially by the *European Commission* and the *Open Society Institute*.

[143] Betül Çotuksöken, Ayşe Erzan, and Orhan Silier, eds., *Ders Kitaplarında Insan Hakları: Tarama Sonuçları* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 2003); An English version was also published the following year. See, Deniz Tarba Ceylan, and Gürol Irzık, eds., *Human Rights Issues in Textbooks: the Turkish case* (İstanbul: History Foundation of Turkey, 2004). However, this book is a condensed version of the former; it has a selection of articles.

[144] For conference proceeding see, *How are We Educated? International Symposium on Human Rights Education, April 17-18 2004, Istanbul* (İstanbul: History Foundation of Turkey, 2007). For the results of the survey and the articles interpreting these results, see Kadir R. Gürtan, and Gülsevil Tüzün, eds., *Öğretmen ve Öğrencilerin Gözünden Ders Kitaplarında İnsan Hakları: Anket Sonuçları* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 2005). For guidebooks for teachers, see Fatma Gök and Alper Şahin, *İnsan Halkarına Saygılı Bir Eğitim Ortamına Doğru* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 2003). For guidebooks for textbook writers, see Melike Türkan Bağlı and Yasemin Esen, *İnsan Haklarına Duyarlı Ders Kitapları İçin* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 2003)

[145] "Çocuğa Devletim Görevi Böyle mi Öğretilmeli?" *Radikal*, 5 Feb. 2005.

and the practice of human rights."[146] The articles on the findings of the project written by scholars from various disciplines focus on all these problems, except the pedagogical ones.[147] These articles in general point to similar problems. It is stressed that the state-centered mentality of the textbooks prioritizes the state, national security and unity, as well as the social order, and undermines the individual, her/his rights and freedoms. The individual is expected to demonstrate unconditional loyalty and obedience. National security is prioritized over human rights, and presented as if they are in conflict with each other. The individual is subordinated to the needs and demands of the state, even to the point of death. Death, war and self-sacrifice are glorified in the textbooks, offending the most fundamental human right; the right to live. While history teaching is based on successive stories of wars, the argument that Turkey is under "internal and external treat" is constantly underlined in the textbooks.

As also argued in the findings of the project, the discourse of the textbooks oscillates between an ethnic-racist conception of nationalism and a civic one. The nation and national identity are essentialized. The polarization between the 'Turk' and the 'other' leads to xenophobia. Certain groups of people are denigrated and discriminated against in the textbooks; differences are not welcomed, pluralism is not valued but suspected. Democracy is basically reduced to multiparty elections. Sexist discourse and gender discrimination are also widespread in the textbooks. The division of labor based on gender is presented as natural.[148] However, as also mentioned, the contents of several

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[146] Deniz Tarba Ceylan and Gürol Irzık, "Introduction," in *Human Rights Issues in Textbooks: the Turkish case,* ed. Deniz Tarba Ceylan and Gürol Irzık (İstanbul: History Foundation of Turkey, 2004), 3.

[147] Çotuksöken, Erzan, and Silier, eds., *Ders Kitaplarında İnsan Hakları*; Ceylan, and Irzık, eds., *Human Rights Issues in Textbooks*.

[148] See especially the articles by Mehmet Semih Gemalmaz, "Evaluation of Data Concerning Human Rights Criteria Obtained from a Survey of Textbooks," in *Human Rights Issues in Textbooks: the Turkish case*, ed. Deniz Tarba Ceylan and Gürol Irzık (İstanbul: History Foundation of Turkey, 2004) 9-48; Tanıl Bora, "Nationalism in Textbooks," in *Human Rights Issues in Textbooks: the Turkish case*, ed. Deniz Tarba Ceylan and Gürol Irzık (İstanbul: History Foundation of Turkey, 2004), 49-75; Altınay, "Human Rights or Militarist Ideals? Teaching National Security in High Schools", 76-90; Recep Boztemur, "History Textbooks and Human Rights," in *Human Rights Issues in Textbooks: the Turkish case*, ed. Deniz Tarba Ceylan and Gürol Irzık (İstanbul: History Foundation of Turkey, 2004), 123-148; Hülya Uğur Tanrıöver, "Gender Discrimination in Textbooks," in *Human Rights Issues in Textbooks: The Turkish Case,* ed. Deniz Tarba Ceylan and Gürol Irzık (İstanbul: History Foundation of Turkey, 2004), 193-209. See also Kenan Çayır, "Consciousness of Human Rights and Democracy in Textbooks," in *Human Rights Issues in Textbooks: the Turkish case*, ed. Deniz Tarba Ceylan and Gürol Irzık (İstanbul: History Foundation of Turkey, 2004), 91-107; Fatma Gök, "Citizenship and Human Rights Education Textbooks," in *Human Rights Issues in Textbooks: the Turkish case*, ed. Deniz Tarba Ceylan and Gürol Irzık (İstanbul: History Foundation of Turkey, 2004), 108- 122; Gürol Irzık, "Human Rights Issues in High School Sociology, Psychology and Philosophy Textbooks," in *Human Rights Issues in Textbooks: the Turkish case*, ed. Deniz Tarba Ceylan and Gürol Irzık (İstanbul: History Foundation of Turkey, 2004),

textbooks that have been analyzed are "relatively free of human rights problems." Thus it is suggested that in spite of the demands of the curriculum, the textbooks may "promote and uphold desirable standards of human rights teaching."[149]

Besides these critical and comprehensive studies conducted, and the workshops, and symposiums organized by the non-governmental organizations, since the 1990s, the scholars have also started to focus in their researches on the analysis of textbooks. Textbooks, in Turkey also, have increasingly become a major source for the analyses of historiography, identity discourse, nationalist discourse, discrimination, gender and citizenship. One of the early examples of such studies is Firdevs Helvacıoğlu's work, which analyzes gender discrimination in textbooks.[150] In her study, Helvacıoğlu examines primary and secondary school textbooks used in Turkey between 1928 and 1995. The analysis was based on a simple periodization: the early Republican era versus the multi-party era. A comparison of the gender roles presented in the textbooks was made with respect to this periodization.

Helvacıoğlu argues that the textbooks used before 1945 did not put much emphasis on the traditional roles of the woman within the family, but instead provided the "mother" with duties and functions in helping the formation of the country. According to this argument, during these years, women were given the consciousness of being free citizens.[151] They were encouraged to take part in the public space. Equality and solidarity within the family were stressed. Helvacıoğlu maintains that examples of both gender equality and discrimination can be seen in the textbooks used between 1945 and 1950. In them, mothers are portrayed as engaged in housework, and little girls are presented as helping their mothers with the housework. Although these mothers are shown in the kitchen cooking or doing other housework, they are at the same time presented in fashionable dresses, wearing high-heeled shoes. Helvacıoğlu points out that these women did not look like they had spent all their time doing housework, but rather

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149-170; Ceylan, "Human Rights Issues in Turkish and Literature Textbooks in Primary and Secondary Education", 171-192.

[149] Ceylan and Irzık, "Introduction", 3.

[150] Helvacıoğlu, *Ders Kitaplarında Cinsiyetçilik*. See also the article by the same author, Firdevs Gümüşoğlu, "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Ders Kitaplarında Cinsiyet Rolleri: 1928-1998," in 75 *Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler/Bilanço: 98*, ed. A. B. Hacımirzaoğlu (İstanbul: Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 1998), 110-128. The article is built upon the same argument, and uses similar examples; it is actually a shortened version of the book.

[151] Helvacıoğlu, *Ders Kitaplarında Cinsiyetçilik*, 16-17.

as if they have just arrived into their houses from public areas.[152] Helvacıoğlu stresses that after 1950, the gender discriminative elements in the textbooks steadily increased. Women were restricted to the private space. The real duty of women was set as taking care of the house and serving family. Women were presented as bound to their husbands and children.

In fact, the periodization Helvacıoğlu uses fits perfectly with the Kemalist historiography of the Republic, and even as it conceals various important points with respect to gender issues, the images of modernization, class issues, identity discourse, and the nationalist discourse. First, Helvacıoğlu does not question the concept of mother, and uses the terms mother and woman interchangeably, equating woman with mother. Second, although she stresses that women were not simply to be mothers of the nation, she does not delve into problematizing the nationalist perspective. Her argument that women in the textbooks published before 1945 were provided with duties and functions in helping the formation and elevation of the country indeed shows that she embraces the nationalist perspective. Third, unlike what Helvacıoğlu states, formulating free citizens can hardly be regarded as the main aim of the early Republican era. Üstel's study on the civics textbooks indeed refutes this argument.[153] Fourth, her conceptualization of the private and public space is problematic. While the private space is equated to the house, the places outside the territory of the house are regarded as the public space. The concept is deprived of any political significance, such that even walking on the street is regarded as taking place at the public space. Fifth, her inferences with respect to the textbooks published between 1945-1950 are problematic, because they do not include a consideration of the images of modernization and class issues. Presenting women in fashionable outfits while doing housework does not necessarily infer that they have just arrived from outside, but instead needs a further analysis of modernization processes, the discourses and images of the modern, and the class issues. Finally, although Helvacıoğlu's analysis is comprehensive in its focus, her findings are indeed problematic. For instance, Üstel argues that in the civic textbooks used before 1945, gender discriminatory discourse exists.[154] Some of the examples that Helvacıoğlu uses in her study in order to prove the gender equal nature of the textbooks

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[152] Ibid., 17.

[153] Üstel, *"Makbul Vatandaş"ın Peşinde*. This study will also be reviewed in the following pages.

[154] Ibid., 189.

of the period prior to 1945 continued to exist in the textbooks published after this period.[155]

Another study which focuses on the analysis of textbooks is Etienne Copeaux's critical and widely referred to work on the official Turkish historiography.[156] In this study, Copeaux analyzes the reflections of the main paradigms of Turkish historiography. He focuses on the history textbooks used in Turkey in the primary and secondary schools between the years 1931 and 1993. The book is organized in three parts, and it starts with the analysis of the processes of forming a national historiography in Turkey. In this first part of the study, Copeaux examines the birth of Kemalist historiography with the *Turkish History Thesis* and *Sun-Language Theory*. He then traces the changes that occurred, such as the attempts at formulating a "humanist historiography" through the Westernization of the historical discourse in the 1940s and 1950s, or a historiography based on a focus on the land, Anatolia [*Anadoluculuk*], or a historiography based on the incorporation of the dominant religion, Islam, into the framework (what the author refers to as the "Turkish-Islamic synthesis").[157] Other than textbooks, the analysis in this part involves the main institutions that formulate the educational discourses (the Board of Education and Discipline [*Talim ve Terbiye Kurulu*], *Türk Tarihi Tetkik Cemiyeti, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Türk Dil Kurumu, Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu*), the actors (i.e. the proponents of the Intellectuals' Hearths [*Aydınlar Ocağı*]) and events (i.e. Turkish History Congresses of 1932 and 1937 [*Türk Tarih Kongreleri*]) that determined the writing of Turkish historiography.

The following parts of the book are based on the analysis of the discourse of the history textbooks. In the second part, Copeaux traces the history textbooks to find reflections of the main theses of official Turkish historiography, and in the third part, he focuses on the created 'others', rivals and enemies, who attain an identity forming value in the textbooks. Copeaux argues that the discourse of the history textbooks since 1930s emphasized the elements of the Kemalist historiography and focused on the ethnic history of Turks. Some humanist elements were incorporated into the textbooks from

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[155] For instance, see Helvacıoğlu, *Ders Kitaplarında Cinsiyetçilik*, 38-39. This reading passage entitled "The Men of Little Ali," published in 1939 in the second grade language reader, continued to exist in the language readers published in the 1950s. These examples can be seen in the results of this research. The results of this research indeed refute Helvacıoğlu's arguments about gender roles and gender equality in the early Republican era.

[156] Copeaux, *Tarih Ders Kitaplarında (1931-1993) Türk Tarih Tezinden Türk-İslam Sentezine*.

[157] For *Anadoluculuk*, see especially ibid., 262-274.

the following decades, and in some history textbooks the influence of humanism lasted even until the mid 1980s.[158] According to Copeaux, the Turkish-Islamic synthesis was developed mainly as a reaction to these humanist trends, has been influential in academic and educational circles since the 1970s, and has become the dominant discourse of the textbooks in the mid-1980s. The Turkish-Islamic synthesis refuted the discourse on the Turkishness of the Anatolian lands before the time immemorial. Turks, the saviors and carriers of Islam, also entered and saved Anatolia in the eleventh century. However, it did not totally refute the Kemalist historiography, and especially embraced its ethnic emphasis. It included Islam as a major identifying factor alongside ethnicity in the definition of Turkishness by providing linkages between the Turk's pagan religions and Islam.

Nevertheless, the limitations of Copeaux's work can be criticized. He delimits his analysis of historiography to the period before 1918; he does not analyze the discourse of the textbooks for years after 1918. He also puts a geographical limit on his analysis of the discourse of the history textbooks: he focuses only on the parts related with Central Asia, Middle East, Anatolia and the Balkans. He does not examine perspectives with respect to the West. The 'others' that he chooses to focus on are the Arabs, Greeks and Armenians. His analysis, especially in part two is confusing with respect to time, and the examples are usually from the textbooks of the 1980s. Some information about the specificities of history textbooks in Turkey, a differentiation with respect to time and with respect to the level of textbooks, as well as providing more examples, could have been helpful to the reader. Despite all these, this study is a quite comprehensive study of Turkish historiography, and also reveals the formation and the consecutive re-formulations of the national (Turkish) identity discourse. As different from Antoniou and Soysal's emphasis on the territory of the state as being the defining signifier of the nation in Turkish history textbooks, Copeaux argues that the discursive formulation of the national identity in Turkey included emphasis on four different histories: the history of the ethnic group (Turks), the history of Turkey, the history of the land (Anatolia), and the history of the dominant religion (Islam).[159] These histories did not coincide with one another, and, in fact, covered different historical periods and geographical spaces, and at times contradicted with each other. The results of this comprehensive study are also

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[158] See Ibid., 56.

[159] Ibid., 10. See also Antoniou and Soysal, "Conceptualizations of the Nation and the Other in Greek and Turkish History Textbooks", 105-121.

valuable as they provide insights with respect to these contradictions. Copeaux's careful analysis indeed unveils the complexity and problems with respect to defining the nation in the Turkish case.

Another major study focusing on the analysis of textbooks is Füsun Üstel's study on the civic textbooks used in the primary and secondary schools in Turkey.[160] In this study, Üstel analyzes the formulation of the notion of citizenship in the late-Ottoman Empire, starting with the Second Constitutional Period. The analysis covers a considerably long period – almost a century. Üstel traces the changes and the continuities in the concept of citizenship throughout the history the Republic. She argues that with the Second Constitutional Period, the citizen became the major actor in the political discourse of the era. This discourse, besides defining, also focused on the "invention" of the citizen.[161] The constitution formed the legal background of the transition of subjects into citizens; however, the community of citizens was yet to be formulated, mainly through education. A new subject, civics [*Malumat-ı Medeniye*], was introduced into the curriculum in this period as a result of these attempts to create citizens. Following the French example of political citizenship, citizenship was defined by the territory of the state. Special emphases were placed on patriotism, morality (on being a "good" person), and on being civilized. This citizen was at the same time an individual who was guided by reason. These were indeed part of the behavioral engineering project of the Second Constitutional Period designed to create "new persons" for the realization of a new society. The aftermath of the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) brought some changes in this project. The citizen was re-invented with a focus on ethnic/cultural factors. An emphasis on sacrificing lives for the homeland was also a part of this re-invention.[162] These changes were indeed carried into the early Republican times.

With respect to the early Republican period, Üstel stresses that the designated citizen of these years was supposed to be "militant," rather than civic. This militant citizen was built along three main axes: patriotism, the rights and duties systematic, and the perception threat and danger.[163] Patriotism was defined not only along territorial loyalty, but also along ethno-cultural lines. The rights of the citizen were formulated

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[160] Üstel, *"Makbul Vatandaş"ın Peşinde*.

[161] Ibid., 73.

[162] Ibid., 105-112.

[163] Ibid., 323.

within a much more limited framework than the Second Constitutional Period, and the citizens were burdened with duties. The perception of threat and danger was realized with the creation of 'others'. The discourse on internal and external enemies arose especially in the narratives of the late Ottoman *ancien* regime and the War of Independence. The main actor of the textbooks until the 1950s was not the citizen but the nation; the latter defined mainly as a cultural/ethnic community.[164] Üstel further argues that the notion of citizenship in this period was deprived of any separation between the public and private spaces, thus was holistic in nature. It was also based on communitarian ideals; such as a pre-defined and unchanging notion of "good life," which was supposedly embraced by all the persons.[165]

According to Üstel, the transition to multi-party system did not bring any real alternatives to this holistic, statist and militant single-party citizenship.[166] However, beginning in the 1950s, the definition of citizenship in Turkey had been subject to important changes. Citizenship increasingly came to be defined along political, rather than ethno-cultural lines. The emphasis on threat and danger was lessened. Unlike the prior period, civic citizenship was promoted; a citizen was increasingly defined as someone who criticizes and takes on responsibility.[167] However, the prospects for an active, participatory citizenship were limited.[168] Üstel stresses that in the 1980s, these changes were reversed, and citizenship was again defined as a statist militant citizenship. The discourses that were in place in the early Republican period were again highlighted. In this period, the threat and danger discourse was especially used in order to form solidarity, and the whole community of citizens was organized with a "front-line mentality."[169] While a state-of-emergency patriotism was promoted, the citizen was limited and pacified through procedural democracy and national security discourse.[170] An essentialist-culturalist citizenship perspective was again dominant in these years. Language and race were again signified as the objective elements that formulated the nation. Inclusion of religion in these elements even further narrowed the 'us-others'

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[164] Ibid., 325.

[165] Ibid., 324, 326.

[166] Ibid., 247.

[167] Ibid., 262.

[168] Ibid., 327.

[169] Ibid., 295. For examples and further analysis, see especially 295-310.

[170] Ibid., 307-308.

framework. These insightful analysis and arguments of Üstel's comprehensive study go a long way to highlight the main elements of the nation-formation and consolidation processes in Turkey. Yet it should also be noted here that Üstel's study is full of valuable information, and provides insightful inferences also on various other issues.

Ayşe Gül Altınay's recent studies can also be regarded among the studies concentrating on the analysis of textbooks. Her book, *The Myth of Military Nation*, conducted ethnography of military service and militarism in Turkey, using gender as a scholarly lens. It highlights the intricate linkages between militarization and nationalism, the state, and culture, as well as the relations between the realms of education and military service. Altınay shows that "the military idea has remained particularly strong [in Turkey] since the early days of state-making," and uncovers the making of the "myth of the military-nation" -- a product of "a century of practices and discourses."[171] The book drew insights from a wide variety of sources, such as nationalism studies, the literature on militarism, feminist studies on nationalism, militarism and masculinity, post-structuralist studies, research focusing on nation-building in Turkey, studies on education, as well as in-depth interviews, and primary documents. Through these analyses, Altınay argues that "the close relationship between the military and national education (seen as the two-fronts of the nation) has contributed significantly to the development of a militaristic understanding of Turkish citizenship, as one based on duties and responsibilities to a military-nation."[172]

Although the focus of *The Myth of Military Nation* is not textbook analysis *per se*, it nevertheless undertakes the analysis of a special mandatory course on the military in secondary education, as well as its textbooks, from the mid-1920s until the 2000s. The course, currently named *National Security Studies,* was made compulsory for male students in 1926 and for female students in 1937. It was designed by the General Staff and taught by military officers, and remained in the curriculum until now under different titles (e.g., Preparation for Military Service, National Defense Studies). Altınay stresses that both the content of this course, and the fact that it has been taught by military officers has resulted in the naturalization of "the existence of military officers in every high school as well as the need for military knowledge for every student." She further argues that this course, "bringing officers-in-uniform into civilian

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[171] Altınay, *The Myth of the Military-Nation*, 6, 2, respectively.

[172] Ibid., 8.

schools and making military knowledge a requirement for secondary education," has "contributed to the blending of military and civilian realms, barrack and school culture."[173]

As Altınay states, in textbooks of the 1920s, the primary focus of the course was military service, and it continued to employ a central place in the textbooks of the following years with changing emphasis and definitions. She further states that "The 1930 textbook written by Atatürk and Afet İnan was devoted primarily to outlining the universal history of warfare and justifying the need for compulsory military service."[174] The textbooks written after this one were closely informed by the framework and arguments of the Turkish History Thesis, and military service, "an obligation set by the nation-state for its male citizens was turned into an "invented tradition"."[175] Until the late 1990s, the military appeared in the textbooks of this course "as a natural extension of national character and an embodiment of the achievements of "Turks throughout history"."[176] Altınay mentions arguments such as "Turkish history is written with victories", and "self sacrifice is necessary for the nation (and the state) to survive and all Turks sacrifice willingly and without hesitation" among the arguments of these textbooks.[177] In fact, in the official course outline published in 1956, it was argued that "one of the major goals in the course was to give 'necessary direction to feelings of patriotism'."[178] While the textbooks of the 1970s introduced the concept of geopolitics into the discourse of the course, Atatürkism, in the form of the discussion of the six principles (republicanism, secularism, nationalism, populism, statism and reformism), was added to the textbook in the 1980s. All these textbooks also concentrated on providing practical military knowledge, and giving information on the aspects of the military and war, as well as mobilization for war.

Altınay also draws attention to a shift in the discourse of the national security textbooks that started to be used in the late 1990s:

> One of the major changes in the military course since the late 1990s has been the shift from an emphasis on military service and military

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[173] Ibid., 139.

[174] Ibid., 132.

[175] Ibid., 30.

[176] Ibid., 125.

[177] Ibid.

[178] *Lise Müfredat Programı* (Ankara: Maarif Basımevi, 1956), 93; quoted in Altınay, *The Myth of the Military-Nation*, 132.

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organization to Atatürk's principles, on the one hand, and strategic analysis of national, regional, and world politics, on the other.[179]

Her stress on the decreasing amount of references to the military characteristics of the Turkish nation, apart from the ones presented by direct quotes from Atatürk's speeches, can be explained by this changing focus of the textbooks. In fact, as she also notes "the 1998 textbook assumes its [Turkish History Thesis] discursive and historical framework, while silencing its clear connections to racist ideologies of its time (e.g. eugenics) as well as its racist scholarly basis"[180] Yet now the aim of the course was in part "teaching the Turkish youth how they could live up to Atatürk's *expectations* of them", and this expectation was not only limited to ideas, but it also targeted life styles.[181] "Strategic analysis of national, regional, and world politics" was also a major part of the course, and this so-called strategic analysis was presented in the textbook under the subsection "The Games Played over Turkey." Altınay's research shows that "The overall framework that defined the presentation of these issues … was the idea that "Turkey has no friends" [*Türkün Türkten başka dostu yoktur*] and that no country or organization in the world (especially the EU) wants Turkey to be a strong country."[182] As Altınay stressed, these changes points to further militarization of politics and everyday lives, and creates a constant feeling of insecurity and xenophobia.

Altınay's article in the proceedings of the Human Rights in Textbooks Project, focusing exclusively on the analysis of the textbooks of the National Security Studies course (including the most recent textbooks), and her chapter in a recent compilation on military and militarism, concentrating on the relations between nationalism and militarism with respect to the area of education, can be regarded as a continuation of this book.[183] Both of these articles show that by the early 2000s, there has not been a change in the contents of the textbooks used in the National Security Studies course. Thus, the textbooks of this course continued "teaching the students to be proud members of a military nation and obedient citizens of the Turkish state", as well as militarizing politics and everyday lives through inculcating "strategic way of thinking"

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[179] Ibid., 131.

[180] Ibid., 130.

[181] Ibid., 134.

[182] Ibid., 136.

[183] Altınay, "Human Rights or Militarist Ideals? Teaching National Security in High Schools"; Altınay, "Eğitimin Militarizasyonu: Zorunlu Milli Güvenlik Dersi," in *Bir Zümre, Bir Parti: Türkiye'de Ordu*, ed. Ahmet İnsel and Ali Bayramoğlu (İstanbul: Birikim Yayınları, 2004), 179-200.

as the ideal.[184] The need to make militarism visible and the necessity of undertaking civilianization as an important component of textbook reform in Turkey are stressed in these articles. Altınay's article in the proceedings of the Human Rights in Textbooks Project also asks the following important question: "As we discuss educational reform in Turkey, we are faced with an important challenge: Will the Turkish education system continue to be based on militarist ideals or the principles of human rights?" [185]

2.3. Conclusion

The focus provided here, which concentrates on the dependencies between public education, the growth of the modern state, and the processes of modernization and nation-formation, as well as the institution of universal mandatory military service, sheds light on the foundations of the new order that was forged with the Republic. As seen from the works reviewed in the first part of the chapter, public schooling is specifically linked to the processes of state and nation building, as well as governing, and it is delimited by the concerns of modernization, nationalism and militarization. The review of the studies conducted on textbooks in Turkey is covered in the second part of the chapter, and it provides insights with respect to these foundations of the national order in Turkey. The importance of textbooks for education is also highlighted in the chapter through the discussion of the international development of the studies on the area of textbooks. As Johnson states, "much can be learned about what was taught in schools from a content analysis of the most popular school books."[186] Focusing on what was actually taught in schools makes it possible to make inferences with respect to the hidden ends that education has been directed towards. This study indeed has such an aim. By analyzing the textbooks used in primary public education in the Republic of Turkey (from the early years of the Republic until the recent times), it aims to provide explanations with respect to the foundations of the new order, and to shed light to the

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[184] Altınay, "Human Rights or Militarist Ideals? Teaching National Security in High Schools", 78.

[185] Ibid., 88.

[186] Johnson, "Educational Policy and Social Control in Early Victorian England," 99.

dependencies between public education, nation formation, nationalism, modernization, and militarization.

The following chapters will focus on the envisioned national self by looking at the textbooks from the angle of the following discourses: nationalism, modernization and militarization. As the textbooks are analyzed with such a focus, the ways these discourses design and delimit the imaginings of the national will be uncovered along with the dependencies between them. Yet, before proceeding with the analysis of textbooks used in Turkey between 1928 and 2000, the limits to this analysis should also be noted. In fact, arguing that public education is one of the instruments used for the construction and reproduction of national identity in the Republic of Turkey does not necessarily mean that this process has been totally successful. Schooling of all the populations within a country is usually not realized fully. This is still very much the case in Turkey, and especially true for the earlier years of the Republic. Furthermore, school conditions, teachers, family strategies are other factors that affect the locus of education, and the ends it is supposed to pursue. Schools are also cites of resistance, and it should not be concluded that the students readily internalize all the things that are taught to them. The success of this internalization depends at the same time on the environment of each child. Lastly, it should be noted that this study is not a study on reception, and it is limited only to the discourse analysis of textbooks.[187]

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[187] For analyses focusing on reception, see Tekeli, *Tarih Bilinci ve Gençlik*; Altınay, *The Myth of the Military-Nation*; Gürtan and Tüzün, eds., *Öğretmen ve Öğrencilerin Gözünden Ders Kitaplarında İnsan Hakları*; Thalia Dragonas, Büşra Ersanlı, and Anna Frangoudaki, "Greek and Turkish Students Views on History, the Nation and Democracy," in *Citizenship and the Nation-State in Greece and Turkey*, ed. Faruk Birtek and Thalia Dragonas (London and New York: Routledge, 2005).

CHAPTER 3

NATIONALISM AND THE MAKING OF THE NATION

This chapter focuses on the material in textbooks in terms of national identity and nationalism. Nationalism is conceptualized here as the idea, belief, and/or political principle "which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent," and which regards "homogenous cultural units as the foundations of political life."[1] Nations and states have been built, reformulated and/or delimited to realize this congruence, and as such, nationalism has been the dominant political principle all over the world in the last two centuries. The chapter is built upon the modernist argument that nationalism and nations are novel phenomena, and it follows the blueprints of the sociocultural and constructionist approaches to the study of nationalism. Utilizing this scholarship together with specific case studies focusing on Turkey, the survey of primary school textbooks provided here focuses on answering the question of "how is the national self imagined," and tries to provide insight with respect to the main paradigms used by the ruling elite in the processes of nation-building and national identity formation. The analysis of the textbooks is conducted up to recently, since national identity is not frozen but changes over time, and nation building, rather than being a one-time event, is a process that requires rounds of restructuring.[2]

The contemporary arguments in the literature on nationalism are generally classified with respect to two main theoretical paradigms: primordialist and modernist. These two diametrically opposing theoretical approaches to the study of nationalism are differentiated along the lines of the debate on the nature and origins of nations and nationalism. The primordialist paradigm centers on the antiquity of nations and nationality, whereas the modernist paradigm emphasizes the modernity of nations and

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[1] Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, 1, 125, respectively.

[2] Walby, "Woman and Nation"; Triandafyllidou and Paraskevopoulou, "When is the Greek Nation?"

nationalism. These two terms, primordialist and modernist, rather than being monolithic categories, however, are used as umbrella terms. The specific theories developed by the scholars of each category have their differences as well as commonalities.

The primordialist paradigm of nationalism, emphasizing the naturalness of nations, as well as their antiquity, generally accompanies the works of the nationalist historians and discourses of nationalist elites.[3] Apart from this naturalist view of the origins of nations, in more contemporary studies of nationalism, the primordialist paradigm, rather than depending on naturalness *per se,* centers on ethnic identity as defined by sociobiology and/or culture. This socio-biological view of ethnicity and nationalism equates ethnic group to nation, considers nation as an extension of kinship ties, and thus treats the nation as a kind of extended family. For instance, Pierre van den Berghe, whose works are considered as being representative of the socio-biological explanations within the primordialist camp, maintains that "the very concept of the nation is an extension of kin selection."[4] The culturalist view argues for the ties created by the "givens" of social existence -- such as "being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language, and following particular social practices" - as to define the origins of ethnic communities and nations. However these "givens" are "assumed givens of social existence;" what matters is not the a priori nature of such ties, but people's perception and belief of the primordial nature of their collective cultural identities.[5] The culturalist stance within the primordialist paradigm is generally associated with Edward Shils and Clifford Geertz.[6] Although Geertz himself did not use the term primordialism, his 1963 essay "The Integrative Revolution" aroused a heated debate on primordialism, and became referred to as the representative of the culturalist stance within primordialism.[7]

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[3] This naturalist view of the origins of the nations is exemplified and at the same time paved the way for the essentialist and organic forms of nationalism. For instance, the works of Heinrich von Treitschke, depends on such a naturalist approach.

[4] Pierre van den Berghe, "Race and Ethnicity: a sociobiological perpective," Ethnic and Racial Studies 1, no. 4 (1998), 401-411; quoted in Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism* (London, New York: Routledge, 1998), 147.

[5] Clifford Geertz, "The Integrative Revolution," in *Old Societies and New States*, ed. Clifford Geertz (New York: Free Press, 1963), 256.

[6] In fact, the term primordialism was first used by Shils in 1957. He distinguished social bonds as primordial, personal, sacred, and civil, and argued for the continuing existence of primordial ties in modern societies. Edward Shils, "Primordial, Personal, Sacred, and Civil ties," *British Journal of Sociology* 7 (1957), 13-46.

[7] Quoting Geertz: "By a primordial attachment is meant one that stems from the 'givens' – or, more precisely, as culture is inevitably involved in such matters, the assumed 'givens' – of social existence:

The perennialist view in the study of nations and nationalism, since it centers also on the antiquity of nations, and focuses on ethnic continuity, may as well be evaluated within the primordialist paradigm. The perennialist view also argues for the "immemorialness" of nations. According to this view, ethnic communities and nations are identical phenomena, yet, unlike the naturalist, sociobiological and culturalist views presented above, the perennialists regard ethnic groups and nations as historical and social phenomena. Smith exquisitely summarizes the differences between these approaches as follows: "The perennialist readily accepts the modernity of national*ism* as a political movement and ideology, but regards the nations either as updated versions of immemorial ethnic communities, or as collective cultural identities that have existed, alongside ethnic communities, in all epochs of human history."[8] Other than naturalness of the ethnic and national community, in the perennialist view, either the continuity of ethnic community or the recurrence of the collective cultural identity throughout different periods of history is expressed.[9]

The modernist paradigm evolved as a critique of the primordialist approaches to the study of ethnicity, nations and nationalism. Criticizing naturalism, reductionism, and essentialism of the primordialist paradigm, the modernists stress the novelty of nations and nationalism, and consider nations and nationality as contingent phenomena. Both nations and nationalism are the products of the modern processes, yet different theories focus on different modern processes, such as capitalism, industrialism, the rise of the bureaucratic state, and social mobilization. With respect to their focuses, these theories can be distinguished as having a socioeconomic, sociocultural, ideological, political, or constructionist approach. The modernist theories focusing on the socioeconomic aspects of modernity argue for nationalism to be the result of uneven development produced by capitalism, and relate it to the imperialism of the Western bourgeoisie, internal colonialism, center-periphery encounters and clashes, and class consequences of the uneven diffusion of capitalism. The studies of Tom Nairn and Michael Hechter, following the lines of Marxist theory, and echoing the dependency theorists of the

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immediate contiguity and kin connection mainly, but beyond them givenness that stems from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language, and following particular social practices. These congruities of blood, speech, custom, and so on, are seen to have an ineffable, and at times overpowering, coerciveness in and of themselves." Geertz, "The Integrative Revolution", 256.

[8] Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism*, 159.

[9] However Smith, depending on these presented differences, differentiates primordialism and perennialism as two different paradigms. See ibid.

1960s such as Gunter Frank, can be given as examples to the socioeconomic approach in the study of nations and nationalism.[10]

Modernist theories having a sociocultural focus see nations and nationalism as resulting from the cultural transformations necessary for modernization. This view is best exemplified in Ernest Gellner's work.[11] Gellner argues that national movements create nations, and not vice versa: "Nations, like states, are a contingency, and not a universal necessity. ... Moreover, nations and states are not the same contingency."[12] He defines nationalism as a political principle which holds that nations and states are "destined for each other; that either one without the other is incomplete, and constitutes a tragedy." National sentiment is a feeling aroused by the violation of this political principle, and nationalist movement is a movement realized by this sentiment.[13] Nationalism does not depend on some pre-existing identities and/or it is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness, but arises due to the needs of the modern era. According to Gellner, the modern era is defined by the industrial society, which is an egalitarian society with competent and substitutable persons. Thus, it requires a culture different from the traditional culture of the "agro-literate" society, with homogeneity being one of its basic aspects. This cultural change is realized through the process of "exo-education" -- the high culture of the elite is standardized and disseminated to the masses through universal, standardized and generic public education.[14] It is these cultural transformations and standardizations resulting in homogenous populations that made possible the idea of nationalism and the creation of nations.

Although Gellner's theory is valuable in some respects, his mapping of nationalism to modernization, or more specifically to industrialization, is a rather functionalistic account of history. He places too much emphasis on industrialization, and closes any space for agency. There are also factual problems in his argument:

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[10] Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975); Tom Nairn, *The Break-up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism* (London: New Left Books, 1977). Nairn, in this book, also introduces his often quoted statement about nationalism being as "Janus-faced," such that it faces both a mythical past and a future of development.

[11] Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism.*

[12] Ibid., 6.

[13] Ibid., 1.

[14] Ibid., 32. For further explanation on these types of societies, and the process of exo-socialization, see the Chapter 2 of this study.

industrialization, rather than the cause of nationalism may as well be its consequence. Gellner also overemphasizes the effects of mass education. A rather different view of nations and nationalism that considers nationalism as a modernist ideology, paying specific attention to the ideas of the elite, is exemplified in Elie Kedourie's work.[15] Kedourie, unlike Gellner bases his explanation on the level of ideas, and focuses mainly on agency. He argues that nationalism was a doctrine invented in Europe at the beginning of nineteenth century, and embraced by modern, uprooted yet disempowered and alienated intellectuals. National identity is regarded as the creation of the nationalist doctrine.

As different from this view of nationalism as ideology, the theories having a political focus in the study of nations and nationalism center on the primacy of political institutions. Although the works of Anthony Giddens and Charles Tilly do not specifically focus on nationalism *per se*, their studies can be regarded among the theories of nations and nationalism which provide a political focus, since they provide insightful arguments about the formation of nation-states, and about the relation of nationalism with the rise of the modern state, and the latter's association with military power, and warfare.[16] Michael Mann more explicitly argues about the primacy of political and military factors in the formation of nations and nationalism, focusing on the rise of capitalism, the growth of class conflict, and the modern militarized state.[17] John Breuilly, considering nationalism as being "associated with the development of specifically modern kinds of political action," also connects these kinds of political action to the development of the modern state.[18] Considering nationalism as a form of politics, Breuilly also emphasizes the role of the elites, but do not focus specifically on the ideas of the elites as Kedourie does. He also constructs a typology of nationalist movements, distinguishing them according to their functions, i.e., coordination, mobilization, and legitimation. Within this view, nationalism is treated as a struggle for and over the state.

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[15] Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism,* 4th ed. (London: Blackwell, 1993).

[16] Anthony Giddens, *The Nation-State and Violence: Volume Two of a Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism* (Berkley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987); Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital and European States, AD 990-1990* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 1990).

[17] Micheal Mann, *The Sources of Social Power* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

[18] John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985).

There are also modernist theories of nationalism emphasizing the socially constructed character of nations and nationalism. The works of Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, and Benedict Anderson display such a constructionist approach. For Hobsbawm and Ranger, nations are the products of social engineering realized through the invention of traditions. According to them, invented traditions are "responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition."[19] Such forms of behavior are invented as traditions for establishing the social cohesion of groups because "rapid transformation of society [in the modern era] weakens or destroys the social patterns for which 'old' traditions had been designed."[20] Historical continuity of nations is indeed a construct because the presumed elements of this continuity are invented. In their words: "Historical continuity had to be invented, for example by creating an ancient past beyond effective historical continuity, either by semi-fiction … or by forgery …"[21] Invention does not necessarily refer to novel creations; every society have stores of materials from which such traditions can be constructed.

Benedict Anderson also considers nations as cultural artifacts, and argues that the nation is a political community "imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign." According to him, nationalism emerged by the end of the eighteenth century with the advent of modernity. A historical contingency arising in relation to the socio-historical and technological transformations (the decline of the religious community, and the dynastic forms of legitimation, the emergence of a new sense of temporality, and development of the printing press), nationalism, within time, became a modular phenomenon. Contextual factors led to different types of nationalisms. The *Creole* nationalisms of Latin America were the first to develop, and these first examples were adapted in Europe, where development of "print-languages" became an important issue in the formation of nationalisms. Such developments created problems for dynasties, eroding their bases of legitimacy, which in reaction developed official nationalisms.

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[19] Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1983), 2.

[20] Ibid., 4.

[21] Ibid., 7.

Colonial nationalisms were the last wave of nationalisms, and were generated by bilingual intelligentsias.[22]

The modernist paradigm today represents the orthodox stance in the scholarship on nationalism, yet this does not mean that the specific theories belonging to this paradigm are free from criticism. There is in fact no coherent, grand theory of nationalism. Various influential theories of the modernist paradigm have their strengths and weaknesses. The background of this research on textbooks is formed by the modernist theories presented above; the constructivist view is taken as the basis of the analysis. In the following pages, the primary school textbooks are analyzed to uncover the discourses of nationalism that were used to design the society through education from the early years of nation-state formation onwards. The language readers, life sciences, history, and social studies textbooks are analyzed along the chronological periodization laid out in the former chapter: from 1928 to 1948, from 1948 to 1968, from 1968 to 1981, and from 1981 to 2000. The results of the analysis are presented under the two main themes as:

i.   Nationalism in the making of the national self,

ii.   The making of the nation through the 'other'.

The following pages first focus on the ethnic and civic sources of the nation. This widely mentioned dichotomy has been referred to in the scholarship using different terms such as good versus bad, Western versus Eastern, rational versus romantic, progressive versus regressive, territorial versus genealogical, political versus cultural, civic versus ethnic. The study then, under the second subheading, undertakes the analysis of the formation of national identity through the construction and naming of 'others'.

3.1. Nationalism in the Making of the National Self

In the literature on nationalism, the nature of national identities and nationhood is usually explained within the context of the distinction between two types of nationalisms. This typology goes back to the works of the early scholars of nationalism

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[22] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6. For a more detailed analysis of these types of nationalisms, and the book see the former chapter of this study.

such as Hans Kohn.[23] Kohn's canonical study on nationalism differentiated between two types of nationalisms: Western and non-Western. The Western type, exemplified in the French, British and American cases, shares the premises of European Enlightenment, and favors the ideas of progress, democracy and industrialization. From this rational and associational version of nationalism, which was mainly the product of middle classes, the nation emerged as a concept defined has having a common territory, and the institutional framework of a state. Kohn defined this version of nationalism as the good, in fact, the normal type of nationalism, and separated it from the degenerated one; the non-Western type. Operating in unfavorable circumstances, nationalism evolves into the non-Western type. This version of nationalism, mainly stemming from the intellectuals, results in the organic and mystical conception of the nation. Kohn associated this non-Western nationalism with the Central and Eastern Europe and Asia, while signifying German nationalism as specifically exemplifying it.

Using a distinction similar to the one made by Kohn, but somewhat diverging from a geographical mapping of it, John Plamenatz, in his article "Two Types of Nationalism," also distinguished between two types of nationalisms: Western and Eastern.[24] For Plamenatz, nationalism is a cultural phenomenon, and depends on the universal acceptance of a common set of standards which are primarily set by France and Britain. If the society is culturally equipped to meet these standards, nationalism evolves into the Western type, which is indeed a close approximation of Kohn's good nationalisms. In societies where these predefined set of standards are alien, nationalism evolves into the Eastern type. According to Plamematz, eastern types of nationalisms are signified by a struggle to transform the society at hand in line with the predefined standards of the West. This transformation requires cultural changes such that the standards these nationalisms have to meet come from an alien culture. At this point, Plamenatz argued that simple imitation of the culture of the successful nations would not work because then the imitator would lose its distinctive identity. Thus, Eastern type of nationalisms are defined by the search for a national culture which can be adapted to the requirements of Western civilization and which nevertheless retains its distinctiveness. This equation results in a dilemma: Eastern nationalisms are both imitative and hostile (because nationalism involves a rejection of alien cultures in order

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[23] Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism* (New York: Macmillan, 1944).

[24] John Plamenatz, "Two Types of Nationalism," in *Nationalism: The Nature the Evolution of an Idea*, ed. E. Kamenka (London: Edward Arnold, 1976), 23-36.

to protect the distinctiveness of the authentic one) to the culture it imitates. In this account, whereas Central European nationalisms are included among the Eastern type of nationalisms, Eastern European and Balkan nationalisms, as well as nationalisms encountered in the other parts of the world are also debunked to the category of the Eastern type.

The dichotomy between the two versions of nationalism in fact leads to a differentiation in the conceptualizations of the nation, nationhood and national identity along the lines of this typology. Following Kohn's blueprints of two different types of nationalisms, Rogers Brubaker presents a typology of "state-led nationalisms" *versus* "state-seeking nationalisms," and argues that different forms of nationalisms resulting from specific historical conjunctures led to differing conceptions of nationhood in France and Germany.[25] Therefore, Brubaker analyzes the historical trajectories of nation-building in these countries in order to compare conceptions of nationhood. According to him, the temporal distance between the processes of state formation and nation-building, as well as their sequence, has determined the distinct nature of nationhood and citizenship in France and Germany. Nationalism appeared in France as the attempt was made to achieve political and social unity throughout the state. It developed as a state-centric nationalism, bearing the stamp of "monarchical gestation, Revolutionary birth and Republican apotheosis."[26] Thus, Brubaker considers France as a "state-nation." Nation as a category of practice came into being in France temporally after the state, and only because of the state. In France, nation was not defined by a historically signified shared culture but by political unity designated along the institutional and territorial frame of the state. These developments resulted in a state-centered, assimilationist, unitarist, universalist and secular conception of nationhood defined in "political" terms. However, the historical experience of Germany with nationalism, as different from the "state-led nationalism" of France, led to a different conception of nationhood. As Brubaker states, the German nation was first constituted as a cultural unity. "This pre-political German nation, *this nation in search of a state*, was conceived not as the bearer of political values, but as an organic, cultural, linguistic

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[25] Rogers Brubaker, "Immigration, Citizenship, and the Nation-State in France and Germany: A Comparative Historical Analysis," *International Sociology* 5, no. 4 (1990), 379-407; Rogers Brubaker, *Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1992).

[26] Brubaker, "Immigration, Citizenship, and the Nation-State in France and Germany", 386.

or racial community -- as an irreducibly particular *Volkgemeinschaft*."[27] German intellectuals, influenced by the ideas of Romanticism, played a significant role in the expression of German nationalism in ethnic and cultural terms, which led to the emergence of an "ethno-cultural" conception of nation. This cultural unit was then expressed in political unity; in fact, German nationalism preceded the formation of the German nation-state. Due to this "state-seeking nationalism," the German conception of nationhood has acquired a Volk-centered, differentialist, particularistic and organic nature.

Typologies are indeed simplifications made through abstraction, and at best approximations to real processes. When compared with the actual historical experiences, any typology is bound to be reductionist. As Maxim Silverman shows in his study on citizenship and immigration in modern France, the practices of nationness can differ from the legal conceptions nationhood.[28] In this study, Silverman presents and analyses the differentialist discourses and the exclusionist everyday practices employed in contemporary France. In fact, the canonical typology of nationalisms provided above with specific examples from the scholarship (referred here from now on as civic versus ethnic nationalism) also suffers from being built around idealized types and generalizations, with similarities being overlooked and differences especially underlined. Partha Chatterjee considers this typology of civic and ethnic nationalisms to be an incompetence of liberal-rationalist thought. Nationalism within the liberal-rationalist framework is regarded as an integral part of the "story of liberty," and when historical evidence does not verify this, a distinction is made between the normal and the deviant type.[29] Although this criticism is valid, the typology provides us with useful tools in the analysis of nationalism and national identity, and their relations with the state and nation-building processes. In this study, the civic-ethnic distinction is not taken as a dichotomy between Western and other nationalisms, where the former represents the good and normal type, and the latter refers to the evil type (which is associated with everything that the West presumably does not stand for). Instead it is

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[27] Ibid. My emphasis.

[28] Maxim Silverman, *Deconstructing the Nation: Immigration, Racism, and Citizenship in Modern France* (London, New York: Routledge, 1992).

[29] Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse* (London: Zed Books, 1993), 2, 5.

used, following Weberian lines, as a heuristic device for the deconstruction of the nationalist discourse of the textbooks.

In fact, Bernard Yack and Will Kymlicka have shown that trying to present normative accounts with respect to such types of nationalisms is abortive.[30] Yack questions the argument that civic nationalism is purely voluntaristic and free from cultural inheritance, and leads to a liberal democratic regime. Arguing that there are implicitly shared cultural parameters behind the political unity of civic nations, he points to the related problems of the liberal thought which lead to this assumption. Yack further questions the myth that civic nationalism is "conducive to toleration and diversity" and free from "intolerance and paranoia," and stating,

> After all, American citizens have been denounced and persecuted for clinging to un-American political principles as well as for their foreign backgrounds. And as George Mosse reminds us, it was the decidedly civic nation of the French Jacobins that invented many of the techniques of mass persecution and mass paranoia exploited by twentieth-century fascists and xenophobic nationalists.[31]

Yet, Yack also considers the contrast between nations whose "cultural inheritance centers on political symbols and political stories," and nations whose "cultural inheritance centers on language and stories about ethnic origins" as valid.[32]

Kymlicka provides a similar critique of the typology of civic versus ethnic nationalism as Yack. He argues that the claims made about the distinction between civic and ethnic nationalism are overstated. Thus, he questions the argument that civic nationalism is deprived of a cultural component, and argues that both types of nationalisms have such a component. However, they differ in how they define this cultural component, i.e. in ethnic terms or not. Kymlicka considers the argument that civic nationalism is "inherently good, peaceful and democratic" to be a "mythical conception."[33] He presents Latin American countries as exemplifying this point:

> Most of these countries have a strong sense of national identity that is non-ethnic. Peru and Brazil, for example, are extraordinarily multiethnic societies, granting equal citizenship to whites, blacks, Indians, and Asians.

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[30] Bernard Yack, "The Myth of Civic Nation," in *Theorizing Nationalism,* ed. R. Beiner (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 103- 118; Will Kymlicka, "Misunderstanding Nationalism," in *Theorizing Nationalism,* ed. R. Beiner (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), 131-140.

[31] Yack, 115-116. Yack is referring to George Mosse, *Confronting the Nation: Jewish and Western Nationalism* (Hanover, N.H.: Brandeis University Press, 1993), 65-72.

[32] Ibid., 106.

[33] Kymlicka, "Misunderstanding Nationalism", 135.

Yet there is nothing necessarily democratic about them. Civic nations can be military dictatorships as easily as liberal democracies.[34]

Kymlicka further argues that nationalist conflicts are generally the resultant of civic nationalisms trying to assimilate and thus incorporate national minorities forcibly into the nation. Nevertheless, he considers the distinction between civic and ethnic versions of nationalisms to be useful since how nations define their cultures matters. These variations are crucial to understanding the specifics of various nationalisms.[35]

Following Antony Smith, it can be argued that, all nationalisms contain both civic and ethnic elements, although "in varying degrees and different forms," such that "sometimes civic and territorial elements predominate; at other times it is the ethnic and vernacular components that are emphasized."[36] It is these predominating elements that define the character of the nationalism in question. This study uses as a guide Smith's theoretical insight that any national identity is multi-dimensional.[37] Although the formation of Turkish national identity, and the paradoxes it embodies can hardly be considered as exceptional, before moving onto the analysis of the textbooks, providing some background on nationalism and the multi-leveled formation of national identity in Turkey is necessary in order have a better view of the specifics of the situation.

Analyzing the final years of the Ottoman Empire and the early years of the Republic, Erik Jan Zürcher conceptualizes the hegemonic nationalism existing then as "Ottoman Muslim nationalism."[38] What Zürcher wants to emphasize with such a conceptualization is the predominance of the Muslim character of the nationalist movement throughout the period that included the Balkan Wars, the First World War and the War of Independence. The nationalist movement occurring during this time tried to create solidarity within the Muslims living on the lands of the Empire, and

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[34] Ibid.

[35] For a critical evaluation and comparison of these two typologies of nationalism see also Ayhan Akman, "Modernist Nationalism: Statism and National Identity in Turkey," *Nationalities Papers* 32, no. 1 (2004), 23-51. The article also introduces another ideal type to this typology --"modernist nationalism."

[36] Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 1991), 13.

[37] However, it does not share all of his premises that are put forth in this seminal study on national identity, i.e. the analysis of the nation formation in Turkey. Smith's account of nationalism and nation-building in Turkey includes it among the examples of territorial nations that are formed from empires by territorial nationalisms. (See ibid., 103-104) This explanation approximates some historical periods of the nation-building process in Turkey. Nevertheless, failing to capture the specifics of the Turkish case, it declines to provide an adequate answer to the question of "how is the nation constructed."

[38] Erik Jan Zürcher, "Young Turks, Ottoman Muslims and Turkish Nationalists: Identity Politics 1908-1938," in *Ottoman Past and Todays's Turkey*, ed. Kemal Karpat (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2000), 150-179.

pursued the creation of a political space for this Muslim community. Zürcher stresses that "the movement was political, not religious," and "that is why the Muslim nationalism of the Young Turks could go hand-in-hand with secularist modernizing policies."[39] Muslim nationalism developed in the aftermath of the nationalisms that resulted in wars, secessions, and, hence, was, to a large extent, reactive. The loss of the lands and populations, mainly Christian, that were under Ottoman rule, and the migration of Muslims from the lost lands, as well as from the Caucasus, led the ruling elites to adhere to such a nationalism. Zürcher points out that

> [t]he Unionist ideology was nationalist in the sense that they demanded the establishment of a state of their own: before 1918, they took every step to make the existing Ottoman state the Muslim's own, and after 1918, they fought to preserve what remained of that Ottoman Muslim state and to prevent it from being carved up.[40]

He presents especially the years between 1918 and 1922, the years of the liberation movement and followed by the War of Independence, as the zenith of the Muslim nationalist movement. After 1924, the character of the nationalism, and the national identity it sought to formulate changed: "from 1923-24 on the Kemalist leadership of the Republic broke the bonds of solidarity forged during the preceding ten years and opted instead for far-reaching secularization and for Turkish (as opposed to Ottoman-Muslim) nationalism."[41]

Ahmet Yıldız, focusing on national identity rather than nationalism, provides a periodization similar to the one presented by Zürcher. Yıldız argues that Islam was the primary element of the national identity between 1919 and 1923, namely the years of the liberation movement and the War of Independence. He signifies this religious definition of identity as pluralist in the sense that it did not focus primarily on any ethnic group. In the years between 1924 and 1929, identity was not defined in terms of religion, but rather had become secularized; and after 1929, an ethnic axis was incorporated into the national identity. The emphasis on shared origins, and motifs depending on race and ethnic linage became the dominating features of the official national identity.[42] Between 1929 and 1938, Turkishness became defined in terms of

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[39] Ibid., 173.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid., 175.

[42] Ahmet Yıldız, "Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyebilene": Türk Ulusal Kimliğinin Etno-Seküler Sınırları (1919-1938) (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), 16-17.

origins and ethnicity.[43] By the end of the final decade of the Kemalist period, national identity had become transformed into ethno-secular identity, with ethnicity and secularism established as structural elements of Turkish identity. Yıldız notes that racial and ethnic ideas, at least in the form of racial purity and eugenics, have been present in the Kemalist nationalist discourse since the beginning of the Republic. But he especially stresses the dominance of the racial and ethnic elements in the 1930s. These ideas became the primary signifier of Turkishness in the 1930s, with a view to matching the existing political borders with the ethnic ones.[44]

Ayşe Kadıoğlu's works analyzing Turkish nationalism, the construction of national identity, and citizenship also point to the multi-leveled formation of nationalism and national identity in the formative phases of modern Turkey. Kadıoğlu in her article "The Paradox of Turkish Nationalism and the Construction of Offical Identity" argues that the differentiation between the French and German nationalisms and their respective conceptualizations of citizenship is significant in understanding the paradoxical nature of Turkish nationalism. She stresses that the search of Eastern nationalisms, "to transform the nation culturally while at the same time retaining its distinctiveness," is a "leitmotiv in Turkish nationalism as it evolved alongside Turkish modernization."[45] Although Turkey has never been a colony, this contradiction results from the adoption of a Westernization project by the ruling elite. In the case of Turkish nationalism, a paradox stems from trying to achieve a balance between the (Western) Civilization and Culture -- between modernity and tradition. In other words, Turkish nationalism embraces the characteristics of both French and German nationalisms in an "attempt to combine the missions of both French and German models."[46] As Kadıoğlu shows in "Citizenship and Individuation in Turkey: The Triumph of Will over Reason," besides the paradoxical nature of Turkish nationalism, the sequence of the emergence of state and nation in Turkey is also important in defining the nature of national identity and citizenship. In her words:

> In the case of modern Republican Turkey, one can refer to a state preceding a nation (i.e., "a state in search of its nation"). Hence, state-political unity

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[43] Ibid., 155.

[44] Ibid., 126.

[45] Ayşe Kadıoğlu, "The Paradox of Turkish Nationalism and the Construction of Offical Identity," in *Turkey: Identity, Democracy, Politics*, ed. Sylvia Kedourie (London: Frank Cass, 1996), 179.

[46] Ibid.

... contrary to the case in Germany — constitutes the cornerstone of Turkish national identity.[47]

This paradoxical nature of Turkish nationalism (displaying the characteristics of both French and German nationalisms), as well as the specific sequence of the emergence of state and nation is reflected in the multi-leveled formation of national identity and citizenship in Turkey, which employs both civic and ethnic elements in varying degrees and combinations.[48]

In the following pages, this multidimensional formation of the national self is analyzed starting with the early years of the Republic and moving into the more recent past by uncovering the civic and ethnic elements incorporated. The typology of civic and ethnic nationalisms is used for the purposes of deconstructing the nationalist discourse of the textbooks used in Turkey, and analyzing the conception of Turkish national identity that these textbooks construct, and inculcate. However, as it is used, the typology is also complemented with the insights provided by the above criticisms. The civic elements encountered in these textbooks are mainly the emphases on territory, duties, Republican morality, the unity of ideal, and adherence to the state. In the organic view of the nation, emphasis is on the ethnic origins of the nation, the commonality of language and culture, the existence of a pre-defined and unchanging national character, as well as the myth of ancestors, national spirit and genius. These elements exist in varying degrees and combinations throughout the period under analysis, depending on the historical and contextual conditions.

3.1.1. The 1928-1948 Period:

In the primary school textbooks of the late 1920s, the focus of nationalist discourse is the geographical space of the new state, the Republic of Turkey. This territorial nationalism of the textbooks of the 1920s is coupled with an ethnic

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[47] Kadıoğlu, "Citizenship and Individuation in Turkey: The Triumph of Will Over Reason," *Cemoti*, no. 26 (1998), 31.

[48] See also Mesut Yeğen, "Citizenship and Ethnicity in Turkey," *Middle Eastern Studies* 40, no. 6, (2004), 51-66. Yeğen analyzing the texts of Turkish constitutions states that "Turkish citizenship is characterized by an undecidability between an ethnic and a political definition." He further argues that the ethnicist content of Turkish citizenship is not "accidental", and "the oscillation of Turkish citizenship between a political and ethnic definition is primarily a matter of the texts constituting Turkish citizenship." (Ibid, 55)

nationalism from the 1930s onwards. Although the textbooks of the 1920s are not without ethnic elements; the emphasis is mainly on territory, as well as on other civic elements such as citizenship duties and Republican morality. Duties, defined along military service, internalizing a protestant work ethic, and paying taxes, exist not because of rights but because of love and indebtedness towards the territory – the homeland. The discourse on national character focuses on Republican morality, a newly constructed framework of action and behavior modes. In the textbooks of the 1930s, though the emphases on territory and duties continue to exist, the ethnic elements become dominant. What is significant in these textbooks are the narratives on the origins, the myths of ancestors, and the emphases on language, national spirit, and national character, the latter now defined with respect to ancestors. This discursive shift in the textbooks, realized through the introduction of an ethnic nationalist discourse, was the result of the officially constructed *Turkish History Thesis.* The thesis formed the background of the textbooks even after its abolishment in the mid-1940s, and worked to crystallize the ethnic elements. However, besides being an attempt to solidify the ethnic axis of the nationalist discourse and identity, the Turkish History Thesis was indeed an attempt to settle the paradoxes between Westernization and nationalism. In the following pages, first the conceptualizations of homeland, duties and the national character in the textbooks of the late-1920s are analyzed, then the discursive shift of the 1930s is explored.

The textbooks of the late 1920s place great emphasis on the territory of the newly founded state. This territory is conceptualized as the homeland -- *vatan*. *Vatan,* as a concept, was created in the late Ottoman times. Bernard Lewis traces the earliest references to this word, and argues that the word was first used in the translated documents and/or in the description of European events. He argues that the word entered official use in the 1830s, and by mid-century, had become a part of the language of the national ideas and sentiments.[49] Although the territorial references of the term have changed over time, and, in part, because of these changes, the significance of the term did not decrease. It became one of the focal points of the nationalist discourse.[50] The new state, in search of a political and social unity, tried to make an imagined

[49] Bernard Lewis, "Watan," *Journal of Contemporary History* 26, no. 3/4 (1991), 523-533. The word originally had a different spelling: *watan* instead of *vatan.*

[50] Besides the term *vatan*, *Anadolu* (Anatolia) is also used to refer to the homeland. The borders of the new state was drawn as including Anatolia and Thrace, however the homeland is usually referred only as *Anadolu.*

community of the people living within its borders. As Anderson has showed, the realization of such a political community defined along the territory of the state requires a geographical awareness with respect to that territory. Mass education was one of the instruments of instilling such awareness in the populations living within the borders of the Republic. The textbooks of the late 1920s, as in the poem titled "Geography of the Homeland," published in the 1928 language reader for fourth grade students, frequently argued, "one who does not know the geography of the homeland is not a Turk!"[51]

The nationalist discourse, besides inculcating geographical awareness and knowledge of the land, also tried to instill a historical awareness with respect to the territory in question. In the textbooks of the late 1920s, the narratives of the War of Independence were utilized for this purpose. Through these narratives, it was frequently emphasized that many people had died creating and protecting the territorial borders of the new state --the homeland. A passage titled "The Child of the Homeland" narrated the story of a little child sacrificing his life to protect the homeland.[52] In the language reader published in 1928 for fourth grade students, *Anadolu* (Anatolia) is called "the homeland of martyrs."[53] The 1928 fifth grade language reader followed the same lines, as can be seen in this poem: "With the blood of the martyrs / Red is the territory of homeland."[54] These ongoing emphases on self-sacrifices made all the living, and all who will be born *indebted* to the martyrs, and thus to the homeland. As nationhood was defined with the territory of the state, it was structured not only along an awareness and love of the land, but also along the notion of debt.

The territorial focus of the Republican nationalist discourse indeed fits the temporal order of state and nation formation in Turkey. In this respect, the Turkish case resembles the historical trajectory of nation-building in France as presented by Brubaker. As in France, the state preceding the nation, tried to form the nation in congruence with its geographical borders. This can be seen in the passage published in the 1928 fifth grade language reader. The passage was entitled "People's Government:

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[51] Ahmet Cevat Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Dördüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitaphanesi, 1928), 10. The excerpt was taken from a poem by Faruk Nafiz.

[52] Pakize İçsel and Nazım İçsel, *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, İlk Mektep Beşinci Sınıf* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitaphanesi, 1929), 213. For the original text see appendix.

[53] Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Dördüncü Sınıf*, 172.

[54] Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Beşinci Sınıf* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitaphanesi, 1928), 97. For the original text see appendix.

The Republic." As stated in the final sentence of the passage, the new nation was not the same as the community or communities that existed prior to the new state:

> An independent individual in an independent society; the happiness of the individual besides the happiness of the society; an independent and happy national in a new and well-constituted nation; dear brother, this is the aim of your new government.[55]

The goal of the new state was in fact to create a "new and well-constituted nation."

The attempts to shape national identity as a state/political identity in the primary school textbooks of the late 1920s led to a conception of nationhood structured along awareness of, and love and indebtedness towards the territory of the state. In these textbooks, citizenship was defined in line with this conception of nationhood, and signified with duties rather than rights. Yuval-Davis suggests that, in a country where "sacrificing one's life for one's country is the ultimate citizenship duty, citizenship rights are conditional on being prepared to fulfill this duty."[56] As can be seen in the textbooks in general, each and every citizen was supposed to show his/her love and gratefulness by acting obediently and doing whatever is asked from him/her in the name of homeland. As such, a passage entitled "The Voice of the Homeland" in the fifth grade language reader published in 1928, presented the homeland as a mother, and told the students to always listen to "her voice" and realize "her demands."[57] These necessary acts and sacrifices were regarded as duty.

With territory set as the primary signifier of national identity, the preservation of territorial borders attained utmost importance. Nationals were indebted with the duty of protecting the homeland, and military service was signified as the fundamental duty of the citizens. A passage entitled "Little Soldier" published in the 1929 fourth grade language reader, narrated the story of a child who had joined the army during the War of Independence. The passage stated that serving the homeland was the duty of every national, and defined the biggest service to the homeland as military service.[58] This formulation made the situation of women problematic. Although a part of the nation, women, not allowed to fulfill the most fundamental duty of citizenship, were turned into second-class citizens. Men were regarded as the true bearers of nationhood and

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[55] Ibid., 97. The passage is excerpted from a writing of Mehmet Emin. For the original text see appendix.

[56] Nira Yuval-Davis, *Gender and Nation* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), 93.

[57] Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Beşinci Sınıf*, 87. For the original text see appendix.

[58] İçsel and İçsel, *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, İlk Mektep Dördüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitaphanesi, 1929), 205-207. For the original text see appendix.

citizenship. Not being able to perform military service, but being still indebted with the duty of protecting the geographical territory of the state (and thus protecting national identity), resulted in a differentiation of women's status as citizens and nationals.

In the textbooks of the late 1920s, besides military service, citizens were also indebted with the duties of performing a protestant work ethic and paying taxes.[59] All national subjects, out of their love and indebtedness towards the homeland, were supposed to work vigorously throughout their lives. The 1929 third grade language reader called upon the child to wake up early and do his/her duty of "working for the homeland," which was in this case defined as going to school.[60] Paying taxes followed the duty of work as another primary duty of each national subject. This was presented as a necessity for managing the expenses of the government, which was indeed a necessity for the nation to be able to govern itself.

Besides territorial emphases and citizenship duties, an attempt was made to define a Republican morality in the textbooks of the 1920s. In fact, the attempts to establish a new morality to replace that the morality of the ancient regime are characteristic ones, the earliest examples of which can be found in the efforts of the Revolutionaries in France after 1789.[61] Similar efforts were carried out in Turkey in the 1920s to establish a "revolution of values."[62] A scheme of Republican morality was introduced into the textbooks to replace the Islamic one of the ancient regime. As Zürcher and Yıldız have shown, between the years 1918 and 1924, which can be referred as the formative years of Turkey, Islam was a part of the conception of nationhood. After 1924, there was a secularization of this conception through such measures as the abolishment of the caliphate, the removal from the constitution of the clause about Islam being the state's religion in 1928, and the Kemalist reforms. However, the abolishment of Islam from the public sphere and the secularization of national identity also required the construction of a new framework of modes of action and behavior. Hence, a new Republican morality scheme was constructed as a framework of action and behavior serving the needs of the secular Republic. What is also significant is the presentation of the Republican morality

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[59] Working was defined differently for men, women and children as we will see in the next chapter.

[60] See, Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Üçüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitaphanesi, 1929), 65-66.

[61] Şerif Mardin, "Ideology and Religion in the Turkish Revolution," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 2, no. 3 (1971), 202; Woloch, *The New Regime: Transformations of the French Civic Order*.

[62] Mardin, "Ideology and Religion in the Turkish Revolution."

as defining the national character. The idea of the national character can be traced back to seventeenth century European political thought. However, with Rousseau, it became central to the political life of the community. As Smith argues, Rousseau "sought to translate it [the idea of national character] into a practical programme of national preservation and restoration."[63]

The language readers of the late 1920s are indeed full of stories signifying moral principles and character traits. In numerous passages, being hardworking, well-mannered, docile, obedient, trustworthy, brave, heroic, and sacrificial is presented as the characteristics that children should internalize. These traits are at the same time portrayed as *national character traits*. Especially exhibiting bravery, heroism and self-sacrifice are demanded through presenting role models with the narratives of the Independence War. In a language reader published in 1929 for third grade students, a passage entitled "A Brave Child" told a story of self-sacrifice at the time of War of Independence.[64] In another language reader for third grade, published in 1929, a passage entitled "Two Sacrificing Children," narrated the story of a mother and her two children, a boy and a girl, hiding soldiers from the enemy during the War of Independence.[65]

However, while it attempted to shape national identity as a state/political identity, the nationalist discourse of the late 1920s was not void of ethno-cultural references. In fact, Yıldız notes the presence of racial and ethnic ideas, at least in the form of racial purity and eugenics, in the Kemalist nationalist discourse since the beginning of the Republic. He signifies the years between 1929 and 1938 as those in which the on-going process of incorporating an ethnic axis to the national identity took place, and especially stresses the dominance of the racial and ethnic elements in the 1930s. The analysis of the textbooks presents a similar, though not exactly the same, picture of national identity. As seen above, the conception of nationhood was defined mainly with respect to territory, and also other civic elements such as citizenship duties and Republican morality. However, racial and ethnic ideas, both in the form of reference to the origins and form of racial purity and eugenics were evident. In the 1928 language textbook for

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[63] Smith, *National Identity,* 88.

[64] See, for example, Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Üçüncü Sınıf*, 35-36. For the original text see appendix.

[65] İçsel and İçsel, *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, İlk Mektep Üçüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitaphanesi, 1929; reprint, 1934), 173-176.

fifth grade students, one can come across sentences such as "You are a Turkish child carrying the blood of our heroic ancestors in your veins."[66] References to race can also be seen in the textbooks used in this period. For instance, in the passage titled "Improvement of the Generation," published in the 1929 language reader for fifth grade students, generation, nation and race are used interchangeably.[67]

References to origins can also be seen in the examples of role models portraying the national character. As can be seen in the fifth grade language reader published in 1928, in addition to references to Republican values, national character is also defined with respect to ancestors. In this passage entitled "Alp Arslan," the *Malazgirt* War and its leading warrior is narrated. The war narrated took place in southeastern Anatolia between the Byzantine Empire and Seljuk Empire in the year 1071, and ended with the victory of the latter. The emphasis on this war can be regarded as part of the attempts to instill a historical awareness with respect to the territory in question. In the passage, Alp Arslan, the legendary commander of the Seljuk army, is defined as being heroic, combative, and at the same time civilized and humanist. However, this example also presents an alternative to the myth of ancestors in defining the national character. The passage argued that the ancient Turks had worshiped iron, and added: Because of this tradition of his ancestors, the hero, Alp Arslan, paid ultimate respect to his sword.[68]

Although the emphases on territory, duties and Republican morality continued to exist in the primary school textbooks published in the 1930s and early 1940s, ethnic elements, references and themes dominated these textbooks. For instance, in the history textbook published in 1930 for fourth grade students, it was argued that "The lineage [*soy*], as well as the health, of the sultans who mingle with women not from our breed, from foreign nations was corrupted."[69] However, it was the introduction of the officially formulated *Turkish History Thesis* in the early 1930s that brought about a discursive shift in the textbooks. The thesis was formed between the years 1929 and 1932, with its first public articulation made at the First Turkish History Congress of 1932.[70] The thesis argued that Turks were the primordial nation of the whole world - originating in Central

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[66] Ibid., 107.

[67] İçsel and İçsel, *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, İlk Mektep Beşinci Sınıf*, 44-48. For the original text see appendix.

[68] Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Beşinci Sınıf*, 178-180.

[69] Abdülbaki Nasır and Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil, *Yavrumun Tarih Kitabı, İlkmektep Dördüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Şirketi Mürettibiye Matbaası, 1930), 131-132.

[70] See Ersanlı-Behar, *İktidar ve Tarih*.

Asia, migrating to different parts of the world, such as China, Europe and the near East, and bringing civilization along with it. It was also argued that these waves of migrations, followed by occupations and the subsequent settlements continued throughout history, resulting in the dissolution of the existing states, and in the formation of new ones by the migrating ethnic Turkish groups. The thesis in fact reconstructed national identity along ethno-cultural lines such that ethnic origins and culture became the focus of nationalist discourse. Besides this ethno-cultural focus, Turkish History Thesis also had racial aspects.[71] The terms nation, culture, and race were used interchangeably in the arguments of the thesis, and they were supported by the racial research of the anthropologists of the time.[72] The theory was backed by the launching of *Sun-Language Theory* in 1935, which argued that all languages derived from one primeval language which was originally spoken in Central Asia, and that Turkish was the closest one among all languages to this origin. The theory originated with and was developed by Kvergic, a Viennese Orientalist, and it was officially adopted at Third Congress of the Society for the Study of the Turkish Language in 1936.[73]

As the Turkish History Thesis was introduced to the textbooks from the early 1930s onwards, language readers became full of reading passages referring to the historical ancestors –the "ancient Turks"-- and narrating stories about them.[74] National identity, reconstructed along ethno-cultural lines, was at times defined along race. For instance, the terms nation and race were used in a passage titled "Turkish Nation" in a fifth grade language reader published in 1934 interchangeably, with nation and race presented as equivalents of one another.[75] However, the discursive shift created by the Turkish History Thesis can best be seen in the fourth and fifth grade history textbooks

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[71] Altınay lists the following among the main arguments of the Turkish History Thesis: "Turks are not members of the Mongoloid "yellow race," but of the *brachycephalic* white race." Altınay, *The Myth of the Military-Nation*, 22.

[72] Afet Inan's doctoral thesis can be given as an example of this research. It was based on "the anthropometrical research on the skulls of more than 65 thousand "Turks," the main argument being that the Turks were a *brachycephalic* (broad-headed) race, a characteristic that defined the "white" race." Altınay, *The Myth of the Military-Nation*, 22.

[73] Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 190.

[74] İbrahim Hilmi Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 4* (İstanbul: Türk Kitapçılığı Limitet Şirketi, 1934-1935), 168-170, and 215-218. For the original text see appendix; Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 5* (İstanbul: Türk Kitapçılığı Limitet Şirketi, 1934-1935), 67; İsmail Hikmet Ertaylan, *Kıraat Dersleri, Sınıf 4* (İstanbul: Türk Kitapçılığı Limitet Şirketi, 1933-1934), 94-96. For the original text see appendix.

[75] Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 5*, 27.

published after the official introduction of the thesis. Now the Turkish nation was signified as the oldest and greatest nation of the world, and it was argued that "the history of the Turk begins with the first human being in the world."[76] As stated in the same the fourth grade history textbook under the first topic, "Today and Yesterday", "its [the Turkish nation's] history is as old as the history of humanity." The passage continued:

> Children… Today we live in our genuine homeland called "Turkey." Turkish is our genuine language. We are called **Turks.** Every people living around, in every corner of our homeland are our real brothers/sisters. … Because their ancestors are also Turks, they think the same, they feel the same. They are similar to each other, they fight together against the enemy, and they die together. When these are considered, shouldn't they be regarded brothers/sisters of each other? Thus we call the brothers/sisters living in the Turkish Homeland and who has consciousness of his/herself, who knows his/her friends and enemies, all together, the *Turkish Nation.* This nation is the oldest and greatest nation of the world. It has been an example to all other nations.[77]

With the Turkish History Thesis, a new homeland, Central Asia, was introduced to the nationalist discourse, and defined as the "real motherland of Turks."[78] This newly defined "real motherland," as part of the new official nationalist discourse on the origins, served the purposes of adding an ethno-cultural component to the national identity. At the same time, the thesis presented Anatolia as the genuine homeland of the Turks. It was argued that, since the pre-historical times, Anatolia was populated by Turks migrating from Central Asia. This can be seen in the fourth grade history textbook published in 1936. The unit entitled "The Turkish Nation and Homeland before the Great Revolution" stated the following:

> For a homeland as beautiful as the genuine homeland of Turkish Nation one can risk everything. … As our knowledge expands we will understand the beauty and value of our homeland better. However should we not explore from what period onwards these lands has been ours? The value of a homeland also depends on how ancient it is. Because only then it would be a place that has been lived upon, blended with the bones and blood of the nation, and its land processed with the efforts of the nation … Let's explain since its time has come, Anatolia and Thrace has belonged to Turks since the ancient and dark ages of history. When Turks had found this place, it had no owners, and they moved into this land from its eastern gates, and

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[76] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 4. Sınıf* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1936), 69. For the original text see appendix.

[77] Ibid., 11-12, original emphases. For the original text see appendix.

[78] Ibid., 77.

through settling and creating the first constructions, they made it prosperous.[79]

As seen here, the territory of the Republic was reconstructed as the land of Turks dating back to pre-historical times. All the ancient civilizations that had flourished in Anatolia and in its vicinity, such as the Sumerian, Hittite, Scythian, Mediterranean, Aegean (and thus Greek) civilizations, were specifically signified as being founded by Turks. Also the roots of their languages were argued to be the Turkish language.[80] As stated again in the fourth grade history textbook,

> We should learn at this point that the Turkish nation was the first nation to arrive and settle in Anatolia. These Turks, coming from the east like the Oghuz Turks, are called Hittite Turks. The Hittites established a huge empire in Anatolia thousands of years ago, and created a great civilization.[81]

While the Turkish nation was presented as the real owner of Anatolia, the formation of "Turkish national unity" in Anatolia was traced back to the Seljuk Empire.[82] It was argued in the fifth grade history textbook published in 1937 that the Anatolian Seljuks had "rescued" Anatolia from the Byzantines, and as a result of this, the "pure Turkish language and culture re-flourished" in Anatolia.[83]

Turkish History Thesis was indeed the result of a social engineering project that led to the re-writing of history. The Kemalist ruling elites' secularization moves and their consequent repudiation of the immediate past required the invention of historical continuity by creating an ancient past. As Hobsbawn and Ranger shows the creation of this ancient past beyond effective historical continuity can be done either by semi-fiction or by forgery.[84] Copeaux regards the emphasis on Central Asian origins as an attempt to create an identity divested from the Muslim and Ottoman aspects. He also argues that the invention of ancient Anatolian Turkish ancestors served to counter the

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[79] Ibid., 67-68. For the original text see appendix.

[80] See chapter entitled "The First Blossoms of the Civilization of Heavenly Turks (*Kök Türk Medeniyetinin İlk Filizleri*)" in T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 4. Sınıf*, 130-173. In fact, Turks were seen as the creators of all ancient civilizations, thus besides the civilizations that were formed in Anatolia and in its vicinity, the ancient Chinese, Egyptian, Indian civilizations are also introduced in this chapter as originating from the Turks.

[81] Ibid., 77.

[82] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 5. Sınıf* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1937), 57.

[83] Ibid., 46-47. For the original text see appendix.

[84] Hobsbawm and Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition*, 7.

Armenian and Greek nationalist claims on Anatolia.[85] In fact, besides territory and Republican values, ethnic attachments were put forth in the thesis as a new basis for solidarity to replace the solidarity created earlier through religion. At the same time, Anatolia, the geographical territory of the new state, was constructed as ethnically Turkish, and all the different identities were disguised. Thus there were two options left for the people who would claim otherwise (that they are not ethnically Turkish): Either they had forgotten their Turkishness and had a false consciousness, or they were foreign elements. While the first one comprised the Muslims living on the land, the latter referred to the non-Muslims, the official minorities.

The thesis also served another purpose. Secularization of national identity was a major part of the modernization move of the Kemalist ruling elite. With respect to the re-conceptualization of identity in the mid 1920s as a secular identity as opposed to Muslim, Zürcher states that:

> One can only assume that the crucial question the Young Turks had faced about corporate identity lost some of its urgency once independent survival had been secured and society had become relatively homogenous in religious terms, so then the question of "catching up with Europe" again moved to center stage.[86]

Following the secularization attempts, history was reconfigured with the Turkish History Thesis to serve modernization.[87] In the history textbooks, the narrative of human history and civilization focused on Central Asia as the first place where humans had lived. This can be seen in the fourth grade history textbook published in 1936. The chapter focusing on world history, entitled "What is Progress, How does it Happen?", asked the students the following question and argued that Turks were the first human beings in the world: "From where did the Turkish Nation, the oldest nation of the world, come to Central Asia? Or was the first human-being seen here?" [88] Central Asia was in fact presented as the "cradle of civilization."[89] The same textbook suggested that

> As we will see the humans who brought civilization both to the east and to the west sides of Asia had moved to these places from the central parts of

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[85] Copeaux, *Tarih Ders Kitaplarında (1931-1993) Türk Tarih Tezinden Türk-İslam Sentezine*, 32.

[86] Zürcher, "Young Turks, Ottoman Muslims and Turkish Nationalists," 174.

[87] See Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey*, (McGill University Press, 1964); reprint (London: Hurst & Company, 1998), 500-501.

[88] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 5. Sınıf*, 107.

[89] Ibid., 9.

Asia. For this reason, it is right to say that Central Asia is the first cradle of civilization.[90]

Setting Central Asia as the motherland and the cradle of civilization can be regarded as an attempt to resolve the 'paradox' -- the dichotomy between modernization and authenticity -- that emerged in the nationalist project due to the embracement of whole-scale Westernization.[91] As again argued in fourth grade history textbook "It is understood from all these that the ones who took the first steps of progress for people in Central Asia, and who disseminated progress to the other parts of the world are none but the Turks."[92]

Turkish History Thesis was at the same time a response to the dichotomy between modernization and authenticity. According to Chatterjee, nationalisms arising in non-European contexts are bound to be derivative discourses due to their paradoxical natures. He argues that "Nationalist thought, in agreeing to become modern, accepts the claim to universality of this modern framework of knowledge." However, it also tries to assure the autonomous identity of national culture, thus it "simultaneously rejects and accepts the dominance, both epistemic and moral, of an alien culture."[93] This essential paradox is presented with the dichotomy between modernization and authenticity. Turkish History Thesis, presenting civilization as belonging originally to the Turkish nation, and regarding the concerns of Western modernity (such as progress and productiveness) as the national characteristics of Turks, can be regarded as an attempt to settle this dichotomy between modernization and authenticity. Within this regard, what's modern was not Western but indeed authentic, thus national.

However, another paradox resulted from the Turkish History Thesis. In the words of the fourth grade history textbook, "Turks are maybe more devoted to their homeland than other nations. Then why did Turks move out of their Motherland, scatter all around

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[90] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 4. Sınıf*, 107-108.

[91] See Kadıoğlu, "The Paradox of Turkish Nationalism and the Construction of Offical Identity." See also Halil Berktay, "Tarih, Toplumsal Bellek, Güncel Nevroz: Türkiye'nin Avrupa ile Aşk ve Nefret İlişkisinin Historiyografik ve Politik Boyutları", in *Grenzfall Europa-Avrupa'nın İnce Eşiğinde*, Türkei Program der Körber-Stiftung (Hamburg: Körber-Stiftung, 1999), 355-367. Akman also draws attention to the linkage between modernization and nationalism in the context of Turkey, yet he conceptualizes it differently. See, Akman, "Modernist Nationalism." He introduces a novel concept, "modernist nationalism", and presents it as a separate typology differing from the typologies of civic and ethnic nationalism. He defines Turkish nationalism as modernist nationalism, and argues for the modernist character of Turkish national identity.

[92] Ibid., 125.

[93] Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World,* 11.

the world, settle in other countries and stay in those places?"[94] The reason was presented as the change of climate and the drought in Central Asia, which had made it impossible to live there. Thus, the Central Asian motherland was regarded as a mythical land - impossible to return to. This argument also made it possible to avoid conceptualizations of national identity territorially on the lines of the presumed motherland, and also to avoid irredentist claims to be based upon Central Asia.

Although ethnic elements, references and themes dominated the textbooks published in the 1930s and early 1940s, the emphases on citizenship duties and Republican morality continued to exist. The fundamental duty of nationals was still defined as protecting the territory of the state. Sacrificing lives for protecting the homeland was again a highlighted theme that can be seen even in the first grade language readers.[95] As can be seen in the language reader for fifth grade students published in 1934, citizens were indebted with the duty of military service. This passage entitled "The Debt of Soldiering" stated that "the defense and preservation of the homeland is a sacred duty."[96]

Besides the duty of military service, working was also presented as a prime duty of citizenship. All national citizens, out of their love and indebtedness towards the homeland, were supposed to work vigorously throughout their lives. A linkage was provided between homeland, patriotism and working. A passage from a language reader published in the 1930s argued that "true patriotism is working." It further stated that "The truest, real patriot is the one who works; the one who willingly does the work homeland has given."[97] The duty of paying taxes followed the duty of having a protestant work ethic. As stated in the 1936 fourth grade history textbook, "Every *Turk* gives tax to the government according to his earnings."[98]

Besides the dominance of ethnic themes, in the textbooks published in the 1930s and early 1940s, national character continued to be defined with Republican morality. The language readers of these years had stories signifying moral principles and character traits, and trying to formulate a general morality. For instance, in a passage

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[94] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 4. Sınıf*, 125.

[95] Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 1*, 6th ed. (İstanbul: Türk Kitapçılığı Limitet Şirketi, 1934-1935), 72. For the original text see appendix; Ertaylan, *Kıraat Dersleri, Sınıf 1* (İstanbul: Türk Kitapçılığı Limitet Şirketi, 1934-1935), 98-99.

[96] Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 5*, 81. For the original text see appendix.

[97] Ertaylan, *Kıraat Dersleri, Sınıf 3* (İstanbul: Türk Kitapçılığı Limitet Şirketi, 1933-1934), 81

[98] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 4. Sınıf*, 13. Italics mine.

published in the 1933 language reader for third grade students, being hardworking, well-mannered and docile were stressed, and implicitly presented as the national traits that Turkish children should have.[99] However, more often than not, national character was defined with respect to ancestors. For instance, the history textbook published in 1930 characterized the ancestors as brave, determined, and "respectful towards their fathers and elders."[100] The book even defined the physical traits of ancient Turks.[101] The third grade language reader published in 1933 emphasized the natural "bravery" and the "strength" of the Turkish nation.[102] Another language reader published in 1934 for fourth grade students portrayed "the Turks living in the cities and villages of the new state" and "the Turkish nation" as naturally "trustworthy and skillful.[103] In another passage, titled "Turkey," published in the same language reader, the "Turkish nation" was defined as "trustworthy and heroic," "civilized," and "having served the civilization by founding states."[104]

3.1.2. The 1948-1968 Period:

As seen above, the introduction of the Turkish History Thesis to the textbooks in the 1930s resulted in a discursive shift. From the 1930s onwards, the Turkish History Thesis provided the backbone history textbooks. In textbooks other than history, the basics of the arguments were designed in line with this new official historiography. Ethnic elements, references and themes dominated the primary school textbooks published in the 1930s and early 1940s. The year 1945, the end of the Second World War, marked a new era throughout the world. The emergence of the United States as the dominant world power was regarded as a victory for pluralist, capitalist democracy. These years also marked the beginnings of transition from the one-party rule to democracy in Turkey. The curricula of 1948 and the new textbooks were prepared in this atmosphere. As race became a heavily discredited concept in the aftermath of the

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[99] Ertaylan, *Kıraat Dersleri, Sınıf 3*, 19-20.

[100] Nasır and Siyavuşgil, *Yavrumun Tarih Kitabı, İlkmektep Dördüncü Sınıf*, 134, 157, 98, respectively.

[101] Ibid., 88.

[102] Ertaylan, *Kıraat Dersleri, Sınıf 3*, 75-78.

[103] Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 4*, 99.

[104] Ibid., 218 and 219, respectively.

war, the more extreme claims the History Thesis were dropped beginning in the late-1940s. However, most premises of the thesis were not questioned, and its basis and rationale continued to structure the textbooks. The Ottoman past, as well as the Islamic past was restored, yet the Kemalist historiography of the immediate past -- the narrative of the late-Ottoman times, the nationalist independence movement, and the early Republican years -- was not challenged.

In the textbooks published between 1948 and 1968, the abandonment of the most extreme claims of the thesis led to a lessening of the emphasis on the ethnic elements. However, the narratives on the origins, the myths of ancestors, and the emphases on language, and national character, the latter defined with respect to ancestors, are still replete in the textbooks. The focus on the ethnic origins of national identity, designed along the mythical motherland of Central Asia, persisted. History textbooks, at the level of the fourth grade, emphasized migrations from this motherland, and the subsequent conquests and settlements in Europe (the Balkans and Spain), the Aegean, Anatolia, and Mesopotamia, where they founded civilizations.[105] The parts on Central Asia and migrations were reduced. So were those on the forerunner civilizations of the world. The Turkishness of other forerunner civilizations of the world was not stressed as it previously had been. The biggest section in fourth grade history textbooks was now devoted to Aegean, Greek, and Roman civilizations.[106] Such emphasis on these civilizations, which are generally regarded as the basis of the Western civilization, can be related to Turkey's attempts to join the Western camp during these years. The new history textbooks (fourth grade), probably due to the lessening emphasis on radical secularism, also focused on the birth of Islam and the services of Turks to Islam and Islamic civilization, and were explained within the boundaries of state-making and war-making. As in the case of previous ones, the fifth grade history textbooks focused on the history of the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Revolution. Still, yet they paid more attention to the Empire since the sections on Seljuks were moved to fourth grade history textbooks.

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[105] See Faik Reşit Unat, and Kamil Su, *Tarih, 4. Sınıf,* 8th ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1954), 10. The 1946 and 1950 versions of this textbook are also the same as the 1954 one. Unat and Su, *Tarih, 4. Sınıf* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1946), 13-14; Unat and Su, *Tarih, 4. Sınıf* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1950), 10.

[106] Emin Oktay, *Yeni Tarih Dersleri 4* (İstanbul: Atak Yayınevi, 1958). However, another textbook the first version of which was published in 1946 and which continued to be in use until the mid-1950s does not focus on the Roman Empire extensively, but pays attention only to the Aegean and Greek civilizations. Unat and Su, *Tarih, 4. Sınıf* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1946).

Despite these changes in the history textbooks, the ancient Mesopotamian, Aegean, Central Asian and Anatolian Turkish ancestors were still invented. For example, it was argued that the Turks settling in Mesopotamia founded the Sumerian state. Minoans and Huns were regarded as Turks -- the former being the creators of the first Aegean civilization, in Crete; the latter, being praised for founding a strong state in Central Asia and expanding it to various parts of the world such as Europe. Hittites were still signified as the first people to live in Anatolia, and as Turks who founded the first Turkish state there.[107]

The territory of the Republic, Anatolia, was argued to be "the second motherland of Turks," and as presented as eternally Turkish.[108] Thus, the geographical territory of the new state was constructed as ethnically Turkish, and all the different identities were disguised. The objective signifiers of the nation, such as the Turkish language and culture, were presented as being unchanged from the time immemorial. As stated in the fourth grade history textbook published in 1954, "Although after the Hittites, Anatolia had been captured by various foreign states, after the Malazgirt victory, it was *again* returned to the sovereignty of Turks."[109] Another fourth grade history textbook published in 1958, even furthered this argument:

> With the Malazgirt Victory, Turkish Nation gained a new homeland and started a new Historical Era. … After the Malazgirt Victory, Turks conquered Anatolia from one side to the other, and made this place a land of Turks. After this time Turks settled in Anatolia and founded a new Turkish State. This state, which continued to exist until today, called the State of Turkey (*Türkiye Devleti*).[110]

These examples, besides signifying the invented ethnic Turkish base of Anatolia, also argue for the invented historical continuity of the ethnic base since the time of the Malazgirt War (beginning of eleventh century). However, the latter example, as well as signifying this invented ethnic Turkish base and its continuity, creates a historical continuity in Anatolia with respect to state. In doing so, it implicitly restores the Ottoman history of the land, and reconstructs the Ottoman state as Turkish.

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[107] Oktay, *Yeni Tarih Dersleri 4*, 32-33.

[108] Ibid., 32.

[109] Unat and Su, *Tarih, 4. Sınıf,* 8th ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1954), 86. The following editions of this textbook, 1959 and 1960, are the similar to this one. My emphasis.

[110] Oktay, *Yeni Tarih Dersleri 4*, 103. Original emphasis. For the original text see appendix.

In the textbooks published between 1948 and 1968, besides the ethnic elements, the emphases on territory and duties were also significant. Despite the ethno-cultural focus in the conceptualization of national identity, there was at the same time a territorial/political emphasis. Territory was presented among the main objective signifiers of national identity. The geographical territory of the state was the basis of the Republic and the new nation. The textbooks tried to inculcate awareness, knowledge and love with respect to territory. This time, unlike the former period, besides the narratives of the War of Independence, in the language and life sciences textbooks, the stories from the Ottoman times were also utilized. This emphasis on the Ottoman times was in fact new, and it focused mainly on the narrations of the wars that Ottomans were involved in. However, this new focus on the Empire made the emphasis on the territory of the new state and its borders problematic. In addition, these narrations equated Ottoman to Turkish, and specifically signified the Turkishness of the role models presented. Hence, these narratives, rather than serving to inculcate historical knowledge of the territory, introduced new myths of ancestors.

In the textbooks published between 1948 and 1968, besides the myths on origins, the conception of nationhood was also structured along the notions of love and debt for the homeland. This love and debt for the homeland was supposed to culminate in the embracement of the duties. As can be seen in the poem titled "Homeland is You," published in the 1955 second grade language reader, the relationship between the nationals and the homeland was extended even further. The poem equated the existence of each and every national to the well-being of the homeland.[111] This linkage between the people and the homeland put every self in the service of the homeland. The poem continued to exist in the language readers of the following years, into to the early 1960s.

In fact, the notion of duty, in the textbooks, was generalized and usually referred to as "serving the homeland." In the words of the poem published in a 1949 life sciences textbook for second grade students,

As you say that you are a Turk you are happy, rejoice.
You are indebted to serve the homeland.[112]

While serving the homeland was the duty of each and every national subject, the most fundamental service to the homeland was presented as protecting the homeland. Similar

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[111] T. C. Maarif Vekaleti, *Okuma Kitabı, İkinci Sınıf,* 1st ed. (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1955).

[112] Ali Rıza Akısan, *İlkokul İkinci Sınıf Hayat Bilgisi Kitabı, Ekim* (İstanbul: Şaka Matbaası, 1949), 30.

to the former textbooks of the earlier years, in the textbooks published between 1948 and 1968, nationals were indebted with the primary duty of protecting the homeland. It was frequently emphasized in the textbooks that many Turks had died to protect the homeland. The homeland is presented as the land of martyrs. The poem entitled "Little Soldier," published in the 1966 second grade language reader, addresses the children as heroes and soldiers, and reminds them: "The homeland wants service from you."[113] Along these lines, in the textbooks published in this period, military service continued to be presented as the fundamental duty of the citizens, which they are obliged to fulfill and should love doing so.

As in the textbooks of the earlier years, sacrificing lives to serve the homeland continued to be a theme highlighted in textbooks published between the years 1948 and 1968. However, besides the numerous examples and calls for heroism and martyrdom, a poem published in the 1952 fifth grade language reader made a different call to the children. Although the 1952 version of the reader was quite similar to its prior versions, this poem titled "For the Homeland," an excerpt taken from a poem originally written by Tevfik Fikret, was a new addition:

> For the homeland one can die
> But you are indebted to live[114]

The poem differed from the general lines of the nationalist discourse on homeland. While it did not deny the necessity of death for protecting the homeland, it made a call to the children to live.

Besides military service, the textbooks published in this period, also presented "working" as among the major citizenship duties. Similar to the ones published in previous years, a linkage was provided between homeland, patriotism and working. Every national, out of his/her love and indebtedness towards the homeland, was supposed to work endlessly throughout his/her life. This linkage was also extended to the elevation of the nation, and the development of the country/homeland. As stated in the third grade life sciences textbook published in 1953, "For a nation to move in the path of civilization, it should work vigorously and develop the country."[115] The same

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[113] T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı, İkinci Sınıf* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1966), 53.

[114] T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1952), 29.

[115] Şükriye İrge, *Hayat Bilgisi, Sınıf 3, Okuma Parçaları* (Ankara: Güney Matbaacılık ve Gazetecilik T. A. O., 1953), 28.

textbook also stress that "for the Turkish nation not remain behind the other nations," "We will work, work, work."[116] In one of the introductory passages of another life sciences textbook for second grade students published in 1959, it was argued that "Elevation of the homeland and nation depends on your continuous work."[117]

What is also significant in this example is that concept of homeland is not used alone. The term homeland started to be used together with the term nation. The same pairing can also be seen in the following pages of the textbook the third grade life sciences textbook published in 1953. For instance, in one of the passages, the following argument was presented though the voice of a student: "I will work for the goodness of my nation and homeland."[118] In fact, in the textbooks published between 1948 and 1968, the duties presented were not only for the homeland but also for the nation. Besides the general conceptualization of duty with reference to serving the homeland, the concept also referred to serving the nation.

In the textbooks, national character continued to be equated with Republican morality. The language readers and life sciences textbooks published between 1948 and 1968 are full of stories signifying moral principles and character traits. Besides attempts to construct a general Republican morality, these traits are either explicitly or implicitly presented as the national traits that Turks had and/or should have. The role models presented to children mainly with the narratives of the War of Independence were characterized as brave, heroic and self-sacrificing. Their exhibition was considered obligatory. The stories from the Ottoman times, as well as narratives of the War of Independence, were utilized. A reading passage in the life sciences textbook for first grade narrated the story of a brave child becoming a martyr in the defense of the homeland.[119] The passage entitled "War of Independence," published in the 1953 third grade life sciences textbook argued that "we presented our heroism to the whole world with the Lausanne treaty."[120]

However, in textbooks published in this period, national character was also defined with respect to ancestors. A poem in the third grade life sciences textbook

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[116] Ibid., 25.

[117] Halil Ötüken, *İlkokullar İçin Hayat Bilgisi 2* (İstanbul: Ders Kitapları Ticaret Limitet Şirketi, 1959), 6-7.

[118] Ibid., 19.

[119] Ramazan Gökalp Arkın, Hayat Bilgisi, *İlk Okuma 1* (İstanbul: Bir Yayınevi, 1955), 41-43.

[120] İrge, *Hayat Bilgisi, Sınıf 3, Okuma Parçaları* (Ankara: Güney Matbaacılık ve Gazetecilik T. A. O., 1953), 20.

published in 1953 indicated that Turks were "high-born [*soysal*]."[121] In the textbooks of these years, the ancestors referred to can well be the Ottoman people living in Anatolia, as well as the ancient Turks of Central Asia. For instance, a reading passage published in the same language readers introduced to the students an Anatolian peasant who lived under the Ottoman Empire and "discovered the first charcoal deposits of Turkey." The passage presented this man as exemplifying "the finest example of the Turk who is hardworking, attentive, and clever."[122] What is also significant in this example is that Ottoman is used interchangeably with Turk, signaling that the restoration of the (the Ottoman part) was only possible by a reconstruction of this history as Turkish history. In fact, Ottoman ancestors, reconstructed as Turkish ancestors, became a part of the myth of ancestors, serving the ethno-cultural axis in the conceptualization of national identity.

3.1.3. The 1968-1981 Period:

In the primary school textbooks published between 1968 and 1981, the elements of both civic and ethnic nationalisms can be seen. Compared to the textbooks of the former years, the textbooks published in these years paid less emphasis to ethnic elements such as the myth of origins; however culture and the myth of ancestors prevailed as crucial components defining the national identity. With respect to civic elements, the emphases on territory, duties and national character continued to be a part of the conception of nationhood provided in the textbooks.

With the 1968 curriculum, the subjects of history and geography were gathered under one course, and called "social sciences." The parts of the social sciences textbooks that focus on history continued to be organized mainly in the same way as the earlier history textbooks. However, history was now not based on the Turkish History Thesis. While Central Asia continued to be designated as the motherland, with migrations and the subsequent conquests still forming a part of the textbooks, the emphasis of the nationalist discourse on origins lessened. Moreover, the Turkishness of the first civilizations of the world was no longer argued. For instance, in the fourth

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[121] Ibid., 21.

[122] Ibid., 35.

grade social sciences textbook, published in 1978, although the Mesopotamian/Sumerian civilization was presented as having been founded by the migrations from Asia, the Sumerians were not identified as Turks.[123]

Another major change from the prior period was the absence of the invented ancient Anatolian ancestors. The attempts to prove Anatolia as being originally Turkish came to an end. In the fourth grade social sciences textbook published in 1978, under the unit entitled "Who Lived in Turkey before Us?" the Hittites were referred to as the first people in Anatolia. Yet, unlike the earlier arguments, they were not openly acknowledged as Turks, but rather as "one of the ethnic groups, tribes which had migrated from Central Asia to the West."[124] The territory of the Republic was not regarded as belonging to Turks from time immemorial. Instead, it was now argued that Anatolia became "a Turkish country" in the aftermath of the Malazgirt War, from the eleventh century onwards.[125] As stated in the fifth grade social sciences textbook published in 1979, "the gates of Anatolia were opened to Turks" with the "Victory of Malazgirt." [126]

These changes in the discourse of textbooks were related to the embracement of the ideas of the Hearth of Intellectuals by the political right, especially by those belonging to the circles of the NAP and NSP, but also by the officer corps, and their incorporation into mass public education.[127] This discourse, in addition to glorifying Islam, presented it as the innate characteristic of Turkishness. The so-called Turkish-Islamic synthesis was attained through the invention of similarities between the pagan religion of ancient Turks and Islam, as well as the culture of ancient Turks and the Islamic civilization. The concern with being the originators of the forerunner civilizations, and thus of the Western civilization, had declined in importance. This concern was replaced by the glorification of the Islamic civilization, and an emphasis on

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[123] Ferruh Sanır, Tarık Asal, and Niyazi Akşit, *İlkokullar için Sosyal Bilgiler, 4. Sınıf*, 5th ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1978), 181-182.

[124] Ibid., 177.

[125] Ibid., 219.

[126] Sanır, Asal, and Akşit, *İlkokullar İçin Sosyal Bilgiler, 5. Sınıf*, 6th ed. (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 1979), 7.

[127] The Hearth of Intellectuals was founded in the 1970s by the influential people from the circles of business, and politics, and from the universities. Its chairman and most significant figure in the educational field was İbrahim Kafesoğlu. For more detailed information on the organization, and Kafesoğlu, see Copeaux, *Tarih Ders Kitaplarında (1931-1993) Türk Tarih Tezinden Türk-İslam Sentezine*, 54-77.

how developed Islamic countries were at a time when Europe was struggling with ignorance. Within the context of the Turkish-Islamic synthesis, what became significant was the Turkification of Anatolia and its concomitant conversion to Islam.

The social sciences textbooks published between 1968 and 1981 still clung to the idea of national character. In them, contrary to earlier ones, national character was defined and presented to the students in the form of lists. These lists can be regarded as *practical programs for national restoration.*[128] They provided the students with various modes of behavior. Fulfilling the expectations with respect to the listed behaviors, actions, feelings and appearances was equated with fulfilling the requirements of nationhood. These lists also provided a linkage between national character and duty. The fulfillment of duties was defined as part of the national character.

The fourth grade social sciences textbook published in 1978, in its last unit entitled "The Motherland of Turks, Migrations and Their Results," provides the students with such a list. The last section of this unit starts with the following argument:

> The parts that differentiate a living being or a thing from others are called its "characteristics." The nations also have various characteristics; for example, one nation is even-tempered, does not get excited easily; hardly laughs and cries. It gives the best answer, after thinking and calculating everything. One decides and starts doing something and carries it to the end. Another does not consider others as important. It sees its own nation as superior to other nations; it is arrogant; wants its words to be listened to by everyone else. Like these, almost all the nations have their own characteristics.[129]

The list, titled "The Characteristics of the Turkish Nation," follows this argument. The characteristics of the nation are presented as follows:

a. The Turkish Nation is intelligent.
b. The Turk is hard-working.
c. The Turk is honest; and in favor of honesty.
d. The Turk is man of his word.
e. The Turk is brave.
f. The Turk is tolerant.
g. The Turk loves to help others.
h. The Turk is hospitable.
i. The Turk is clean.
j. The Turk respects the elder, and loves and protects the younger.
k. The Turk loves knowledge and fine arts.

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[128] For Rousseau's argument about developing a program of national preservation and restoration by using the idea of national character, see Smith, *National Identity,* 88.

[129] Sanır, Asal, and Akşit, *İlkokullar İçin Sosyal Bilgiler, 4. Sınıf,* 5th ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1978), 226-227. For the original text see appendix.

l. The Turk is tied to traditions and customs; but appropriates and applies useful innovations.[130]

In the chaotic context of the 1970s, marked by the incorporation of the far right into the politics and government coalitions, such lists worked to put forth the "true characteristics" of each and every national clearly and directly. The list presented is, in fact, mostly a list of necessary modes of behavior. It also includes commands on feelings, as well as duties. Each entry in the list is followed by its explanation. For instance, the national characteristic of being hard-working is explained as "being useful to the society is Turk's main goal," which actually underlines the duty of performing a protestant work ethic, and the primacy of the society over the individual.[131] Another national characteristic, being brave, refers to the duty of protecting the homeland. In the explanations of this characteristic, it is argued that "For the homeland, nation, flag and rights, the Turk knows how to die willingly and without hesitating."[132] Sacrificing lives for protecting the homeland, nation and its symbols is again a highlighted theme, and also a defining feature of Turkishness.

In the last unit of the fourth grade social sciences textbook, this list of "The Characteristics of the Turkish Nation" is followed by another list: "The Strong Ties Connecting Turks to Each Other." This list, which forms the final section of the textbook, in fact, offers a specific picture of the nation. At the same time, it utilizes the element of civic and ethnic nationalist discourses. It aims at assuring solidarity of the nation which was, especially significant under the current situation, defined by political turmoil, repressive measures taken the labor force and on society in general (due to the changes brought by the 1971 military intervention to the more liberal 1961 constitution and laws), as well as political terrorism, assassinations, and the economic bankruptcy of the country.

> **The Strong Ties Connecting Turks to Each Other**
> The most important ties that connect us to each other are:
> a) **We all live on the same land.** This country where we live together is called **TURKEY.** Our ancestors possessed this land, shedding their blood, and sacrificing their lives to do so. We all together make our living from this land. We love this homeland more than everything; protecting it is our primary duty.

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[130] Ibid., 227-228. For the original text see appendix.

[131] Ibid., 227. For the original text see appendix.

[132] Ibid.

b) **We share the same culture.** We share the same tradition and customs. The outward appearance of our houses, the materials they are made of and the order inside, our mosques, our life styles, our feelings, our folk songs, our *saz*s [a traditional musical instrument], our folk dances are the same, and different from the other nations.

c) **We are united by a shared ideal.** All of us want to live free and independent. We have the goal of reaching the level of the most advanced nations. Being wealthy, happy, honorable and secure are our most important objectives. All of us strive for making Turkey the most developed country in the world.

d) **We share the same history.** Before they came and settled in this land, our ancestors had good and bad days together. They also lived together on this land for a thousand years. Our ancestors and brothers, in order to save our existence and honor, fought side by side, shed their blood, and did not hesitate to sacrifice their lives. For centuries, they were neighbors, fellow countrymen, brothers-in-arms. They rejoiced together; shared each other's sorrows.

e) **The symbol of our unity is our Flag.** The flag is the symbol of a nation's honor, unity and cooperation. Showing respect to the flag means showing respect to our homeland, nation and ancestors. Historically the Turkish Nation, wherever it has stood, it has waved its sacred flag with glory and honor. [133]

The list provided carries the major elements of the nationalist discourse. The first entry on the list focuses on territory. As seen here, the emphasis on territory, and love of and indebtedness to it, continued to be important themes in the 1970s, too. The indebtedness that was supposed to be felt towards the homeland is linked to the country being the land of martyrs. Sacrifice for the homeland continued to be a significant theme, and its protection was again presented as the primary duty of the nationals. This emphasis on territory is followed by an emphasis on culture.

Existence of a shared culture is the second entry on the list. Such an emphasis on culture can be regarded as a characteristic of ethnic nationalism. However, to make such an inference, the way culture has been defined becomes important because both ethnic and civic nationalisms have cultural components.[134] This definition provided in the list does not refer to political attachments and processes, thus it is rather far from being civic. Instead, it is described as a way of life, and linked to traditions and customs, as well as folk elements. These linkages present this conception of culture as an element of ethnic nationalism. Also a specific emphasis is placed on the sameness of life styles, the appearances of the insides of the houses and feelings as representing a shared culture,

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[133] Ibid., 229-230, original emphases. For the original text see appendix.

[134] See Yack, "The Myth of Civic Nation," and Kymlicka, "Misunderstanding Nationalism."

which points to the state's efforts to create a homogenous private sphere, as well as a homogenous public sphere. These emphases portray the favored understanding of the nation as being the organic view of the nation. It is important to note that mosques are counted as among the elements of the shared culture of Turks. Although secularism is still a part of the nationalist discourse, it can as well be argued that national identity attained in this period an inexplicable religious *cum* Islamic component.

The third entry on the list of the "ties connecting Turks" is the existence of a shared ideal which unites the whole society. The sharing of an ideal is one of the elements of the voluntarist conception of nationhood. This emphasis on ideals points to the existence of a civic nationalist discourse. The ideals presented and that are supposed to be shared by the members of the community are freedom, independence and development. A specific emphasis is placed on development, and it is linked to wealth. In fact, since the 1950s, the ideal of "attaining the level of contemporary civilizations," in order words, Westernization, has come to be increasingly interpreted as being in the Western camp (except at the time of the coalition governments of RPP and NSP in the late 1970s led by Ecevit), and infrastructural and economic development. Modernization came to be defined more as economic development especially in the late 1960s and 1970s, especially with Justice Party's governments' preference of the accumulation of wealth by the big entrepreneurs. In this third entry on shared ideals, development is also linked to happiness, honor, and security, all of which existed as important concepts for providing the pursued national solidarity, which attained more significance in the conditions of turmoil that existed in the 1970s.

The following entry, shared history, challenges this voluntarist conception of nationhood by providing a myth of ancestors. The last entry of the list introduces the flag, a symbol of nationalism, and again utilizes the concept of ancestors. Thus, the elements of civic and ethnic nationalist discourses are simultaneously utilized in the provided view of the nation, and nationhood is specified along organic and voluntarist conceptions. Although the emphasis on the origins of the nation seems to have decreased, compared to earlier periods, it should be noted that the list provided is included in the unit on origins entitled "The Motherland of Turks, Migrations and Their Results."

3.1.4. The 1981-2000 Period:

The textbooks published in the aftermath of the 1980 military coup continued to utilize the elements of civic and ethnic nationalisms simultaneously. This "true version" of nationalism is now defined as *Atatürkist nationalism*. In the textbooks of the 1980s, the focus on territory, together with an emphasis on sacrifice for the homeland and protecting it, continued to be a part of the conception of nationhood provided in the textbooks. Duties and the existence of shared ideals, signified as freedom, independence and development, formed a part of the conception of nationhood. However, shared culture and history and the myth of ancestors prevailed in the textbooks as crucial components defining the national identity. National character continued to be defined and presented to the students in the form of lists. The lists presented the students with desired modes of behavior. They also provided a linkage between national character and duty. The social sciences textbooks of the 1980s, which were in fact the same textbooks as the ones published in 1978 and 1979, had the list of national characteristics, which were entitled "The Characteristics of the Turkish Nation."[135] The textbooks continued to carry the discourses of Turkish-Islamic synthesis to the masses.[136]

In the textbooks of the 1990s, although nationhood was conceptualized through a simultaneous utilization of ethnic and civic nationalist discourses, the ethnic emphases were much stronger compared to the textbooks published after the mid- 1940s. The social sciences curricula and textbooks were rewritten in 1990 due to the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and the formation of new states in the Balkans and in the former Soviet territories. In these new textbooks, national character was still presented to the students in the form of lists.[137] The lists provided in the newly designed social sciences textbooks of the 1990s were almost the same as the ones defined in the textbooks of the 1970s and 1980s. Through these lists, national character was defined as a combination of desired behavior modes and duties. The emphasis on territory also prevailed, as can

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[135] For this list see, footnote 129 above.

[136] Sanır, Asal, and Akşit, *İlkokul Sosyal Bilgiler 4,* 14th ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1987); Sanır, Asal, and Akşit, *İlkokullar İçin Sosyal Bilgiler, 5. Sınıf,* 9th ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1982), Sanır, Asal, and Akşit, *İlkokul Sosyal Bilgiler 5*, 11th ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1984), Sanır, Asal, and Akşit, *İlkokul Sosyal Bilgiler 5*, 15th ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1988).

[137] T. C. Mili Eğitim Bakanlığı, *İlkokular için Sosyal Bilgiler 4*, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1991), 240. For the original text see appendix. For similar lists, see Nurgün Şahin and Aziz Şahin, *İlköğretim Sosyal Bilgiler 4* (İstanbul: Salan Yayınları, 1995), 228-231; Güler Şenünver, et.al., *İlköğretim Okulu Sosyal Bilgiler 5*, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1999), 18-23.

be seen in the fourth grade social sciences textbook published in 1991. This textbook had a new chapter entitled "Homeland and Nation,"[138] the first section of which focused on territory. Similar to the textbooks of the earlier years, this section entitled "Homeland," emphasized the love of homeland.[139] The homeland was again defined as the land of martyrs. It was argued that "We who form the Turkish nation willingly give our lives for the homeland."[140] However, different from earlier times, a specific emphasis was placed on conceptualizing territory by focusing on the notion of unity. The mapping of the nation to the land was done through this concept of unity. The textbook indeed stressed the "inseparable unity of the Turkish homeland and the Turkish nation."[141] What is also significant in this argument provided in the textbooks is the stress on Turkishness. This increased stress on unity and Turkishness in the textbooks can be related to the intensification of the armed conflict in the 1990s in the southeast of the country between the state's armed forces and the PKK.

The following section of the chapter "Homeland and Nation," in fact, underlined this emphasis on Turkishness. This section, titled "Nation," set out to provide answer to the question what a nation is. The answers presented are an amalgamation of ethnic and civic elements, and provides a peculiar combination of assimilationist and exclusionary views.

> For a society of people to be a nation it should have various characteristics. The major ones of these characteristics can be listed as the following: Unity of language, unity of history, unity of homeland, unity of culture and unity of ideal [*ülkü*]. The people living on the Turkish homeland have these characteristics. These people form the Turkish nation. As we see, a society which has among themselves unity of language, culture and feeling is called nation. The Turkish people founding the Republic of Turkey are called the Turkish nation.[142]

As seen in the quotation above, common language, history, homeland, culture and ideal are presented as the major elements making up the nation. This definition embodies both ethnic and civic elements such as shared language, culture and history, and civic elements such as shared ideal and territory. The same quotation also provides another definition of the nation; "a society which has among within it a unity of

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[138] Ibid., 237-246. For the original text see appendix.

[139] Ibid., 237.

[140] Ibid., 238. For the original text see appendix.

[141] Ibid.

[142] Ibid., 239. For the original text see appendix.

language, culture and feeling." This definition of the nation is formed only of ethnic elements. The existence of another different definition of the nation seems to create confusion. However, this second conceptualization, by underlining the ethnic elements present in the first definition, strengthens the ethnic axis of national identity. In fact, the last sentence of the preceding quotation, by stating that "The *Turkish* people founding the Republic of Turkey are called the Turkish nation," also points to this strengthening.[143] According to this argument, the formation of the state and the realization of the nation were simultaneous developments. The existence of an ethnic Turkish base is stressed, and it is underlined as the founder of the state. The nation is also defined in terms of this base, presenting the ethnic axis of the national identity as its defining component.

This chapter, "Homeland and Nation," was maintained as the last unit of the fourth grade social sciences textbooks in the following years. The chapter continued to highlight and put forth similar arguments. The emphasis on the love of homeland, being linked to sacrificing oneself on its behalf, and the specific definition of the nation was retained.[144] In 1999, the space allocated to the chapter increased as it was made into the first unit of the fifth grade social sciences textbook, which in fact points to an increased emphasis on the notions of homeland and nation, as well as on the themes of sacrifice and unity.[145]

3.2. The Making of the Nation through the 'Other'

Collective identity formation requires stressing differences, as well as signifying sameness, and these emphasized differences constitute the boundaries of the community. As Chantal Mouffe argues "every identity is relational and … the condition of existence of every identity is the affirmation of a difference, the determination of an

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[143] Ibid. My emphasis.

[144] Şahin, Nurgün, and Aziz Şahin. *İlköğretim Sosyal Bilgiler 4*. İstanbul: Salan Yayınları, 1995, 226-231. For the definitions of homeland and nation, see pp. 226-227, and for the "elements that form the nation [*milleti oluşturan unsurlar*]", see pp. 227-228. For the original text see appendix.

[145] Güler Şenünver, et.al., *İlköğretim Okulu Sosyal Bilgiler 5*, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1999), 9-23. For the definitions of homeland and nation, see pp. 9-14, and for the "elements that form the nation [*milleti oluşturan öğeler*]", see pp. 14-18. For the original text see appendix.

'other' that is going to play the role of a 'constitutive outside'."[146] Similarly, it can be argued that the nation-building process involves the creation of the 'other' in order to construct 'us.' However, the primary school textbooks analyzed here constructs the 'other', apart from being the constitutive outside, as the enemy. This is a rather Schmittian understanding of differentiating between us and them, transformed in a relationship of friend *versus* enemy. Throughout the textbooks, people, nations and states are defined as the enemies of the Turkish state and nation. As the presumed differences are created through the friend and enemy distinction, the prospects for democracy are made unlikely, on the one hand, and conflict and war are not only considered inevitable but necessary as well, on the other.

Carl Schmitt, an authoritarian critic of democracy, argues for the friend/enemy distinction to be the basis of politics. According to Schmitt, the concept of the political depends on a differentiation between friend and foe. The state as an organized political entity decides upon this distinction, and the political enemy is viewed as the 'other'. Building the concept of "the political" upon such a distinction, Schmitt comes to the conclusion that war is not only unavoidable, but it is the extreme realization of the political.[147] Presenting a critique of Schmitt's concept of "the political," Chantal Mouffe argues that although identity formation is based on such a differentiation between us and them, and thus includes antagonism, the 'other' is not necessarily defined as the enemy, but rather as the "adversary." A democratic pluralistic order can be created if the 'other' is regarded as the adversary rather than the enemy. According to Mouffe, it is this "agonistic pluralism" that is "constitutive of modern democracy."[148]

The following pages focus on the discourse of nationalism presented in the textbooks through an analysis of the Turkish national identity, as defined and delimited by the creation of the 'other'. The 'others' of Turkish national identity are analyzed here in two categories: internal and external. The "internal others" of the nation, as different from the ideal typical nationals, are the people who are portrayed as and blamed for being indolent, cowardly, ignorant, and/or backward-minded. They, though a part of the nation, are regarded as outcasts, degenerates, and/or traitors. They are stigmatized as the enemies of the society, nation and state. The "external others" of national identity are

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[146] Chantal Mouffe, *The Return of the Political* (London, New York: Verso, 1993), 2. Mouffe borrows the concept of constitutive outside from Derrida.

[147] Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

[148] Mouffe, *The Return of the Political*, 4.

the people or states with connections or claims to the territories on which the national historical narrative focuses. These people and states differ along the national historical narrative, and are presented in the textbooks as the enemies of the Turkish states and people. The nationalist discourse exceedingly utilizes remembered and/or invented rivalries and atrocities, as well as the narratives of wars.

3.2.1. The 1928-1948 Period:

The internal others of Turkish national identity presented in the textbooks published between 1928 and 1948 were formed of various groups of people. These presentations signaled who should not be regarded as belonging to the fraternal community of the nation. To begin with, alcoholics form one of the significant group of internal others.[149] The people who are idle and not hard-working formed another group.[150] The people belonging to any of these two groups were treated as degenerates and social outcasts. They were presented in the textbooks as betraying their homeland and nation, and thus also signified as "bad people," not having and displaying the real characteristics of the Turkish people.

The sultans of the late Ottoman times were also portrayed among the internal others. In the words of a 1929 second grade language reader, these sultans were "bad men" betraying their homeland and people.[151] They were portrayed, as in the language textbook for third grade published in 1933, as "cowards."[152] Being coward is in fact opposite of the presented national characteristics. In the 1936 history textbook for fourth grade students, written under the auspices of the Turkish History Thesis, the Ottoman sultans were also portrayed as insane, ignorant, degenerate, and treacherous and/or lost in pleasures of life.[153]

In the primary school history textbooks written in the aftermath of the Turkish History Thesis, not only the sultans of the late Ottoman times, but in fact "the Ottoman"

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[149] Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Dördüncü Sınıf*, 132-135.

[150] İçsel and İçsel, *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, İlk Mektep İkinci Sınıf* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitaphanesi, 1928; reprint, 1934), 42-43.

[151] Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, İkinci Sınıf* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitaphanesi, 1929), 109-111.

[152] Ertaylan, *Kıraat Dersleri, Sınıf 3*, 75-78.

[153] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 4. Sınıf*, 26.

was regarded as the nation's 'other'. As stated in the fourth grade history textbook published in 1936:

> But the Turkish Nation, despite having such a long and honorable history, could not even use its own name until very recently. Because the sultans who governed the nation, tried to make the nation forget the name Turk, the name which would cause the nation to remember its very self and glorious history.
>
> These sultans, who had name Osmanoğulları, gave the name "Ottoman" to the whole nation as if it consisted of their men and servants. Even the country was called the Ottoman Country, as if it was the genuine property of the sultans.
>
> The strong voice of Atatürk awakened the Turkish Nation, and made it remember its real self and real name. This artificial name was abandoned. In place of the artificial Ottoman Nation, which started to fade away within the yesterday's artificiality, Turkish Nation has arisen and prospered.[154]

As seen above, the Ottoman was set as the 'other' of the Turk. At the same time, "*İstibdat*," despotism, was used to define the regime of the Ottoman Empire, and this regime was presented as the 'other' of the Republican regime.[155] In the narratives of the War of Independence, the sultan, together with the state bureaucracy, was defined as "Istanbul government," which was indeed the 'other' of the national government.[156]

Another significant and widely used group of internal others was the people and groups referred to as "backward minded" and "ignorant."[157] These were the people who in one way or the other did not fit into the mainstream narrative of the Republic. "Religious fanatics" and "plunderers" were among the words used to refer to the people in this group of internal others.[158] These internal others can be defined as the people who supported the "Istanbul government," who were against the change of regime, who opposed to the national government, who stuck to the old ways of doing things, and who were against the nationalization and modernization moves. It was argued in the fifth grade history textbook published in 1937 that the "development movements in the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century" did not succeed due to these people and their actions.[159] This can be seen in the parts of the nationalist narrative explaining the

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[154] Ibid., 12. For the original text see appendix.

[155] Ibid., 26-27.

[156] Ibid., 41; T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 5. Sınıf*, 186.

[157] Backward minded and ignorant are used here to refer to the adjectives used in Turkish as "*geri kafalılar*"/ "*geri düşünceliler*," and "*cahil*", respectively.

[158] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 4. Sınıf*, 70.

[159] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 5. Sınıf*, 145-146. See also 147, 152.

lack of success of the Committee of Union and Progress. As stated in the same textbook:

> However, the people who gathered under the name *İttihat ve Terakki* (Union and Progress), did not share the same ideas. Among them there were those who thought progressively, wanted to renew the state, and who were nationalists, but there were also people who were in favor of the old ways, and want to turn the order of the state to the first years of Islam.[160]

A differentiation was made between the progressive-minded people and backward-minded ones. The former group of people consisted of the nationalists, and wanted to modernize the state, whereas the latter one was comprised of Islamists, who were in favor of custom and old ways.

In fact, the nationalist narrative argued that the whole nation was suppressed and had been kept ignorant by Ottoman rule. However, this group of internal others were separated from the rest of the people, by not being ignorant in a naïve way. As argued in the fifth grade history textbook published in 1937, "In order to keep the ignorant and backward-minded people from poisoning the nation, [Atatürk] did not mention in the [party] programs some of the revolutionary and progressive movements he planned."[161] These people were charged with being "dark" and "backward" vis-à-vis the enlightened and progressive vanguards of the new republic.

Being backward was at odds with the main national characteristic of the nation, which was signified as being progressive. Although the Turkish nation was kept backward by its rulers in the last centuries, its inhabitants were the first to appear in the world, and the first nation to create a civilization.[162] This was actually argued in the fourth grade history textbook published in 1936, under the chapter entitled "What is Progress, How does it Happen?" In another chapter entitled "The First Blossoms of the Gök Turk Civilization" [*Kök Türk Medeniyetinin İlk Filizleri*] from the same textbook, it was stated that the Turkish nation, being the foundation of Civilization, also disseminated it throughout the world, and created progress and enlightenment throughout human history.[163]

The external others of national identity presented in the textbooks published between 1928 and 1948 were the people and states with connections or claims to the

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[160] Ibid., 157.

[161] Ibid., 186.

[162] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 4. Sınıf*, 107-108.

[163] Ibid., 128-176. See also T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 5. Sınıf*, 9-11.

territories on which the national historical narrative focuses. Those presented as enemies of the nation differed according to the national historical narrative; in the order provided in the history textbooks, they are the Chinese, Semites, Christian Crusaders, Arabs, Byzantine Empire, Hungarians, Iran, Venetians, Poles, Austria, Russia, Bulgarians, Serbs, the French, the British, Italians, Armenians, and Greeks. Some of these people and states, namely the Greeks, Armenians, French, British, and Italians, were specifically stressed or underlined by the nationalist historical narrative as the enemies. The following pages will focus on these specifically signified 'others' of the nation, as well as on the Crusaders and Byzantine Empire; the analysis is limited to the 'others' constructed in relation to the territory of the Republic.[164]

In the textbooks, Greeks were signified as the nation's utmost 'other'. The large decrease in the number of people with Greek Orthodox origins living in Anatolia and eastern Thrace, due to the emigrations during and after the First World War, and the population exchange in 1923 between Greece and Turkey, enabled such a construction. In a reading passage from a language reader for fourth grade students published in 1928, when the aftermath of the First World War is narrated, the invasion of the various parts of the Ottoman Empire was signified as "the invasion of the Greeks and all the other enemies."[165] The nationalist discourse of the history textbooks focused specifically on the wars with the Greeks, and described them in great detail.[166] In the narratives of the War of Independence, such as the one in the 1933 language reader for third grade students, Greeks were stigmatized as being *kahpe*." The word is used to define a sexually promiscuous woman, while at the same time, refers to backstabbing.[167] Through such processes of naming, the Greek as the enemy and the 'other' of the nation was enfeebled and degraded. Turkish identity was constituted in opposition to this feminized Greek identity.

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[164] Although Arabs can be regarded among the significant others defined in the textbooks, they are beyond the limits of this analysis because they are not a part of the narratives focusing on the territory of the Republic. The term Arab is generally avoided in the textbooks, and when used, it has a negative connotation; i.e. the textbooks refer to the "betrayal of Arabs" to the Ottoman Empire, their "collaboration" with the enemy, the British. For an analysis of Arabs as others in the Turkish history textbooks, see Copeaux, *Tarih Ders Kitaplarında (1931-1993) Türk Tarih Tezinden Türk-İslam Sentezine*, 201-242.

[165] Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Dördüncü Sınıf*, 159.

[166] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 4. Sınıf*, 41-50; T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 5. Sınıf*, 175, 178.

[167] Ertaylan, *Kıraat Dersleri, Sınıf 3*, 62-64.

The national historical narrative also signified other enemies, such as the Armenians, British, French, and Italians.[168] In the narratives focusing on the First World War and its aftermath, and in the narratives of the War of Independence, in addition to the Greeks, the Armenians were deliberately named as the enemy. In the fourth and fifth grade history textbooks published in the 1936 and 1937, the Armenians were specified as the one of the major enemies against which the Turkish army warred during the War of Independence.[169] The national historical narrative also acknowledged the French, Italians and British as having invaded various parts of the homeland in the aftermath of the First World War.[170] The language readers published between 1928 and 1948 had stories of heroic self-sacrifices performed during the defense of the territories of the Empire against these occupations. For instance, a passage in the fifth grade language reader published in 1928 narrated the story of a heroic little child participating in the defense of Gaziantep, a city in the southwest of the country. In this passage, the French were deliberately named as the invaders.[171] However, other than deliberate naming, generally the term "enemies" was used when narrating the invasions of the French, Italians and British during the post- World War I period. This can be seen in passage from the language reader for third grade students published in 1933 narrating the events of that period and the beginnings of the War of Independence. This passage, besides conceptualizing the sultan as the 'other' of the nation, uses a general, unnamed notion of enemy with respect to other people and states.[172] In line with this example, the fifth grade history textbook published in 1937 asked the following question at the end of the section entitled "Partition of the Ottoman Empire": "Which places did the Greeks and the other states invade?" In fact, this textbook, besides naming Greeks, generally used the term "enemy states," other than naming these enemies at each and every narration.

Besides presenting the Greeks, Armenians, British, French, and Italians as the external others of the nation, the textbooks published in these years designated the Byzantine Empire as the historical external other of the nation. This was mainly due to the rewriting of the history of Anatolia as being Turkish since the time immemorial. As analyzed before, this argument was one of the main arguments of the Turkish History

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[168] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 4. Sınıf*, 28, 30

[169] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 4. Sınıf*, 41; T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 5. Sınıf*, 172.

[170] See T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 4. Sınıf*, 39; T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 5. Sınıf*, 172.

[171] Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Dördüncü Sınıf*, 101-107.

[172] Ertaylan, *Kıraat Dersleri, Sınıf 3*, 75-78.

Thesis, introduced into the textbooks in the 1930s. However, the Byzantine Empire's historical presence in Anatolia had the effect of contradicting this argument about Anatolia being the ancient and genuine Turkish homeland. It was argued in the fourth and fifth grade history textbooks published in 1936 and 1937 that even though Anatolia had historically been the homeland of Turks, due to the presence of the Byzantine Empire in these lands, the Turkish national presence could not be established before the Anatolian Seljuks. The *Malazgirt* War, a war fought between the Byzantine Empire and Seljuk Empire at the beginning of eleventh century in southeastern Anatolia, was signified as the war "saving" Anatolia from the Byzantine state, and returning it to its real owner, the Turks. It was argued that with the victory of the Seljuks, Anatolia again had become totally, and eternally Turkish. As stated in the fifth grade history textbook published in 1937, after the *Malazgirt* War "the whole Anatolian peoples blended; a national being came into existence."[173]

In fact, the Byzantine Empire was presented as the source of the false consciousness that some of the people living in Anatolia had acquired. Through various deceitful acts, the Byzantine state tried to get the people living in Anatolia to forget their Turkishness. As stated in the fourth grade history textbook published in 1936:

> At that time, Anatolia was in the hands of Byzantine Empire. This old state had tried to make the Turks that were already living in Anatolia accept Christianity and thus forget their Turkishness. These Turks also entered the Byzantine military. But they did not forget their real language and Turkishness.[174]

As maintained in the above quotation, the Turkish people of Anatolia were able to preserve their true nationality as long as they did not forget their "real language." Yet the Byzantine state's attempts of providing a false consciousness were not always unsuccessful. In the fifth grade history textbook published in 1937, the main cause of this success was presented as conversion to Christianity.

> The Eastern Roman Empire, at times with war, but mostly with cunningness and politics, tried to protect itself. With the help of the priests, it converted the Bulgarians and Slavs to Christianity. It agreed to let the newcomer nations settle on its land when it could not defeat them. It instigated quarrels between the Turkish nations. The ones it could convert to Christianity were taken into its service. It settled them in various places and caused them to forget their nationality.[175]

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[173] Ibid., 57

[174] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 4. Sınıf*, 75.

[175] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 5. Sınıf*, 24-25.

As seen from the quotation above, the Turkish people who converted to Christianity forgot their Turkishness and became assimilated. This argument, through presenting Christianity as an element of assimilation, sets the Christians as the nation's 'other'. At the same time, it inherently assumes that converting to Islam had resulted in the preservation of the national characteristics and national identity, and thus provides a positive link between Islam and Turkishness.

These emphases on the presumed Turkishness of Anatolia in the textbooks indeed fits into the general policies of Turkification realized through such measures as the settlement law, enabling government to resettle the people and communities living within the country when seen as necessary, and the language campaigns of 1930s, forcing the non-Turkish speaking people and communities to use Turkish in public spaces.[176] In addition, the exclusionary and discriminatory policies towards the non-Muslims are most evident in measures like the forced exodus of Jews from the region of Thrace in 1934, and the Wealth Tax that was implemented in 1942.[177]

The emphasis in the textbooks on Christianity being foreign and assimilative was coupled with the presentation of the Christian Crusaders as the historical external others and enemies of the Turkish nation. In the words of the fourth grade history textbook published in 1936, Crusaders were "the dark and ignorant Christians in Europe."[178] In fact, besides being the historical 'others' and enemies of the Turkish nation, they were also presented as the 'others' of the civilization. It was argued in the fifth grade history textbook published in 1937 that "The Muslim states which frightened the Europeans with their heroism and at the same time surprised them with their civilization were actually the states that had been founded by Turks who had moved into and settled along the Mediterranean."[179] While the Christian Crusaders were depicted as the uncivilized 'other', Turks, in contrast to them, were constructed as the civilized people who also saved Islam.

As mentioned in the fifth grade history textbook published in 1937, what were significant with respect to the Islamic civilization were the services of Turks and Muslim Turkish states to this civilization:

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[176] Bali, *Cumhuriyet Yıllarında Türkiye Yahudileri*, 102-149, 246, 265-295.

[177] Aktar, *Varlık Vergisi ve 'Türkleştirme' Politikaları*, 75-83, 135-214.

[178] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 4. Sınıf*, 76.

[179] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 5. Sınıf*, 48.

Thus, during the Middle Ages, feudalism and Christian civilization in the West and Muslim civilization in the east came face-to-face. Between these two civilizations there was also the Byzantine Empire and civilization. Among these civilizations, the brightest one was the Muslim civilization, which got stronger through new migrations, and on account of Turkish wisdom and culture.[180]

Although the pagan religions were emphasized as the national religion of Turks in the nationalist discourse of the textbooks, the historical narrative mentioned the birth of Islam, the Islamic civilization and conversion of Turks in passing.[181]

Even though Christianity was presented as an element depriving Turks of their national consciousness, no such argument is made with respect to Islam. As argued in the same textbook, "The roots of the Ottoman State were the Turks whose language was Turkish and religion was Islam. As the state expanded, other nations with other languages and religions were included within the borders of the state."[182] These differences in nationality, language and religion were presented as the result of the expansion of the Empire, and regarded as problematic. The same textbook considered these differences to be among the reasons of the "sickness" of the Ottoman state. "The Ottoman Empire had really expanded, but there was no strong connection between its various parts. There was neither a *unity of language and culture*, nor *unity of religion.*"[183] The fourth grade history textbook published in 1936 presented the problems caused by this lack of unity in the following way: "Actually the foreign states were waiting for an opportunity to attack, and within the country, the people other than Turks were waiting for an opportunity to revolt."[184]

The "foreign states" mentioned were the European states. It was only at this point in the nationalist narrative that a European superiority is acknowledged, yet only due to the incompetence of the last rulers of the Ottoman Empire. As stated in the fifth grade history textbook published in 1937 "The country was ruled very badly but the Turkish Nation [*sic.*] had not lost the worthiness of its ethnicity [*soy*]. It was only for this reason that this big state was not demolished easily."[185] Russia was specifically emphasized

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[180] Ibid., 68.

[181] Ibid., 26-30.

[182] Ibid., 124.

[183] Ibid., 98. Italics belong to the original text.

[184] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 4. Sınıf*, 70.

[185] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 5. Sınıf*, 99. For the original text see appendix.

among these foreign states that were defined as the 'other' and enemy of the nation. Again, as stated in the same textbook "The first state to harm Turkishness was Russia."[186]

3.2.2. The 1948-1968 Period:

In the textbooks published between 1948 and 1968, as different from the earlier times, "the Ottoman" was not regarded as the paramount internal other of the nation. As seen in the fifth grade history textbooks published in 1961 and 1962, the civilization of the Ottoman Empire was now referred to as the "Ottoman-Turkish Civilization."[187] With Ottoman being referred as Turk, heroic stories of the wars that the Ottoman Empire was involved in were narrated in the textbooks. Despite these changes, the sultans of the late Ottoman times were still presented in the textbooks as the internal others. This can be seen in the passage entitled "War of Independence" from a third grade life sciences textbook published in 1953:

> The sultan, frightened by these battles, sent an army to fight the patriots. The soldiers of our Father [*Ata*], namely the National Forces, resisted these paid soldiers. With a persistent (religious) belief [*iman*] inside them, they fought both the internal and the external enemies.[188]

In another passage narrating the War of Independence, "the government of the sultan" was signified as the internal enemy.[189] This reading passage published in 1953 in a second grade life sciences textbook, called on the children to "work selflessly for saving the homeland from the internal and the external enemies."

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[186] Ibid., 93.

[187] Emin Oktay, *Atlaslı Tarih, İlkokul 5* (İstanbul: Güven Yayınevi, 1961), 82; Unat and Su, *İlkokullar İçin Tarih Dersleri, 5. Sınıf* (İstanbul: Kanaat Yayınları, 1962), 58. This was actually the title of a unit in the textbook, which was the one of the few units that did not focus on the narration of the wars in which the Ottomans were involved. Ibid., 58-70. It should be noted that 1946 and 1947, as well as 1957 editions of the textbook are very similar to this edition. The only difference between these editions and the 1962 one is one the part about the reform measures of the early Republican years, and the last part of the textbook, which focuses on the period beginning with the Second World War and ends with the aftermath of the 1960 military coup. For the same unit see, for instance, Unat and Su, *Tarih, 5. Sınıf* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1947), 118.

[188] İrge, *Hayat Bilgisi, Sınıf 3, Okuma Parçaları* (Ankara: Güney Matbaacılık ve Gazetecilik T. A. O., 1953), 19.

[189] Akısan, *İlkokul İkinci Sınıf Hayat Bilgisi Kitabı, Mayıs* (İstanbul: Ercan Matbaası, 1953), 19.

Similar to the textbooks published in previous years, those published between 1948 and 1968 presented ignorant and backward people as one of the major internal others of the nation. Different from the earlier ones, the history textbooks published during this period did not focus on progress as the main pillar and reason of history, and as signifying the very Turkish national self. Nevertheless, development and progress were still major themes of the nationalist discourse of these years, especially in the narrations of history focusing on the last centuries of the Ottoman Empire and the Republican years.[190] People who opposed modernization, starting with the *Tanzimat* era, were referred to as "backward minded," and classified as the internal others of national identity.[191] Ignorance was regarded as "dispersing evil all around."[192] The third grade life sciences textbook published in 1953, after introducing Namık Kemal as a patriot and hero, stated that "Namık Kemal and his friends fought against ignorance, just like our soldiers who protect us against the enemy with cannons and guns."[193]

The external others of national identity, in the textbooks published between 1948 and 1968, were again conceptualized with respect to the people or states which had connections or claims to the territories of the Turkish states. Similar to the textbooks published earlier, the ones published in this period, deliberately named the Greeks as the nation's 'other' and enemy. The examples provided in the textbooks focused mainly on the narratives of the War of Independence. The fifth grade history textbooks published in 1957 and 1962 focused in detail on the wars fought against the Greeks during the War of Independence.[194] The third grade life sciences textbook published in 1953, in the passage entitled "Three Martyrs: A Heroism Story from the War of Independence," not only focused, but also presented a graphical description of a battle fought against the Greeks.[195] In the words of a fifth grade history textbook published in 1961:

> During this time, *some* of our Rum and Armenian *citizens* living under the Ottoman State for such a long time tried to seize the opportunity and pursue their own national interests. Some of these Rums united with the Greeks.

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[190] Unat and Su, *İlkokullar İçin Tarih Dersleri, 5. Sınıf* (İstanbul: Kanaat Yayınları, 1957), 89, 116-121; Unat and Su, *İlkokullar İçin Tarih Dersleri, 5. Sınıf* (İstanbul: Kanaat Yayınları, 1962), 89, 116-121.

[191] Ibid., 89.

[192] İrge, *Hayat Bilgisi, Sınıf 3, Okuma Parçaları* (Ankara: Güney Matbaacılık ve Gazetecilik T. A. O., 1953), 29.

[193] Ibid., 34.

[194] Unat and Su, *İlkokullar İçin Tarih Dersleri, 5. Sınıf* (İstanbul: Kanaat Yayınları, 1962), 106-111.

[195] İrge, *Hayat Bilgisi, Sınıf 3, Okuma Parçaları* (Ankara: Güney Matbaacılık ve Gazetecilik T. A. O., 1953), 22-23. For the original text see appendix.

Other Rums wanted to form an independent Rum state in Trabzon. *Some* of our Armenian citizens cooperated with our enemies and tried to form an Armenian state in Eastern Anatolia. They united with the French in the south and attacked the Turkish nation.[196]

As seen in the quotation above, besides the Greeks, Armenians were also considered as the enemy and the nation's 'other'. Similar to the textbooks published earlier, the ones published between 1948 and 1968, also deliberately named Armenians as enemies through utilizing the narratives of the War of Independence. The fifth grade history textbook signified the "battles against Armenians and the French" fought during the War of Independence.[197] The third grade life sciences textbook published in 1953 stated that the "Armenians tried to build a state in Eastern Anatolia."[198] Besides this emphasis on the Greeks and Armenians as external enemies, as can be seen in the above paragraph, they were not regarded completely as internal others. Although some of these people acted as collaborators, not all of the Rum and Armenian citizens were blamed.

When referring to the European peoples and states, the national historical narrative, other than naming, usually used the general term enemies. As can be seen in the passage entitled "First World War," published in 1953 in a third grade life sciences textbook, a general and unnamed notion of enemy was used. In the words of this textbook: "As the enemies understood that they could not contend with us, they moved back."[199] Yet, at times, some European states and peoples were acknowledged as the enemies, and nation's 'others', having invaded various parts of the homeland in the aftermath of the First World War. In fact, the same life sciences textbook in the following pages named the French and the Italians as placing their soldiers in various parts of the homeland.[200]

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[196] Oktay, *Atlaslı Tarih İlkokul 5*, 121, my emphasis. The 1968 edition of the textbook is the same as the 1961 one (and has the same argument quoted), with the exception of the part focusing on the 1960 military coup and its aftermath.

[197] Unat and Su, *İlkokullar İçin Tarih Dersleri, 5. Sınıf* (İstanbul: Kanaat Yayınları, 1962), 105.

[198] İrge, *Hayat Bilgisi, Sınıf 3, Okuma Parçaları* (Ankara: Güney Matbaacılık ve Gazetecilik T. A. O., 1953), 19.

[199] Ibid., 18.

[200] Ibid., 19.

3.2.3. The 1968-1981 Period:

In the textbooks published between 1968 and 1981, similar to the former periods, the sultans of the late Ottoman times were again presented as internal others, betraying the nation. However "the Ottoman" was not presented as the internal other. The social sciences textbooks extensively narrated the wars of the Ottoman Empire, its foundation and expansion as well as its last centuries. In fact, more than one third of the 1979 fifth grade textbook focuses on the Ottoman Empire, and the textbook uses the terms Ottoman, Turk and Ottoman Turk interchangeably.[201]

The people and groups referred as backward-minded and ignorant was still signified as another group of internal others. For instance, the fifth grade social sciences textbook published in 1979, stated the following for the official closing of the Free Party: "There were people who wanted to use this freedom to harm the homeland and the nation. Especially, some people who could not separate religious and state matters tried to move our nation backward."[202] Backwardness was linked to religion and its public appearance. The social sciences textbook of 1979, legitimated the one-party era on the grounds of development. Development was indeed among the major themes of the nationalist discourse, especially its narration of the Republican era.

In contrast to earlier textbooks, the textbooks of these years introduced another group of internal others to the students: traitors who collaborated with the external enemies. The fifth grade social sciences textbook published in 1979 argued that "The Turkish Istanbul shed tears of blood for five years. Yet within this time, there were people who stayed in Istanbul and served the enemy."[203] These traitors were signified as the "local *Rum*s" and the "local Armenians." The people referred to as "local *Rum*s" (referring to the people with Greek Orthodox origins) and "local Armenians" were the members of two different Christian *millet*s living under the Ottoman Empire. The millet system consisted of the organization of people living under the Empire into ethno-religious communities. The *Rum*s and Armenians of Christian Orthodox faith, as well as the Muslims, were some of the millets living under the Empire. Although there was some mention of such collaboration in the earlier textbooks, and some of these people were accused of being traitors, they were not openly named. The emphasis on them as

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[201] Sanır, Asal, and Akşit, *İlkokullar İçin Sosyal Bilgiler, 5. Sınıf,* 6th ed. (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 1979).

[202] Ibid., 130.

[203] Ibid., 113.

historical internal enemies became much stronger. The fifth grade social sciences textbook published in 1979 stated that "Traitors appeared in our homeland. Local *Rum*s exhibited unrestrained behavior in the Aegean and in Trabzon. They wanted these places to be handed over to the Greeks, and a Greek state to be founded in Trabzon."[204] In the following pages, the textbook added local Armenians to these traitors. It stressed that "Local Armenians lead the French, and fought with them against us."[205]

With respect to external others, the Greeks and Armenians were deliberately named. As stated again in the social sciences textbook published in 1979, "The most painful of all were the Greek attempts to invade Izmir."[206] The Greeks referred to were not local ones, but rather the Greek citizens and the army of the Greek state. While the British were despised for letting the Greeks do so, the latter was deliberately signified as the enemy and the external other of the nation. The narratives of the War of Independence, and the exclusively defined battles of this struggle,[207] served this processes of the making of the 'other'. Armenians also were not free of blame; in the same social sciences textbook, it was stated that "[i]n Eastern Anatolia, the Armenians invaded various parts of our homeland."[208] These Armenians were also differentiated from the people referred to as "local Armenians." However, the internal and external Armenian others, as well as the local and external Greeks, were inherently linked to each other. Presenting the local Armenians and Greeks as traitors served this purpose; these were the people waiting to seize any opening available to pursue their own interests, which were indeed the national interests of the Armenian and Greek external others.

This new emphasis on the Greeks and Armenians as internal enemies and traitors, as well as external enemies can be related to the increasing nationalism of the 1970s, the acts of Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA), and the Cyprus issue. ASALA was founded in 1975, and over the next ten years, it carried out attacks on Turkish diplomats all over the world and on the travelers in airports.[209] By the early 1970s, relations with Greece were already tense due to both the dispute over the Aegean

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[204] Ibid., 96.

[205] Ibid., 103.

[206] Ibid., 95.

[207] Ibid., 104-109.

[208] Ibid., 103.

[209] Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 277.

Sea bed, and the problems of the Turkish minority in Cyprus. The *coup d'etat* against Makarios, the president-archbishop in Cyprus, by the Cypriot National Guard in 1974, on the orders of the colonels' junta in Greece, was considered to be a Greek move for *enosis*, the union of the island with the mainland Greece. This move led to the launching of the Turkish army in Cyprus when Britain, one three countries with Turkey and Greece who guaranteed the independence and the constitutional order of Cyprus in 1960, refused to intervene. These events accelerated the fall of the junta in Greece: however, it created more problems with respect to the relations between Turkey and Greece.[210]

Unlike the emphasis on Greeks and Armenians, the national historical narrative continued to use the general term "enemies" for referring to various European peoples and states. However, at times, it also named these peoples and states, such that some states and peoples were acknowledged as having invaded various parts of the homeland in the aftermath of the First World War. The 1979 fifth grade social sciences textbook signified the French, Italians, and the British as having invaded the homeland, and also letting others to invade. The textbook stated that "The Entente Powers decided to form an Armenian state in Eastern Anatolia."[211]

3.2.4. The 1981-2000 Period:

In the textbooks published between 1981 and 2000, the internal others of the nation differed slightly from the account provided above. Although "the Ottoman" was restored as symbolizing the immediate past and attained a positive connotation, the sultans of the late Ottoman times and the people and groups referred to as backward minded and ignorant continued to be regarded as the internal others of the nation. As different from the earlier periods, a new concept was introduced in referring to some of the internal others –minority [*azınlık*].

To begin with, in the social sciences textbooks published in the 1980s, the sultans of the late Ottoman times were again signified as the internal others, betraying the nation. In these textbooks "the Ottoman" was not presented as the internal other of the

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[210] Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 164-165.

[211] Sanır, Asal, and Akşit, *İlkokullar İçin Sosyal Bilgiler, 5. Sınıf,* 6th ed. (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 1979), 96.

nation. The nationalist historical narrative of textbooks published in the 1990s also placed affirmative emphasis on "the Ottoman." The narration of the Ottoman Empire allocated more space in the fifth grade social sciences textbook published in 1993. The textbook presented the expansion and conquests of the Ottoman state as "development," under the subtitles such as "Development in the Balkans," "Development in Anatolia," "Developments on the Seas,"[212] "Developments in the West,"[213] "Developments in the East."[214] At the same time, the sultans of the late- Ottoman times were again signified as the internal others of the nation. However, this time, other than being referred as traitors, cowards, and degenerates, these sultans were charged with not following the intentions of their ancestors. They were charged with "not being involved with the matters of the state," and "not complying fully with the laws and traditions."[215] This change in the discourse is indeed significant, and points to the restoration and glorification of the Ottoman era even though the last centuries of the Empire were excluded; there was, instead, an increased emphasis on the ancestors.

In the textbooks published between 1981 and 2000, the people and groups referred as backward-minded and ignorant continued to be regarded as the internal others of the nation. As can be seen in the second grade language reader published in 1983, ignorance was presented as the enemy, whereas "moving towards the enlightened horizons" was signified as the ideal.[216] While the adjective "dark" was used to refer to the late-Ottoman times, the Republican period was regarded as a movement towards enlightenment.[217] At the same time, as also presented earlier in this chapter, the emphasis on culture, and together with it, the emphases on tradition, custom, and religion (read here as Islam) increased. The discourse on progress was now replaced with development, defined mainly in terms of economic wealth.

The concept of minority was introduced to the nationalist narrative of the textbooks in the 1990s, and signified as referring to the nation's internal others. Similar to the prior era, the social sciences textbook published in 1993, stigmatized the

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[212] T. C. Mili Eğitim Bakanlığı, *İlkokular İçin Sosyal Bilgiler 5*, 4th ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1993), 27-28.

[213] Ibid., 32-33.

[214] Ibid., 35-36.

[215] Ibid., 110.

[216] Beşir Göğüş, *İlkokul Türkçe 2*, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1983), 11.

[217] See for example, Göğüş, *İlkokul Türkçe 4*, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1983), 9, 48, 105.

Christian millets of the Empire, namely the *Rums* and Armenians, as the collaborators of the foreign enemy states. These people were again presented as the internal others. However, different from the earlier textbooks, the textbooks of these years used the term minorities to refer to these Christian millets of the Empire. According to the nationalist narrative, the Ottoman state was forced by the foreign states, namely by England and France, to give rights to the "Christian people" living in the Empire. As stated in the social sciences textbook published in 1993, "The minorities living inside the [Ottoman] state regarded the rights that had been given to them as insufficient, and rebelled at every opportunity they found."[218] In the following pages, the social sciences textbook narrated the aftermath of the First World War, and made a similar argument with respect to the minorities, blaming them of treason. After describing the invasion of the Ottoman territories, this narrative continued with the following statement: "The minorities wanted to benefit from this situation. The Greeks and Armenians, backed by the Entente Powers, founded harmful organizations."[219]

In the textbooks published between 1981 and 2000, the external others of the nation remained relatively the same. The Greeks were still signified as the nation's 'other' and its enemy. For instance, in the social sciences textbook published in 1993, the narratives focusing on the aftermath of the First World War, as well as the ones focusing on the War of Independence, sustained this process of the making of the 'other'. These narrations specifically focused on the Greeks as the paramount enemy.[220] The narrations of the battles fought against the Greeks were presented, as always, as the major ones of the War of Independence.

However, unlike the textbooks published earlier, the textbooks of the 1990s also placed significant emphasis on the presentation of the Armenians as the nation's 'other' and enemy. Besides focusing on the battles fought against the Greeks, the nationalist discourse specifically underlined, and allocated more space in the textbooks to the wars fought against the Armenians. The social sciences textbook published in 1993 stated:

> The Entente Powers wanted to put an article in the Peace Treaty that would give Southern Anatolia to the Armenians. The Armenian state in the south of the Caucuses was encouraged by this move. It charged its armed units and gangs with the attack on Southern Anatolia. During the attacks, a lot of our citizens lost their lives. In our villages and towns, our people were

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[218] T. C. Mili Eğitim Bakanlığı, *İlkokular İçin Sosyal Bilgiler 5*, 131.

[219] Ibid., 144.

[220] Ibid., 144, 157-161.

massacred. The citizens who gathered in mosques were burned. Due to this Armenian oppression and brutality, the National Government agreed to wage war against the Armenians.[221]

This emphasis on the Armenian state is significant. The setting of Armenians as both internal and external others was already reflecting a paranoia against them, and this was coupled with the founding of a new state on the borders of Turkey. The Armenian state was one of the states founded in the aftermath of the Cold War, with the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Armenia's conflict with Azerbaijan also fed into the negative views, and the paranoia about the new Armenian state, where the latter is regarded a friendly country with Turkish origins.[222]

The national historical narrative signified the British, French, and Italians as having invaded the homeland in the aftermath of the First World War, and presented them as enemies and external others. They were also blamed for causing the invasions of the Greeks and Armenians. However, the textbooks published between 1980 and 2000, also continued using the general term "enemies" while narrating the aftermath of the First World War, other than naming the British, French, and Italians. Besides the continuing emphasis on the relation of the Greek invasions with the British, in the 1990s, the relation between the French and the Armenian invasion were also stressed. As stated in the social sciences textbook published in 1993: "At the southern front, wars were fought against the French. The French, as they invaded these southern cities, brought Armenians with them. They armed these Armenians that they brought. Together with these Armenians, they attacked the Turks."[223]

3.3. Conclusion

This chapter focused on the material in textbooks in terms of nationalism and national identity in Turkey. The analysis uncovered the discourse of nationalism used to shape the society through education. Deconstructing the elements of the nationalist

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[221] Ibid., 156.

[222] For instance, it was stated on the writing inscribed on a statue at Fulya, one of the important squares and crowded places in Istanbul, it is stated that: "Turkey and Azerbaijan are one same nation, yet two different states."

[223] Ibid., 157.

discourse of the textbooks, the analysis provided insights with respect to the distinctive features of this discourse in defining the national identity, and the created 'others' and enemies of the nationalist discourse delimiting the national community. This analysis of the nationalist discourse of the textbooks used in primary education in Turkey, in fact, pointed out the multidimensional formation of the Turkish national identity, designed by utilizing both civic and ethnic nationalisms. The elements that define civic nationalism in these textbooks are the emphases on territory, duties, national character (defined along Republican morality), the unity of ideal, and adherence to the state. The organic view of the nation, the emphases on the ethnic origins, the commonality of language and culture, as well as, a pre-defined and unchanging national character (defined by the myth of ancestors) can be considered to be among the elements that signify ethnic nationalism of the analyzed textbooks. These civic and ethnic elements in fact existed in varying forms, degrees and combinations depending on the historical and contextual conditions.

As seen in this analysis of Turkish national identity, special emphasis was placed on territory, and the states having claims to the territories on which the national historical narrative focused, were presented as the external others of the nation. These external others presented differed depending on where they appeared in the narrative of national history; however, the Greeks were continually emphasized as being the nation's chief 'other'. Turkish identity was constituted in opposition to the feminized Greek identity as a masculine one. In the 1970s, both Greeks and Armenians were regarded as external enemies, while the local Greeks, the Rum, and Armenians were called as traitors and referred to as internal enemies. Throughout the whole period, people and groups referred to as backward-minded and ignorant were signified as another group of internal others, where backwardness was indeed linked to religion and its public appearance.

Although the civic and ethnic references existed together in the textbooks of the late 1920s, the ethnic axis of the nationalist discourse and identity was solidified in the 1930s. Focusing specifically on the origins and ancestors, this ethnic axis continued to be particularly emphasized until the mid-1940s. There was also an attempt to make the territory of the Republic ethnically Turkish, which can also be seen in the inclusion of the Byzantine Empire among the nation's major 'others'. In the following years, there was a relative decline in emphasis on ethnic components, as well as on origins, while the importance of strongly shared culture grew. However, the emphasis on the ethnic

axis of national identity started increasing again beginning in the 1970s. Although the civic elements still prevailed, in the 1990s, the ethnic axis became the defining component of national identity. Throughout all these years, the concept of minority was never used; the concept is introduced into the discourse of the textbooks in the 1990s. It was used to refer to a specific group of the internal others of the nation, namely the local *Rums* and the local Armenians, and as such it had a negative connation. Meanwhile, the ethnically non-Turkish Muslim groups such as Kurds, Circassians, the Abkhaz, and the Laz were Turkified discursively by their omission from the textbooks. Throughout all these years they were never mentioned in the textbooks, and basically treated as non-existing.

The abolishment of Islam from the public sphere in the mid-1920s required the construction of a new framework of action and behavior modes, and as seen in the textbooks, Republican morality was constructed as a framework of action and behavior serving the needs of the secular Republic. What is also significant is the presentation of the Republican morality as defining the national character. It was at the same time linked to the duties. Fulfillment of duties was designated as a part of the national character. Duties were defined along military service, internalizing a protestant work ethic, and paying taxes. However, the national character was also portrayed as being set by the ethnic attributes of the nation, such as the origins and ancestors. In the 1970s, the years defined by political turmoil and increasing nationalism, national character was defined and presented to the students in the form of lists, and systematized as a practical program for national restoration.

As seen above, the discourse of the textbooks in fact utilized ethnic and civic nationalisms for the purposes of creating a novel nationalist discourse serving the needs of the state. Ultimately aiming at the consolidation and preservation of the state, reaching the level of contemporary civilization was set as one of the main targets of this nationalism. However, the presentation of the European states as the external others of national identity points to a simultaneous acceptance and rejection of the dominance of the West. The Turkish History Thesis of the 1930s, presenting civilization as belonging originally to the Turkish nation, and introducing the concerns of Western modernity, such as progress and productiveness, as the national characteristics of Turks, can be regarded as response to this paradox. What is modern was not Western but indeed authentic, thus national. This ethnic rewriting of history at the same time points to the overarching importance of modernization cum Westernization. In the aftermath of the

Second World War, and especially from the 1950s onwards, modernization was increasingly interpreted as belonging to the Western camp and economic development, which led to a lessening of the stress on ethnic components of national identity. When this change was coupled in the 1970s with the glorification of the Islamic civilization and the Muslim character of Turkishness, the emphasis on Turks as the forerunners of the Western civilization was ruled away. However this change occurring in the 1970s did not lead to a decline in the ethnic emphasis, but instead introduced a new religious-ethnic rewriting of the history.

CHAPTER 4

IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF THE WEST?
THE MODERN MEN AND WOMEN OF THE NATION

As stated in the previous chapter, both nations and nationalism are the products of such modern processes as capitalism, industrialism, the rise of the bureaucratic state, and social mobilization. This chapter focuses on the material in terms of nation formation processes and their relations with the concept and the discourses of 'modern.' In the Ottoman Empire, the beginnings of the attempts of social change through encounters with Western Europe can be traced back to the early eighteenth century.[1] From the very beginning, these attempts at institutional and social change have been the foci of controversies, contradictory impulses and reactions, and did not proceed linearly. The course and the number of changes to be made in society have been subject to debates and have varied over time in the Ottoman Empire and in Turkey. Although discursive references with respect to the institutional and social changes have been altered, e.g., from "reform" to "Westernization," "civilizational conversion," "reaching civilization," "modernization," "development," Western European inspired changes have defined the boundaries of the 'modern.' At the turn of the nineteenth century, 'modern' came to be defined in the Ottoman Empire along the concepts of nation and nationalism.[2] Over time, the partial adoptions of Western European goods, institutions

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[1] It should be noted here that no society is static and free from exchanges with other societies. However, the social and institutional changes pointed to here are different because they are introduced in reaction to frequent encounters with Western European social and institutional actors, and usually initiated and administered from above (e.g., the ruling elites, the intelligentsia).

[2] This linking of nation, nationalism and the modern, and the way of initiating change, in the Ottoman Empire, were also due to the specific interpretations of Western experiences by the ruling elites and the intelligentsia. As Atabaki and Zürcher state, "those members of the [Ottoman] intelligentsia … who actually went to Europe as students, refuges or political activists or, most commonly a combination of these, felt attracted by authoritarian ideologies of the political right."[2] Touraj Atabaki and Eric J. Zürcher, "Introduction," in *Men of Order: Authoritarian Modernization under Atatürk and Reza Shah*, ed. Touraj Atabaki and Eric J. Zürcher (London, NY: I.B.Tauris, 2004), 4. Such interpretations of Western

and ideas had already led to the attempts at imitating Western European institutional and social changes, which were then followed by the wholesale adoptions of Western institutions and manners.

These developments, along with such country-specific conditions as historical-political factors and events, and the thoughts, choices, actions of political and intellectual actors have been studied in the literature, especially focusing on the late Ottoman and the early Republican periods. What is considered as modernization, the concept and the discourses of 'modern,' and their relation with nation formation processes need to be further analyzed by stretching the focus onto a broader timeframe within the Republic. However, before moving onto the analysis of textbooks, an introduction of the basic classical paradigms of social change and a brief review of the studies focusing on social and institutional transformations in the late-Ottoman and the early-Republican periods are necessary. The conducted analysis of textbooks, while building upon the insights provided by these studies, follows a different path, and can only provide a full picture against a background of these previous studies.

The studies of social change and transformation can be traced back to the works of such pre-eminent nineteenth century scholars as Karl Marx (1818-1883), Ferdinand Toennies (1855-1936), Emile Durkheim (1858-1917), and Max Weber (1864-1920). These thinkers analyzed the social, historical and economic grounds of the transformative changes that occurred in Europe, and tried to provide insights into these societal changes. Although each one of these thinkers utilized different and distinctive approaches in their analyses, they all formulated and worked along a differentiation between modern versus traditional, and defined the former along the lines of the Western civilization. Here, I will briefly concentrate on two of these thinkers -- Max Weber and Karl Marx, because their works have been regarded as formulating two basic and different paradigms in the analyses of social change.

Marx is frequently regarded as "the thinker who defined the discourse on social change."[3] In fact, analysis of historical social change, as well as the current social changes, and realization of prospective revolutionary change were major themes of his work. Marx, regarding history as "a process of the continuous creation, satisfaction and

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experiences depend on various factors such as the needs and experiences of the Ottoman ruling elites and the intelligentsia, the Ottoman state traditions and societal structures.

[3] Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire. Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 8.

re-creation of human needs," developed a theory of historical development based on the nature of the dominant productive activities.[4] He defined five successive stages of historical development signified by different modes of production: the primitive community, the slave state, the feudal state, the capitalist system, and the socialist system. The main engine of change from one stage to another was class conflict. Classes emerged on the basis of the division of labor defined by the relations of production, and societies were "built around a primary line of division between two antagonistic classes, one dominant and the other subordinate."[5]

Marx, arguing for the need of an empirical science of society, utilized historical materialism in his analysis of social change. However, it has been generally argued that Marx's work contains an epistemological break, and his works before 1845 are considered to be more philosophical in approach. Althusser defined Marx's earlier philosophical studies as belonging to his ideological period. These were followed by the "works of the break" (1845), the "transitional works" (1845-57) such as *The German Ideology,* which introduced Marx's new problematic, and his "mature works" (after 1857), such as *Capital.*[6]

In his earlier studies, Marx tried to demystify the state, and "reidentify the true subject (the acting individual, living in the 'real,' 'material' world), and to trace his 'objectification' in the political institutions of the state."[7] Alienation is also a central theme of Marx's earlier works, but it rarely appears in his later works. In *The Economic and Political Manuscripts of 1844,* Marx presented different forms of alienation, such as political, religious, and economic alienation. He argued that the alienation occurring in the production process -- the withholding the object of his labor from the worker, was the source of all other forms of alienation. His solution to the problem of alienation was the "positive abolition of private property."[8]

The account of the genesis and the dynamics of modern capitalism, and the analysis of the state and society through the relations of production formed the main lines of Marx's later studies. One of his main focuses was on the linkages between the

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[4] Anthony Giddens, *Capitalism and Modern Social Theory: An analysis of the writings of Marx, Durkheim and Max Weber* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), 22.

[5] Ibid., 37.

[6] Louis Althusser, *For Marx*, trans. Ben Brewster (London, New York: Verso, 1996), 34-35.

[7] Giddens, *Capitalism and Modern Social Theory*, 5.

[8] Ibid., 17.

economic and political power. Marx argued that the state was an instrument serving the ruling classes. The particular form of the modern state, which emerged "in conjunction with the struggle of the bourgeoisie against the remnants of feudalism," varied "according to the circumstances in which the bourgeoisie has gained the ascendancy."[9] He also argued that the production and the dissemination of ideas were marked by the distribution of economic power in society. Thus ideology, constituting a part of the superstructure, provided legitimation of the interests of the dominant class.[10] Giddens points out that in Marx's work "The main point about the "superstructure" is not that it embodies ideas … but that it is comprised of a system of social relationships (especially in the shape of politics, law and religion) which order and sanction a system of class domination."[11] In fact, according to Marx, it was the social circumstances that condition the perception of the people about the world. Consciousness was rooted in people's social being.

Capitalist society, according to Marx, was a distinct form of class society which came into existence with the bourgeois revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The two main tendencies of the capitalist system were concentration and centralization.[12] The fundamental basis of the capitalist system was the accumulation of capital. Marx was indeed impressed by the productive and revolutionary potential of capitalism. However, he stressed that it treated labor power as a commodity, and brought increasing impoverishment and alienation of the workforce. Marx argued that the inherent contradictions of the capitalist system would create the conditions for its own demise. He was optimistic about the prospects of change. Socialism, a consequence of the structural conditions of capitalism, revolutionary consciousness and social change, could generate a new set of values and institutions which would end the alienation of man.

Although Marx was against the capitalist exploitation of the world, his argument on the Asiatic mode of production was Orientalist. He defined the Asiatic mode of production as being formed by self-sufficient village communes. The society was static; "significant change, comprising the economic transformation of society and the

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[9] Ibid., 40.

[10] Ibid., 42.

[11] Ibid., 43.

[12] Ibid., 58.

emergence of classes, could come to such a system only from the outside."[13] The despotic state further suppressed change by holding back the development of agents of change such as the bourgeoisie. This argument portrayed the East as despotic and socially stagnant, extolling the colonizing the West as the source of any change.[14]

Another major thinker whose works have been regarded as constituting the basic paradigm of social change is Max Weber. Weber's analysis of the transformative social changes that had occurred in Western Europe focused mainly on the processes of rationalization. According to Weber, the extension of rationality to each and every sphere of life was realized as instrumental rationality became predominant as goal-oriented action replaced other kinds of action. The history of Western civilization indeed reflected the history of rationalization of life and society. Rationalization of authority was among the main transformative processes that Weber focused in his analysis. He presented three ideal types of political authority; traditional, charismatic, and legal-rational. Rationalization of political authority and domination was realized with the transfer of power from the ruler embodying the traditional or the charismatic authority to the bureaucracy.

In his analysis of the forms of authority and domination, Weber signified *patriarchalism* as a form of traditional authority that was seen in Western Europe. Patriarchal authority was based upon household unit; the head of the family possessed the authority, and transmitted it through inheritance. With respect to the forms of traditional authority that had existed outside of Western Europe, Weber used terms such as *patrimonialism* or *sultanism*. He defined patrimonialism as "the characteristic form of domination in the traditional despotic governments of the Orient."[15] According to Weber, a marked distinction between the ruler and the subjects, and "the intermingling of courtly life and governmental functions" were the distinctive features of patrimonial authority. The officials were chosen from the personal servants of the ruler, and the administrative staff was subordinated to the ruler by personal ties of allegiance.[16] Weber placed the Ottoman political system under sultanism, defined as "the extreme case of patrimonialism." Sultanism developed "whenever traditional domination develops an administration and a military force which are purely personal instruments of the

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[13] Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire*, 14.

[14] Ibid., 15.

[15] Giddens, *Capitalism and Modern Social Theory*, 157.

[16] Ibid.

master."[17] Contrary to these political systems which were defined by traditional authority and domination, bureaucracy was the embodiment of legal-rational authority. Bureaucracy was signified as a formal, hierarchical, and rule-bound organization, formed of offices with clearly defined spheres of action and responsibility. Bureaucratization was "the concrete, administrative manifestation of the rationalization of action," and it was both the cause and the consequence of rationalization.[18]

The interpretations of Weber's work had generally focused either on his insight on the methodology of social sciences or on the origins of capitalism. With respect to methodology, Weber was critical of "reification of concepts such as 'Society' or 'Economy';" he considered the individual actor as the basic unit of analysis.[19] He introduced the usage of typologies in his analyses. Weber, at the same time, stressed that the utilization of ideal types, as an attempt to understand real processes, were simplifications made through abstraction, and they were "at best approximations to real processes."[20] Unlike the positivists, he differentiated the methodology of social sciences from methodology of the natural sciences. He focused on understanding the meaning of actions, and for this, he adopted an *interpretive* methodology. He was skeptical about notions such as laws of historical change, inevitable processes in history. According to Weber, "these concepts and theories were at best heuristic devices which permitted tentative frameworks of interpretation."[21]

Weber's insight on the origins of capitalism was primarily attributed to his work entitled *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. In this study, Weber argued that there is an "elective affinity" between the economic rationality of modern capitalist society, and Protestantism in general, and Calvinism in specific.[22] The Reformation was one of the most important steps in the process of rationalization of Christianity; the primacy of individual conscience and individual interpretations of the Bible were asserted with this process. Calvinism was born, and with this doctrine the idea of predestination and calling was introduced. According to the doctrine of Calvinism, "only a small number of men are chosen to achieve eternal grace;" this was

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[17] Quoting Weber. Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire,* 12.

[18] Giddens, *Capitalism and Modern Social Theory*, 183.

[19] Bryan S. Turner, *Max Weber. From History to Modernity* (London, New York: Routledge, 1992), 214.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid., 131

predetermined, and could not be changed by human actions.[23] Weber argued that this created an anxiety and an "unprecedented inner loneliness" among the followers of the doctrine, and to cope with these feelings two responses had developed along the idea of calling: First, "the individual should consider it as obligatory to deem himself as one of the chosen," second, "'intense world activity' is the most appropriate means to develop and maintain this necessary self-confidence."[24] The latter became regarded as the sign of being elected, and introduced the idea of calling or vocation in life, defined by the belief that performance of good work in a chosen vocation was not only a virtue, but in fact the fulfillment of a duty to God. According to Weber, the spirit of modern capitalism became rooted in this belief, as it resulted in a systematic ordering of everyday life "so as to preclude any idleness or frivolity."[25]

The studies of Weber were introduced to the North American academia mainly through the works of Talcott Parsons. These translations and studies interpreted Weber as a theorist of social consensus, and converted him into a sociologist of voluntaristic action theory.[26] Drawing on his reading of Weber, Parsons defined modernity in terms of a set of specific "cultural patterns" such as achievement, universalism, specificity, neutrality, and created "pattern variables" differentiating the traditional from the modern.[27] These led to the formulation of the modernization paradigm and the consequent development of the theories of modernization in the 1950s, the critique of which "inspired and led by a defense of Marx as the scientist of social formations" in the 1970s, triggered "the critique of Weber as a subjectivist bourgeois sociologist."[28]

The modernization theories of the post-World War II era used a simple evolutionary taxonomy of traditional versus modern. It was assumed that the new underdeveloped non-Western nations would follow the same historical path that the Western Europe had taken. As Roxborough states "the assumption was that all societies were alike at one stage, in that they were 'traditional', and that eventually they would also pass through the same set of changes as had happened in the West, and become

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[23] Giddens, *Capitalism and Modern Social Theory*, 128.

[24] Ibid., 129.

[25] Ian Roxborough, *Theories of Underdevelopment* (London: Macmillan Press, 1979), 2.

[26] Turner, *Max Weber. From History to Modernity,* 223, and 231.

[27] Ibid., 238.

[28] Ibid., 231.

'modern'."[29] In order to imitate the transitions of the Western Europe, the lessons of the Western experience were mechanically specified, and presented to the rest of the world for application. At the same time, these theories, through misinterpretations of Weber, sought for the factors that were absent in the so-called Third World societies that had prevented development, and caused these societies to be backward and stagnant.[30] Such a perspective was both reductionist and ethnocentric. It disregarded the fact that the West was itself a social construct, and assumed that all non-Western societies were alike. It also regarded all these societies as static, belonging to one similar stage of non-development, the so-called traditional stage, and placed the blame of underdevelopment on the endogenous causes.[31]

In the 1960s and 1970s, modernization was criticized as a pseudo-concept which in actuality meant Westernization. The new studies of underdevelopment, criticizing the modernization school, formed the dependency perspective based on the Marxian paradigm. These theories argued that the explanations brought to underdevelopment by the modernization school were deficient because they all focused on the internal explanations of underdevelopment, assuming that "there is something wrong inside Third World countries."[32] According to these studies, the blame was on exogenous factors and processes such as colonialism. The reasons for the "development of underdevelopment" ought to be sought in the histories of Third World countries; specifically in the direct exploitation of these countries by the West, and also in the mechanisms set through colonialism for the realization of exploitation.[33]

In the 1980s, with the revival of a culturalist perspective and the studies of post-modernity, both modernity and modernization have been revived and restored as explanatory paradigms. Gradually the traditional debates as Marx versus Weber have been surpassed. Marx and Weber are not seen as alternative but instead as complementary social theorists. Marshal Berman's *All that is Solid Melts into Air*

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[29] Roxborough, *Theories of Underdevelopment*, 15.

[30] Ibid., 20-21.

[31] For some of the major studies working within the modernization paradigm in their analyses of social change in the late Ottoman times and in Turkey, see Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 3rd ed. (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East* (New York: The Free Press, 1964).

[32] Alvin Y. So, *Social Change and Development. Modernization, Dependency and World–System Theories* (London: Sage Publications, 1990), 96.

[33] The concept of "development of underdevelopment" and the model of "metropolis-satellite" were formulated by Andre Gunder Frank in order to explain the mechanisms of underdevelopment. Ibid., 97.

reinterpreted Marx as a theorist of modernity.[34] Berman's reading of Marx specifically focused on *The Communist Manifesto*, and explored the insights and inner contradictions this work presented with respect to the nature of modernity. Berman also pointed to the extreme individualism that is at the heart of Marx's communism. He further argued that Marx "sees in the dynamics of capitalist development … a new image of good life … Thus he hopes to heal the wounds of modernity through a fuller and deeper modernity."[35]

As can be seen in Turner's review and analysis of the recent revisionist work on Weber, interpreting Weber as a major theorist of capitalism providing a critical response and alternative to Marx and historical materialism has also given way to reinterpreting him as the theorist of modernity and modernization.[36] Weber's work is now interpreted as unfolding around the relation between culture and social life.[37] Culture, according to Weber, had a "world-affirming value;" it enabled humans to take action and give significance to the world.[38] Weber placed substantial emphasis on religion as a part of the cultural framework. According to him, religion was related to the universal quest for meaning, since it provided "solutions at the level of the symbol, ritual and doctrine to the senseless character of the mundane world."[39] Weber's interest on the sociology of religion is now also widely acknowledged. *The Protestant Ethic and the Sprit of Capitalism* was indeed originally published in the *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* as an introduction to a general comparative study of religion and economics.[40] Weber's works on the sociology of religion included a study of Protestant sects, and Judaism, and researches on Confucianism, Taoism, Hinduism and Buddhism. With respect to these studies of Weber, Turner argues that "a central theme of his sociology of religion was the comparative study of institutionalized attempts to rationalize the salvational drive into a series of religious codes or ethics." However,

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[34] Marshall Berman, *All that is Solid Melts into Air. The Experience of Modernity* (London, New York: Verso, 1983).

[35] Ibid., 98.

[36] Bryan S. Turner, "An Introduction to Max Weber's Sociology," in *Max Weber. Critical Responses,* ed. Bryan S. Turner (London, New York: Routledge, 1999), 2.

[37] Ralph Schroeder, *Max Weber and the Sociology of Culture* (London: Sage Publication, 1992), 2.

[38] Gavin Walker, "Society and Culture in Sociological and Anthropological Tradition*," History of the Human Sciences* 14, no.3 (2001), 44.

[39] Turner, *Max Weber. From History to Modernity*, 227.

[40] Ibid., 224.

Weber's account of Islam is rather problematic and Orientalist since it worked on a basic dichotomy of West versus Islam. Weber's study on Islam compared it to Christianity, which he regarded as the source of the Western civilization, and tried to account what was missing in Islam and thus in Islamic societies for becoming like the West.[41]

While Weber's work has generally been read as a celebration of the underlying virtues of capitalist rationality, the more recent studies argues that he was rather ambivalent about modern capitalism and the changes that it brought. A new emphasis is placed on Weber's relationship to Nietzsche and to the romantic critique of capitalism.[42] Weber stressed the necessity of a religious framework for social and moral order; he was rather concerned, and indeed pessimistic, about the nature of the new moral order.[43] He argued that science can make the world more understandable and predictable, yet not meaningful. On the contrary, the rationalization of processes together with increasing bureaucratic domination brought standardization and routinization of life, and by eliminating magical thought and practice from the everyday life, caused the "disenchantment of the world."[44] Thus rationalization, which constituted the essence of the civilizational process, and which created the autonomous individual, ended in entrapping him in the "iron cage."[45]

The studies focusing on social and institutional transformations of the late-Ottoman and the Republican periods mainly work within the basic paradigms of social change presented here. Among these studies, the works of Şerif Mardin and Çağlar Keyder provide us with valuable insight and tools for contextualizing and analyzing the social changes and transformations of the late-Ottoman and the Republican periods. These pre-eminent scholars worked within different paradigms; the Weberian and the Marxian paradigms. Although they emphasized different aspects of the modernization endeavors and projects of late-Ottoman and Republican Turkey, their works have been widely referred and utilized in the studies from various disciplines analyzing social change.

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[41] Bryan S. Turner, *Weber and Islam. A critical study* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974).

[42] Turner, *Max Weber. From History to Modernity*, 7.

[43] Roxborough, *Theories of Underdevelopment*, 3.

[44] 21-24

[45]Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Sprit of Capitalism* (London, New York: Routledge, 1992).

Although it is rather hard to make generalizations about Şerif Mardin's voluminous studies, they have been generally regarded as following the insights and analytical tools provided by Weber. However, it should be noted that, rather than being vulgar interpretations of Weber, the intellectual depth of Mardin's studies brings them in line with the recent reinterpretations of Weber as the theorist of modernity. In his analyses of modernization in Turkey, Mardin does not fall into the shortcomings of the modernization paradigm, and tries to explore these processes around "the question of modernity." These studies provide different intellectual instruments that help us comprehend and analyze modernity and modernization in Turkey at its different levels. Mardin's analyses are indeed multileveled; they focus on both the macrostructures and the micro-social world, and provide insights with respect to the linkages in-between.

Following Weberian lines, Mardin refered to the Ottoman system as a patrimonial system. According to him, the Ottoman bureaucracy also evolved as a sultanic-patrimonial machine, later on (at the end of the nineteenth century) giving way to a rational bureaucracy.[46] Mardin's analysis of the modernization processes and the subsequent changes in the sultanic-patrimonial system of the Ottoman Empire, focused on both the intellectual and the structural sources and limitations, and unfolds around the relations between culture and social life. Mardin argued that the modernization drive, in the late Ottoman period, started as a defensive reaction, focusing on the "preservation of the state."[47] He considered the introduction of the printing press to the Empire in the early 18th century as the first step towards modernization:

> The explorations by responsible statesmen into the means offered by the West for the military regeneration of the Ottoman Empire had a wide scope and resulted in measures of general cultural renovation, of which the most important was the establishment of the first Ottoman printing press, a process which covers the years 1727 to 1729.[48]

According to Mardin, the history of Western-inspired reform in the Ottoman Empire started with the era of Ahmed III (early eighteenth century) as "the first reforming cultural contacts with Europe were sought."[49] "Military regeneration" of the Empire

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[46] Şerif Mardin, "Center-Periphery as a Concept for the Study of Social Transformation," in *Religion, Society and Modernity in Turkey,* ed. Şerif Mardin (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2006), 308.

[47] Mardin, "Ideology and Religion in the Turkish Revolution," 202.

[48] Şerif Mardin, "Modernization of Social Communication,*" in *Religion, Society and Modernity in Turkey* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2006), 99.

[49] Ibid., 100.

was indeed the reason behind the modernization drive, and it was implied rather broadly. Western science and culture were introduced for military-educational purposes, and education was modernized leading to the creation of a particular kind of Westernized elite. Between 1826 and 1839 "internal reform was adopted as a policy for the Empire (a policy called the *Tanzimat* after 1839)," which were then followed by the attempts at imitating the Western European institutional and social changes, and the wholesale adoptions of Western institutions and manners.[50]

As Mardin argued, the nineteenth century reformers "succeeded in producing a well-trained, knowledgeable bureaucratic elite guided by the "interests of the state."[51] The Young Ottoman movement was formed from these new intellectual elite created by the *Tanzimat* reforms. These new elite were rather different from the traditional state elite; they were intellectuals, bureaucrats and men of letters who were uprooted from their environment by modernized education. At the same time, however, they were frustrated with this Western encounter. They criticized the *Tanzimat* reforms, argued for the necessity of progress, and sought refuge in Islam. In fact, a duality in the East-West axis was evident in their thoughts. Their main problematic was searching for a way to preserve the state, which ended up in the idea of Ottomanism.[52] Succeeding generations of Western-educated elite were much more radical and impatient with respect to reform measures, and they were at the same time much more influenced with the diffusion of nationalist ideologies throughout Europe.[53] The Young Turks, at first, aimed at establishing a constitutional parliamentary system. However, "this policy was soon replaced by one of national unification that shattered the earlier relative equilibrium between the ethno-religious components of the Ottoman Empire."[54]

The early Republican ruling elite, the successors of the Young Turks, were also brought up in the Western-style institutions of the Empire with the aim of preserving the state. They had "a double foundation inherited from the 19th century, namely, the primacy of the nation and scientism," and "the primacy of the nation was translated into

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[50] Ibid.

[51] Mardin, "Center-Periphery as a Concept for the Study of Social Transformation," 308.

[52] Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A study in the Modernisation of Turkish Political Ideas* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2000).

[53] Mardin, "Center-Periphery as a Concept for the Study of Social Transformation," 309.

[54] Mardin, "Introduction," *Religion, Society and Modernity in Turkey,* xiii.

the idea that the first goal of Republican Turkey was the forging of a nation."[55] They followed the lines of Ottoman experience with social engineering; "integration from the top down by imposing regulations."[56] The nation-building project was a response to the former developments that took place in the Empire in the early 20th century, and it was "structured around a vivid recollection pinpointing the failure of the policies of their predecessors, the Young Turks."[57]

However, according to Mardin, the Republican elite did not consider the new developments in Western philosophy and sociology, and they also did not wholly understand the structures and the local cultural parameters that had been inherited from the Ottoman times. In his article "Ideology and Religion in the Turkish Revolution," Mardin argued that although replacing religion by *civisme* has generally been a part of all revolutions, "destroying the values of the ancient regime" was the main part of the Turkish revolution, and it was "accompanied by fewer blows dealt to the infrastructure." In this article, Mardin analyzed the major lines of the "Republican revolution." Comparing it to other revolutions, he showed that the term "revolution" is rather problematic when applied to Turkey, and that the Turkish case can hardly be considered as a revolution, at least not in the Western sense of the term. His major emphasis is that the Turkish revolution was a "revolution of values," and "[f]or the Turkish Revolutionaries, the symbolic system of society, culture seems to have had a relatively greater attraction as a target than the social structure itself. And within culture, religion seems to have been singled out as the core of the system."[58] However, religion had been operating in the system as "the mediating link between local social forces and the political structure."[59]

Mardin's groundbreaking analysis of the center-periphery relations in the Ottoman Empire and in Turkey focused on unfolding these structures and cultural parameters. Mardin in his article "Center-Periphery as a Concept for the Study of Social Transformation," using the center-periphery framework of Edward Shils, conducted an

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[55] Ibid.

[56] Mardin, "Center-Periphery as a Concept for the Study of Social Transformation," 312.

[57] Mardin, "Introduction," *Religion, Society and Modernity in Turkey,* xiii.

[58] Mardin, "Ideology and Religion in the Turkish Revolution," 202, 209.

[59] Ibid., 205.

analysis of the Ottoman society and system, and compares it to Western experiences.[60] Unlike the Western European experiences, where a multiple of confrontations and integrations between the center and the periphery resulted in the Leviathan and the nation-state, in the Ottoman Empire "the major confrontation was unidimensional."[61] The Ottoman society was characterized by a cleavage between the center and the periphery, and religion was not only the core of the cultural system, but it had also been operating in the system as "the mediating link between local social forces and the political structure."[62] Ottoman Westernization, in the sense of reforms in the military and administrative organization, "accompanied by some aping of Western manners," resulted in the cultural alienation of the masses from the rulers, and thus, of the periphery from the center.[63] Strengthening the center "partly against the periphery" and "before everything else" became "the bureaucratic code."[64] During the successive phases of Westernization, this alienation was perpetuated as secularization destructed the linkages between the masses and the rulers, and resulted in the loss of an idiom governing the social relations. Islam no longer acted as a bridge between the center and the periphery, but instead it became increasingly identified with the latter.[65] The cleavage between the center and periphery was perpetuated with the Westernization processes, leading to major confrontations along these lines.

Çağlar Keyder's studies, unlike Mardin's works, can be situated within the Marxian paradigm of social change. They present a critique of the modernization paradigm, which focuses on societal modernization only, as well as the dependency perspective. Rather than differentiating between societal modernization and cultural modernity, these studies offer a holistic approach to modernity and modernization.[66] Keyder's work mainly evolves along the world-systems perspective, revising it where necessary, analyzing the internal as well as the external factors and events, and also

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[60] Edward Shils, *Center and Periphery: Essays in Macrosociology*, Selected Papers of Edward Shills 2, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975).

[61] Mardin, "Center-Periphery as a Concept for the Study of Social Transformation," 299.

[62] Mardin, "Ideology and Religion in the Turkish Revolution," 205.

[63] Mardin, "Center-Periphery as a Concept for the Study of Social Transformation," 304.

[64] Ibid., 311.

[65] Ibid., 301.

[66] The terms "societal modernization" and "cultural modernity" are taken from Gaonkar's study on modernity, arguing for the need to unite these two approaches. Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar, "On Alternative Modernities," in *Alternative Modernities*, ed. Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar (Durham, London: Duke University Press, 2001), 1.

focusing on their interactions. His studies provide in depth historical and structural analyses of the Ottoman Empire and Republican Turkey, examine the prevalent modes of production, and focus on the differentiation of interests between and within classes.

Keyder defined the pre-capitalist Ottoman Empire as exemplifying the Asiatic mode of production, and examines the endogenous and the exogenous factors that caused the Empire to be a part of the capitalist world system, and resulted in its peripheralization.[67] As a peripheral country, the forces inside the Ottoman Empire had a limited space of action, but these alternatives within that limited space were defined by the struggles within the country. According to this view, drawn from the world-systems perspective, class struggle defines the developments within a country, yet only to a limited extent and only in relation to the world system in general. The phases and crises of the capitalist system are reflected within the counties that are a part of the system, but the developments in each country shows local characteristics. The forces inside the country have better chances of designating the course of development at the times of major changes in the world economy.[68] Keyder signified the trade agreement signed between the Ottoman and British Empires in 1838 as the first step in the process of institutionalizing the merging of the Empire with the capitalist world system.[69] The state elite, or the "state class" in Keyder's words, were limited by this peripheral condition of the Ottoman Empire. They implemented various reforms with the aim of "preserving the state" and also preserving their privileged position, which in actuality set the stage for the wholesale unification of the Empire with the world capitalist system.[70] The state class encountered no serious opposition from within the country. One of the reasons for this lack of opposition was a fundamental feature of Ottoman social structure; the absence of landlords. The state elite also did not have to worry about the cooperation or reluctance of a strong bourgeois class. The non-Muslim population of the Empire had become a stake in the unification of the Empire with the world capitalist system, and formed the ranks of the newly forming bourgeoisie class. Class struggle was perpetuated by ethnic and religious differences.[71] However, this nascent bourgeoisie

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[67] Çağlar Keyder, *Toplumsal Tarih Çalışmaları* (Ankara: Dost Kitabevi, 1983), 11-30, 118-152, 153-170.

[68] Keyder, *Türkiye'de Devlet ve Sınflar*, 10. Keyder's analysis in this book is multi-leveled, and focuses on a variety of factors such as economic, social, political and historical. It also covers a lengthened period of time --from the last centuries of the Ottoman Empire and to the 1980s Turkey.

[69] Ibid., 30.

[70] Ibid., 49, 52.

[71] Ibid., 33.

was removed from the scene before it became a serious challenge to the state class. Such developments as the Balkan Wars, the deportations, the World War, and the population exchanges resulted in the extinction of the non-Muslim bourgeoisie of the Empire. The bureaucracy, through the policies of the state, took on the creation of a new national, or rather Muslim, bourgeois, which would be dependent on its creators.

According to Keyder, the Republic, rather than being the result of a revolutionary break from the *ancien* regime, was the result of the transformation that had occurred under war conditions.[72] Since the nineteenth century, the reformers embraced the ideal of forming a modern society designated by the Western norms. The changes were not the results of any struggle and/or participation, but were introduced from above. The main difference between Kemalist reformism and former modernization endeavors focused on the redefinition of the political system as secular and national.[73] Instead of providing alternatives for the religious-communitarian way of life, Kemalist reformers chose to destroy this way of life. They exerted violence against its symbols. Any opposition to the political authority was stigmatized as resulting from to the intention of restoring religion to its former place in the society.[74] The reason behind any change was defined as "saving the state," and thus the perspective of the bureaucracy leading this transformation was limited by the primacy of the state. As the consensus formulated around the ideal of saving the state gradually lost its importance in the Republican times, saving the state became the reason behind limitations on citizenship rights, and human rights and democracy. As Keyder stated, the Kemalist education system reproduced this anxiety, and graduated nationals who believed in and internalized this endless duty of "saving the state."[75]

As Keyder maintained in his more recent studies, "the historical genesis of the state tradition in Turkey determined the choices made by the modernizers in their attempt to delimit the scope of modernity, thus undermining their avowed goal of Westernization."[76] These limitations were rooted in the ideal of preserving the state, and in the social engineering associated with modernization-from-above. In the Turkish

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[72] Ibid., 161.

[73] Ibid., 72.

[74] Ibid., 100.

[75] Ibid., 160.

[76] Çağlar Keyder, "Whither the Project of Modernity? Turkey in the 1990s," in *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*, ed., S. Bozdoğan and R. Kasaba (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 39.

experience, modernity was imposed by the state class, and defined as a project; modernization. The modernizing elite sought to achieve "the imposition of institutions, beliefs, and behavior consonant with their understanding of modernity on the chosen object."[77] Nationalism formed the ideological environment of this elite-directed project of modernization. This combination in fact reflects the problematic nature of peripheral modernization. As Keyder argueed, "The question of modernity in the context of the Third World had become inextricably bound up with the question of constructing the nation-state."[78] In the case of Turkey, "nationalism-from-above" constituted the founding ideology of the Republic, and nationalist modernization "did not permit the individuation of the component parts of the national unity."[79]

Keyder considered the social, institutional and cultural changes that occurred in Turkey within the question of modernity. However, he defined the Turkish experience as modernization because of its implementation as a project, differentiating between "modernization-from-above" and "modernization as a self-generating societal process." He maintained that "the crucial difference between modernization-from-above and modernization as a self-generating societal process is that modernizers wield state power and are agents with their own interest. For this reason, even if they profess a project of Westernization, they are not necessarily committed to all the dimensions of modernity."[80] Attaining an optimistic view with respect to modernization, he argues for the necessity of a "total project," which means "embracing and internalizing all the cultural dimensions that made Europe modern." This requires not differentiating societal modernization and cultural modernity, locating modernization as the basis of notions of freedom and citizenship, and shifting its focus away from the "modernizing nationalist state" to the society.[81]

These reviews of Mardin's and Keyder's studies provide the background of the analysis of textbooks presented here. The ruling elite, through education in general, and textbooks in particular, have tried to set, solidify and realize the parameters of the nation-building and modernization endeavors, and highlighted the boundaries of the national and the modern. Rather than being separate studies working within different

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[77] Ibid., 39.

[78] Ibid., 42.

[79] Ibid., 42, 46.

[80] Ibid., 39.

[81] Ibid., 38.

paradigms, Mardin and Keyder's analyses are taken here as complementary, focusing on various levels and aspects, and uncovering different elements of the modernization narrative of Turkey. Besides using these two classical approaches of social change in Turkey as the background, the following analysis of textbooks also utilize the insights provided by Foucault about the nature of modern society.[82] Foucault defines modern society as a "disciplinary society." He argues that this society is characterized by the emergence of new technologies and strategies of power-knowledge; new disciplinary technologies of power, as well as individualization techniques, and of totalization procedures. The individual is constituted by these technologies and strategies of power; in fact he/she is "an effect of power."[83] Foucault further argues that, discipline is directed at the formation of a relation between obedience and utility; it makes bodies "more obedient as it becomes more useful, and conversely." As Foucault stresses: "discipline produces subjected and practiced bodies, 'docile bodies'."[84]

The following analysis, using Foucault's insights on the constrained nature of the individual and the modern society being restrained by disciplinary acts and behaviors, focuses on the modernization discourses and their relation with the imaginings of the national self, through an analysis of textbooks. Unlike most studies on modernization in Turkey, the analysis presented here places specific emphasis on gender because the conceptualizations of the 'modern,' besides being delimited with respect to the needs of nationalist concerns, have focused specifically on the re-gendering of the social order. Re-gendering has "a central significance for stabilizing the entire social order," and especially the abolishment of Islam from the public sphere in the mid-1920s necessitated such reformulations.[85]

However, before moving on, it should be noted here that the formation of the 'new woman' with the new Republic in Turkey has indeed been taken into consideration in various studies. The construction of the new woman was generally treated within the confines of the Kemalist discourse.[86] The first pioneering works on women's issues

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[82] For a more detailed analysis of the works of Foucault, see Chapter 2.

[83] Foucault, "Two Lectures," 98.

[84] Rabinow, *The Foucault Reader*, 182.

[85] Karen Hagemann, "Home/Front: Military, Violence and Gender Relations in the Age of the World Wars," in *Home/Front: Military, Violence and Gender in Twentieth Century Germany,* ed. Karen Hagemann (Oxford: Berg Publishing, 2002), 4.

[86] See Afetinan's works as the paradigmatic examples of these Kemalist studies. A. Afetinan, *Atatürk ve Türk Kadın Haklarının Kazanılması* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1964); A. Afetinan, *Tarih Boyunca*

emerged in the late 1970s.[87] Studies focusing on women as subjects of social study with feminist concerns made a forward leap in the 1980s, as a result of the post-1980's women's movements in Turkey and in the West.[88] The construction of the 'new woman' has only been taken critically into consideration in studies since the 1980s.[89] Therefore, these later studies are rather important, and this analysis develops upon their insights. While critically scrutinizing the new women of the new nation-state, they are mostly restricted to the early years of the Republic. Despite the attention on the new woman in the literature, the construction of the 'new man' is generally taken for granted. Although these two constructions have been built with respect to and as complementing each other, the scholarship on gender for the most part does not take them into consideration together.[90] The new generic citizen of the Republic is taken to be a 'man,' and thus the studies defining this generic citizen are taken as defining the

Türk Kadınının Hak ve Görevleri (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim bakanlığı, 1975). See also Yeşim Arat, "Women's Studies in Turkey: From Kemalism to Feminism," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 9 (1993), 119-135, for an overview of women's studies in Turkey.

[87] As a pioneering work on women's issues in this period, see Nermin Abadan-Unat, Deniz Kandiyoti, Mübeccel Kıray, eds., *Women in Turkish Society* (Leiden : Brill, 1981); originally published as N. Abadan-Unat, D. Kandiyoti, M. Kıray, eds., *Türk Toplumunda Kadın* (Ankara: Türk Sosyal Bilimler Derneği, 1979). See Şirin Tekeli, *Kadınlar ve Siyasal Toplumsal Hayat* (İstanbul: Birikim Yayınları, 1982), as the first political science study focusing on women. The work, though published as a book in 1982, was completed in 1977.

[88] See the volume edited by Tekeli; Şirin Tekeli, ed., *1980ler Türkiye'sinde Kadın Bakış Açısından Kadınlar* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1990). See also Yeşim Arat, *The Patriarchal Paradox: Women Politicians in Turkey* (NJ: Associated University Press, 1989).

[89] See for example, Fatmagül Berktay, "Osmanlı'dan Cumhuriyet'e Feminism," in *Tanzimat ve Meşrutiyet'in Birikimi,* Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce Tarihi, vol.1, ed. Mehmet Ö. Alkan (İstanbul: İletişimYayınları, 2001), 348-360; Fatmagül Berktay, "Doğu ile Batı'nın Birleştiği Yer: Kadın İmgesinin Kurgulanışı," in *Modenleşme ve Batıcılık,* Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce Tarihi, vol.3, ed. Uğur Kocabaşoğlu (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 275-285; Ayşe Durakbaşa, "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kemalist Kadın Kimliğinin Oluşumu," *Tarih ve Toplum* 9, no. 51 (1988), 39-43; Ayşe Saktanber, "Kemalist Kadın Hakları Söylemi," in *Kemalism: Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce Tarihi, vol.2*, ed. Ahmet İnsel (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), 323-343; Ayşe Kadıoğlu, "Women's Subordination in Turkey: Is Islam Really the Villain?," *Middle East Journal* 48, no. 4 (1994), 645-660; Deniz Kandiyoti, *Cariyeler, Bacılar, Yurttaşlar: Kimlikler ve Toplumsal Dönüşümler* (İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1997); Nükhet Sirman, "Kadınların Milliyeti," in *Milliyetçilik: Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce Tarihi,* vol.4, ed. Tanıl Bora (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002), 226-244; Zafer Toprak, "Cumhuriyet Erkeğinin Kadın İmgesi," *Toplumsal Tarih*, no. 99 (2002), 15-19.

[90] Deniz Kandiyoti, "The Paradoxes of Masculinity: Some Thoughts on Segregated Societies," in *Dislocating Masculinity: Comparative Ethnographies* (London, New York: Routledge, 1994), 197-213; Mai Ghoussoub and Emma Sinclair-Webb, eds., *Imagined Masculinities: Male Identity and Culture in the Modern Middle East* (London: Saqi Books, 2000) can be regarded as the exceptions.

new man. Although this is true in some aspects, there is still a need for specific studies on the new man, dealing with its particularities.[91]

The following analysis focuses on deconstructing the discourse of the primary school textbooks, and searches for the parameters that define the modern nationals that were to be created. The language readers, life sciences, family sciences, history, and social studies textbooks from the late 1920s to 2000 are analyzed here along the chronological periodization of the former chapter: from 1928 to 1948, from 1948 to 1968, from 1968 to 1981, and from 1981 to 2000. The defining parameters and the boundaries of the modern national are analyzed here under two main themes:

    i.   The civilized national subject,

    ii.   The bound modern self.

First subheading, "the civilized national subject," focuses on the prominent and acceptable practices, values and norms that were defined as signifying the so-called 'civility.' It is argued that the middle-class images and behavior codes have been emphasized throughout the textbooks as designating the ideal citizens, as men and women, of the Republic. Second subheading concentrates on the bound, constrained, nature of the modern men and women, in relation to the nation and the family as its micro-cosmos. It is further argued that the so-called civilizational project of the Republican elite, when coupled with the overriding concerns of nation-building, resulted in both men and women ending up with much less empowering possibilities than their Western counterparts. The modernization endeavors were restrained to disciplinary acts in images, values and behaviors.

4.1. The Civilized National Subject

With the ongoing moves and endavours towards Westernization, at the beginning of the nineteenth century in the Ottoman Empire, defining the boundaries of 'modern' became an overriding concern. As can be seen in the analyses of social change and modernization presented above, since the mid-nineteenth century in the Ottoman

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[91] *Yeni Adam,* a weekly newspaper, published under the auspices of İ.H. Baltacıoğlu in1930s-40s, in fact makes this complementarity evident. See Duygu Köksal "Yeni Adam ve Yeni Kadın: 1930'lar ve 1940'larda Kadın, Cinsiyet ve Ulus," *Toplumsal Tarih,* no. 51 (1998).

Empire, 'modern' has been equated with its Western models, the latter considered as signifying 'civility.' At the end of the century, the aim of modernization increasingly became the ultimate realization of a nation-state in the image of the West. The Republican ruling elite, in line with the social engineering experience that they had inherited from their predecessors, undertook an authoritarian modernization project carried out through reforms from above. As both Mardin and Keyder noted, Kemalist modernization endeavors occurred as an onslaught on cultural symbols. Rather than providing any alternative ways of life, or undertaking any revolutionary changes in the socio-economic structure, they were devoted to building symbols of national identity.

In the textbooks of the new Turkish nation-state, the modernization project of the Republic is indeed presented as "the civilizational project." Discursively, the explicit goal of the move towards modernization is to raise Turkey to the level of contemporary civilization. The Republican ruling elites' self-differentiation from the Ottoman past was constructed along these lines, and constituted by the dichotomy of 'modern' versus 'traditional.'[92] Traditional was thus defined along the institutions and cultural practices that reforms aimed to change. Yet a problem was created by the usage of the term traditional in a context where nation-state formation was under way. Traditional, when and if taken to be authentic, could well be regarded as representing the national past. Thus, these institutions and practices that reforms aimed to change were referred as uncivilized, backward, unnatural, and foreign to the nation.

It was mainly the women who were burdened with the task of defining the boundaries between tradition and modernity. An extreme significance was attributed to the 'modern' outlook of women. As Kadıoğlu points out "[t]he Kemalist discourse, furthermore, created an image of women who were burdened with the difficult task of maintaining a balance between being too traditional or being unchaste –too modern and promiscuous like Western women."[93] It designed women as "*modernes de robe*" –or in other words, modern by virtue of dress – "who wore modern clothes and adopted certain Western codes of conduct, but nevertheless remained traditional, especially regarding relations with men and their self-perceptions within the confines of family."[94] This

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[92] See Kadıoğlu, "Women's Subordination in Turkey."

[93] Ibid., 647.

[94] Ibid., 653. Kadıoğlu adopts the term *modernes de robe* from the term *nobles de robe* (nobility by virtue of dress) which was used to define the people in pre-revolutionary France who joined the ranks of nobility through buying offices. For further details, see Barrington Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in The Making of the Modern World* (London: Penguin, 1967).

unwarranted emphasis on apperances worked to "shift the argument away from universalist feminist claims regarding public and private role dichotomies."[95]

As it will be seen in the following pages, with the language readers, life science and family science textbooks, middle-class values and practices were designated as the prominent norms of the new nation-state. In line with the Western examples, nationalism was associated with middle-class morality.[96] The middle-class values and practices were used to reconstruct and separate the ideal citizen, as the civilized subject, different from the "cosmopolitan urban" and "ignorant backward" population of the late Ottoman era.[97] As "the civilizational project" of the Republic focused on destroying the existing cultural symbols, the textbooks focused exclusively on reconfiguring the images of the new men and women of the nation-state in line with their Western counterparts. While men were defined and empowered as primary citizens through their position as the ideal civilized subjects, women were to be civilized subjects as they become scientifically-oriented and/or skilled mother-housewives. As women were defined as equally important civilized subjects with respect to such functions, they were both empowered and restricted through the practice of domesticity, and thus made citizens who provide "support" functions and who were subordinate to men.

4.1.1. The 1928-1948 Period:

Between 1928 and 1948, the textbooks used in Turkey presented the middle-class man as the cultural ideal—the civilized subject. The middle-class man formed the basis of the nation-state, and was configured as the hegemonic element in this new "brotherhood of men."[98] This was the wise, educated, and enlightened man, glittering as

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[95] Kadıoğlu, "Women's Subordination in Turkey.", 467.

[96] For this relation between middle class morality and nationalism, see George Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (New York: Howard Fertig, Inc., 1985). For the relation of middle class values with education, see Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture,* 2nd ed. (London: Sage Publications, 1990). Bourdieu and Passeron argues that throughout the educational processes, the culture of the middle class is considered as natural; as something that everyone has or should have.

[97] Serpil Sancar, "Otoriter Türk Modernleşmesinin Cinsiyet Rejimi," *Doğu Batı* 7, no. 29 (2004).

[98] For this term, see Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988). Connell argues that hegemony is "a historically mobile relation," and hegemonic masculinity can only be established if there is a correspondence between the cultural ideal and institutional power. R. W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1995), 77.

the embodiment of rationality and positivism. He carried on a civilizing mission with respect to the people around. In the textbooks, he is usually seen when giving an educational talk to the children. For example, in a primary school reader for first grade published in 1929, the family, consisting of the father, mother and a male child, is presented at dinner in their house; as the mother serves the dinner, the father teaches the child how to count.[99] Another primary school reader published in 1934 for second graders presents a similar scene. As the family has dinner, the child asks his father why seasons occur, upon which the father gives a long scientific explanation.[100] In the private space of the house, if not seen at the dinner table making an educating talk to the children (see for example illustration 1), this man is presented while reading newspapers.[101] Besides the images accompanying reading passages, this image was also in the text of the passage, "Father's Hearth," in a primary school reader for first graders published in 1934: "As the father reads his newspaper, the mother does her sewing looking at her children. How lovely!"[102]

This civilized man was indeed signified as the head of the (nuclear) family and also as a father with a profession/job.[103] The latter was an attempt to impose a puritan work ethic, with emphasis on hard work and duty. "Working" was regarded a man's duty as exemplified in the passage titled "Father's Hearth": "As the mother finishes housework, the father returns from his duty."[104] The modern man was supposed to work industriously, perform his job well, and earn money to make a living for his family. Primary school readers of these years are full of sentences such as this one taken from a reading passage in a fourth grade textbook published in 1934: "Your father works in order to feed you and your mother. This is called having a job."[105]

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[99] Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, İkinci Sınıf*, 6-7.

[100] M. Zekeriya Sertel, *Resimli Kıraat, İkinci Sınıf* (İstanbul: Türk Kitapçılığı Limitet Şirketi, 1934-1935), 75.

[101] İbrahim Hilmi Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 2,* 7th ed. (İstanbul: Türk Kitapçılığı Limitet Şirketi, 1934-1935), 122.

[102] Ertaylan, *Kıraat Dersleri, Sınıf 1*, 26.

[103] For an in-depth analysis of the cultural construction of men as the head of the nuclear family of in the early Republican discourse through an analysis of novels, see Sirman. Nükhet Sirman, "Gender Constructions and Nationalist Discourse: Dethroning the Father in the Early Turkish Novel," in *Gender and Identity Construction: Women of Central Asia, the Caucasus and Turkey*, eds. Feride Acar and Ayşe Güneş-Ayata (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 162-176. For an analysis based on earlier periods, see Parla. Jale Parla, *Babalar ve Oğullar: Tanzimat Romanının Epistemolojik Temelleri*, 2nd ed. (İstanbul, İletişim Yayınlar, 1996).

[104] Ibid., Ertaylan, *Kıraat Dersleri, Sınıf 1*, 25.

[105] Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 4*, 225.

As the examples given above illustrate, work and job were treated as concepts belonging specifically to the public sphere. This differentiation between housework and "real work" is indeed in line with the European experience. As Davidoff shows, in England, the separation of house and work was highly significant in the formulation of middle-class values.[106] As she argues, this middle-class ideology of separate spheres became predominant in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Western Europe, and disseminated to the other segments of the society.[107]

The middle-class man as the cultural ideal is always portrayed in the illustrations in textbooks as dressed in a trouser suit, wearing a tie, and occasionally a hat, and without a moustache or beard (see for example illustrations 2, 3).[108] The concern with external appearance and attempt to look Western, thus civilized, was a crucial part of the modernization endeavors of the early Republican ruling elites. The sartorial aspects of the reforms became important especially important in 1925 with the 'hat reform', which had previously been considered a symbol of Christian Europe.[109] The same year, Mustafa Kemal argued in a speech in İnebolu that "the Turkish people who founded the Turkish Republic are civilized … but the truly civilized people of Turkey must prove in fact that they are civilized."[110] The currently existing external appearances of the people were pointed as "foreign" and "uncivilized," and challenged in the conclusion of his speech:

> A civilized, international dress is worthy and appropriate for our nation, and we will wear it. Boots or shoes on our feet, trousers on our legs, shirt and tie, jacket and waistcoat – and of course to complete these, a cover with a brim on our heads. I want to make this clear. This head covering is called a 'hat.'[111]

Trousers, jacket, shirt, tie, and hat signified the image of the cultural ideal; these were part and parcel of the uniform external appearance of the civilized middle class subjects of the Republic.

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[106] Leonora Davidoff, "The Rationalization of Housework," in *Worlds Between: Historical Perspectives on Gender and Class* (London: Routledge, 1995), 73-102.

[107] Lynn Abrams, *The Making of Modern Women: Europe 1789-1918* (London, NY: Longman, 2002), 127-148.

[108] Ertaylan, *Kıraat Dersleri, Sınıf 1*, 22; Sertel, *Resimli Kıraat, İkinci Sınıf*, 9.

[109] Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History*, 173.

[110] Quoted in Bernard Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey*, 3rd ed. (New York, Oxford: Oxford Univeristy Press, 2002), 268.

[111] Quoted in ibid., 269.

While the textbooks used in Turkey presented the middle-class man as the cultural-ideal, they, besides signifying his competitive spirit, also portrayed him as a modest and altruistic man, helping the poor. In primary school readers of these years, providing charity for the poor and needy, showing them pity and benevolence are among the most common themes of the reading passages.[112] Where change was directed heavily towards the values and cultural practices, and targeting social structure as the main area of change, providing social rights as a part of citizenship were not primary concerns, emphasizing these charitable acts can be regarded as an attempt at creating solidarity. They seemed necessary for the continuity of order and social unity, and indeed manifest a conservative world view.

Although the ideal typical subject was the middle class man, not everyone was required to attain his status; in fact, one also comes across presentations of other men in the textbooks. While being a father was a natural given, what was actually stressed was being a professional man and/or being a hardworking economic actor, and embracing the middle class values. In the 1928-1948 language readers and life science textbooks, these other visible men were usually personified as workers, artisans, and farmers/peasants. In a reading passage titled "Respect for the Workers" from a language reader published in 1929 for third grade students, soldiers are also counted among these men.[113] The blacksmith, a favorite figure, can be seen in the language readers published in 1933, 1934 and 1945 (see for example illustrations 4, 5).[114] These men were the embodiment of manliness with their muscular bodies, working with fire and iron, using their physical strength and perseverance. This man can also be seen in the narrations of the national myth of *Ergenekon*.[115]

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[112] See for example, Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 3*, 7th ed. (İstanbul: Türk Kitapçılığı Limitet Şirketi, 1934-1935), 33-35; İçsel and İçsel, *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, İlk Mektep Üçüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitaphanesi, 1929; reprint, 1934), 9-12.

[113] See, Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Üçüncü Sınıf*, 29-30.

[114] See for example Ertaylan, *Kıraat Dersleri, Sınıf 1*, 95; Ertaylan, *Kıraat Dersleri, Sınıf 3*, 88; Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 2*, 14-15, 41-44; Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 4*, 102-103, T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1935), 11; T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1945), 11.

[115] According to this myth, once upon a time the nation was defeated due to treason, most of its people were killed, and the rest were forced to immigrate. These people came to a place surrounded by mountains and settled. As time passed their population increased, and this place became too small, but trapped between the mountains, they were not able to leave that place. Yet a man, who was actually a blacksmith, found that one of the mountains was from iron, and melted it to open an exit. For this myth, see T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 5. Sınıf*, 32-33, T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 5. Sınıf* (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1945), 33; Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 5*, 66-67; Emre,

These other men, though not glorified as the embodiment of the civilized man, were set in a relationship of complicity with the middle-class professional man through their embracement of the same values.[116] They were also portrayed as acting in a rational and civilized manner. These men were the masters of their will, and thus of themselves. They may not be well-educated, but were not presented as ignorant and could at times be wise. As middle class males, they were also presented wearing trousers, shirts, and sometimes, jackets, yet no ties. Trousers and shirts were particularly regarded as a man's clothes, and other outfits were ridiculed as being unsuited to a man. For instance, in a passage titled "The Trousers of Faik" published in 1934 in a second grade language reader, a boy who used to wear a long shirt is said to become a man with his new outfit; trousers and shirt. In this passage, the boy's prior outfit is regarded as feminine, and suitable only for small children, whereas the new one is called a "man's outfit."[117]

These particular constructions of modern men relied on specific constructions of femininity. The primary aspect of this new construct, the civilized female subject, was motherhood. The modern woman was defined first and foremost as a mother, which meant not only giving birth but also nurturing children. Through stories set in nature, motherhood was tried to be naturalized and presented as a biological and physiological necessity. As in a language reader for first grade students published in 1929, these stories usually use animals as examples.[118] Yet the mothers of the nation were expected to know the scientific basics of child rearing which were primarily defined in the family studies textbooks.

In the textbooks published between 1928-1948, these scientifically-oriented women-mothers were presented as fashionably dressed, educated middle-class women (see for example illustrations 6, 7, 8, 9).[119] These women were usually the main

Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Beşinci Sınıf, 84-85. (Also available in T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1952), 9-10.)

[116] For the term complicity see Connell, *Masculinities*. Connell provides for an examination of intra-gender relations; hegemony and domination versus subordination and complicity.

[117] İçsel and İçsel, *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, İlk Mektep İkinci Sınıf*, 86-87. For the original text see appendix.

[118] Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Birinci Sınıf* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitaphanesi, 1929), 5-51.

[119] See for example, T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, İkinci Sınıf* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1935), 61; T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, İkinci Sınıf*, 13th ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1945), 61; Sertel, *Resimli Kıraat, İkinci Sınıf*, 98; Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 4*, 2; İçsel and İçsel, *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, İlk Mektep İkinci Sınıf*, 3.

characters of the reading passages. They are shown when teaching their children, hosting guests in the private space of the house, going for family walks and visits, and as having housemaids and nursemaids in their houses. Although these women were limited by the sexual division of labor, they were not sexually segregated and confined to the private spaces. Since they were the symbols of the modern and civilized, they were in fact made apparent in the public space -- albeit one in which they enact a domestic role.

The middle class woman-mother was not only the symbol of but also a missionary of civilization. This missionary duty can be observed in various reading passages in primary school language readers published in 1929, 1934 and 1943, where she is shown as actively engaged with the moral education of children, guiding them in their actions and opinions, teaching them how to read and write, and informing them about physical (natural) and social world.[120] Family studies textbooks, on the other hand, determined the basics and the limits of this civilization. In these textbooks, socially acceptable behaviors, and manners that separate a civilized woman from the rest (i.e., her backward counterpart) were taught. How to walk in the street, how to greet others, how to welcome guests, how to set a dinner table, how to organize a wedding feast were instructed in detail. [121]

This new woman had a series of duties involving physical work. Scientifically-oriented motherhood, besides scientific childrearing, also included systematization of housework (such as cleaning, washing, tidying up, cooking, ironing, and sewing). A fourth grade family science textbook published in 1936, as well as its 1945 version, taught the following: "As soon as the family members go to their beds, preparing the living room for the morning, washing, drying and placing the dishes are everyday work for the housewives."[122] Meanwhile, the primary school readers presented these jobs as

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[120] Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Üçüncü Sınıf*, 112; Ertaylan, *Kıraat Dersleri, Sınıf 1*, 7-8; İçsel and İçsel, *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, İlk Mektep Dördüncü Sınıf*, 30; İçsel and İçsel, *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitaphanesi, 1943), 76-78, 119-123.

[121] Family sciences course, at the primary school level, was designed only for girls, but in 1936, with the new curriculum, it was reconstructed as a course for boys, too. See T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *İlkokul Programı* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1936). No considerable changes occurred in these textbooks after 1936. See Pakize İçsel and Nazım İçsel, *Aile Bilgisi ve Ev İdaresi, Sınıf 4* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitabevi, 1936); İçsel and İçsel, *Aile Bilgisi ve Ev İdaresi, Sınıf 5* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitabevi, 1937-1938); İçsel and İçsel, *Aile Bilgisi ve Ev İdaresi, Sınıf 5* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitabevi 1944-1945); İçsel and İçsel, *Aile Bilgisi ve Ev İdaresi, Sınıf 4* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitabevi, 1945-1946).

[122] İçsel and İçsel, *Aile Bilgisi ve Ev İdaresi, Sınıf 4* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitabevi, 1936), 21; İçsel and İçsel, *Aile Bilgisi ve Ev İdaresi, Sınıf 4* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitabevi, 1945-1946), 18-19.

ordinary activities and efforts necessary for the well-being of the people living in the house, and did not considered them as "real work." They were regarded as a natural part of motherhood, which was indeed equated to being a housewife. For example, in a passage titled "Everybody is Working," in a fourth grade language reader published in 1934, the children are told the following: "Duty and job!.... Your mother deals with the housework; your father tries to make a living for you."[123] Dealing with the housework was indeed this new woman's "duty."

Since the language readers, life science and family science textbooks used in Turkey between 1928 and 1948, regarded being civilized as dependent on being scientifically-oriented mothers and housewives, girls were advised to embrace the role of mother, and be attentive towards the physical work of motherhood. For example, the passage in a primary school language reader for first grade students published in 1934, presents girls as washing and ironing their dolls' clothing.[124] In fact, girls were supposed to show how virtuous they are by fulfilling the necessities of the motherhood role, as they help their mothers or as they take care of their little brothers or sisters. Primary school readers are filled with numerous examples. For example, in a reading passage from a second grade language reader published in 1934, a seven year-old is praised for acting like a mother to her little brothers and sisters. This child is said to be a "lovely, hard-working angel," and serving their brothers and sisters is "bliss" for her.[125]

In order not to be a social outcast, a female child is supposed to be, just like her mother, clean, pure, tidy, and disciplined, and also assure the cleanness, purity, tidiness, and order of her surroundings, in the ways that are regarded as correct and scientific. It is possible to see all these, for example, in a fourth grade passage entitled "Two Sisters," in a primary school reader published in 1929. While the "good-natured" and "hardworking" daughter helps the mother, and aspires to be like her, the "bad-natured" daughter is careless and unskilled in doing housework.[126] The theme of "hardworking girl" is a very common one, where the girl aspires to be like her mother, and work in the

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[123] Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 4*, 3-5.

[124] Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 1*, 26.

[125] Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 2*, 59-61.

[126] İçsel and İçsel, *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, İlk Mektep Dördüncü Sınıf*, 89-93. For the original text see appendix.

household just like her mother.[127] For example, in one of the passages in a reader for second grade published in 1934, a girl is defined as "hardworking" due to her attentiveness towards housework.[128] Housework, at the same time, was portrayed as something enjoyable. For example, in a reading passage titled "Laundry Day," from a language reader published in 1934, girls washing laundry are described as being "very joyful."[129]

For the early Republican ruling elites, the education of women was very crucial in the process of elevation of Turkish society to the level of the Western civilization. This concern with education was indeed due to the necessary creation of the new woman; a scientifically-oriented mother-housewife, aloof to the old practices, readily embracing the new ones defined along the middle-class practices. In the passage titled "Natural Treasure" from a language reader for fifth grade students published in 1929, a modern woman explains, in a letter addressed to her daughter, the importance and necessity of education. For this woman, every little girl should be educated and trained to be a good mother. Their education, in turn, will be inherited by their sons and daughters in the future, and, in this sense, will be the natural treasures of their prospective sons and daughters.[130] The aim is to raise and train little girls as good housewives -- good enough to raise their own children. Furthermore, as stated in a reading passage in another language reader published in 1929, acting like a mother and doing housework should not prohibit a girl from getting educated. She can do both; in fact, she should do both.[131] Education was indeed necessary in order to become a scientifically-oriented mother and a good housewife. In the passage titled "Why are We Going to School?" in a language reader for second grade published in 1934, a girl states her reason for getting education as learning useful information which would in turn help her do housework better, and her teacher approves it wholeheartedly.[132]

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[127] The original phrase is *"hamarat kız,"* where *"hamarat"* refers to a woman who is hardworking with respect to doing housework and good at keeping the house, and *"kız"* refers to girl --a young virgin women.

[128] Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 2*, 132-133.

[129] Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 1*, 71.

[130] İçsel and İçsel, *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, İlk Mektep Beşinci Sınıf*, 27-30.

[131] The theme of *"hamarat kız"* is in fact a frequently used one. Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Birinci Sınıf*, 7.

[132] Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 2*, 85.

According to family science textbooks, doing housework, in an "orderly" and "systematized" fashion was important in preventing women from both wasting time and betting exhausted. This "scientification" of housework was an attempt at rationalizing housework and the role of the housewife. In this way, any objection that might come to the presupposition of, both, being a mother and housewife as the prerequisite of womanhood was nullified by not only referring to nature, but also to the authority of science. The attempts at ordering and systematizing housework were also attempts at regulating and homogenizing women and the private sphere.

Women's education was not only an education of the mind; it also consisted of physical education. This combination is actually not surprising when the physical labor that the new mother-housewife would need in her daily duties is considered. In order to fulfill her daily duties, to do housework, and also to increase productivity with respect to these activities, a woman must be physically strong. The limits of housework are indeed determined by a woman's physical endurance.[133] In a text entitled "At the School Garden" in a language reader for fourth grade published in 1929, a female teacher, while conducting a physical education class, states the necessity of physical training as the following: "A healthy body is necessary for a father who would feed his family, for a mother who would serve her house and child, for a young person who would work for the homeland."[134]

Besides the middle-class woman, who was the cultural-ideal female, there were also other women presented in the textbooks: urban women of lower status and rural women. These other visible women were portrayed as subordinate to middle-class woman, yet they seemed to be in a relationship of complicity with her through motherhood and being a housewife. Both urban women of lower status and rural women were shown as involved in the housework; regardless of their class backgrounds. The rural women can also be seen as involved in the household work (such as milking the cows, etc.). The urban women of lower status were at times presented as economic actors with low incomes. As can be seen in one of the reading passages in a language reader for third grade published in 1934, these women were usually portrayed as widows who have to work in order to make a living, yet hardly succeed at it.[135]

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[133] Davidoff, "The Rationalization of Housework," 73-102.

[134] İçsel and İçsel, *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, İlk Mektep Dördüncü Sınıf*, 45. For the original text see appendix.

[135] Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 3*, 167-169.

Besides these urban women of the lower classes, and rural women, female teachers were also among the other visible women in the textbooks. The female teacher is the foremost example of professional women and utmost symbol of modernization. Other than female teachers, women were rarely represented as carrying out professional jobs in the public sphere. Almost all of the jobs and professions in the textbooks were presented as occupied by men. In the passage titled "Choosing Jobs," from a language reader for second grade published in 1934, various jobs and professions are introduced. In this reading passage only tailoring is presented as an occupation for both men and women; tailor defined as "The woman and man who cut and sew the clothes is called tailor."[136] In fact, tailoring/sewing is regarded as the ordinary housework of every woman. In another passage where jobs and professions are introduced, from a language reader for third grade published in 1935 by the Ministry of Culture, they are again presented only with respect to boys.[137]

Other than few sentences here and there, the women working in the factories, ateliers, and/or houseworkers do not exist in textbooks. Women workers were hidden in the margins. For example, nursemaids have an ambivalent position; their presence is neither denied nor accepted. Their existences were implied only with one or two sentences in a couple of reading passages in the language readers for second, third and fourth grade published in 1934, and in a reader for first grade published in 1936.[138] Yet they were not discussed or represented; their identities are unknown. A similar situation existed with respect to houseworkers. They were made visible through the budgetary allocations presented in the family study textbooks. One becomes aware of their existences also through reading passages like the one titled "A Little Housewife" in a language reader for fourth grade published in 1929. Here the child explains her reason of acting like a housewife and helping her mother through her father's insufficient

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[136] Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 2*, 44.

[137] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1935), 49. For the same passage, see also. T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1945), 64-65.

[138] See for example, İçsel and İçsel, *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, İlk Mektep İkinci Sınıf*, 44-45; Ertaylan, *Kıraat Dersleri, Sınıf 3*, 101-104, Ertaylan, *Kıraat Dersleri, Sınıf 4*, 161-162; T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, Birinci Sınıf* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1936), 80-82.

(material) power cannot employ a housekeeper.[139] While women workers were treated as non-existent, respect for the male workers was demanded.[140]

4.1.2. The 1948-1968 Period:

In the aftermath of World War II, in the new bipolar world of the post-war era, influencing and directing social and political change in the so-called Third World became the main foreign policy concern of the two opposite poles of the new world system: the United States and the Soviet Union. Development and democracy became the catchwords of the day. As the military alignments and alliances were legitimized as serving national security and defense needs, policies of aid and assistance, whether military or economic, were rationalized as serving the development and emancipation of the countries. With respect to the US, Gendzier states that "The notion of Development, as an expression of policies designated to channel social and economic change in the Third World, emerged in roughly the same period as US policy makers reassessed their position in the non-Western and non-industrialized worlds of Latin America, the Mediterranean, Africa, the Middle East and the Far East."[141] As development programs became firmly fixed in the US foreign policy agenda, academic interest also focused in the problems of underdevelopment, as well as social and political change in the Third World. The modernization perspective of the post-World War II era was defined along these conditions. Modernization was taken as behavior and value change, and specified as economic development and institutional change, which was to be followed by democracy. The importance of elites and military in realizing change and development, and maintaining order and stability throughout these processes were consistently emphasized.[142]

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[139] İçsel and İçsel, *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, İlk Mektep Dördüncü Sınıf*, 102-105.

[140] As mentioned earlier, not only are their jobs explained and praised, and being a (male) worker is normalized by stating that everybody is supposed to be occupied with something to substantiate his living. See Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 4*, 224-228; Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Üçüncü Sınıf*, 29-30.

[141] Irene L. Gendzier, *Managing Political Change: Social Scientists and the Third World* (Boulder, London: Westview Press, 1985), 22.

[142] Ibid., 155-195.

Besides these changes in the international arena, the developments in Turkey following World War II also have the mark of country specific conditions -- which were in part the consequences of the developments in the prior era and in part the deliberate and conscious choices of the ruling elite of the time. In Turkey, the years from mid-1940s onwards were characterized by experiments with democracy, starting with the multiparty elections in 1946, followed by the election victory of Democratic Party and its successive governments from 1950 onwards that came to a halt with the military coup of 1960. The Democratic Party's success in the elections can be regarded as the victory of the periphery against the center, and one might expect a counter-movement, since the modernization project was hardly welcomed by the periphery. However, this has not been the case. The country's alignment with the US enabled the modernization perspective to dominate in Turkey through military and economic alliances, aid and assistance programs. Modernization was taken as behavioral change, and involved economic development which was to be followed by democracy. As Turkey was presented as a successful example of these projects, the modernization discourse of the early Republican ruling elite was embraced, albeit with changes. While the efforts of Westernization continued with its emphasis on the middle class values, now there was also an acknowledgement of Islam and use of Islamic symbols and wording.

Between the 1948-1968 textbooks, the middle-class man was again represented as the ideal civilized subject, carrying on a civilizing mission. He was the wise, educated, and enlightened man, embodying rationality and positivism. In the passages in the life science textbook for third grade published in 1953, this man is shown playing chess with his son, explaining to his son what a bank is, or driving with his little girl and telling her about, for example, the car, train, and speed.[143] In another life science textbook published in 1955 for first grade students, the father provides explanations to his son about the seasons.[144] In a passage in a language reader for third grade published four years later, the father tells his son about the stars.[145]

The external appearance of this man was still the same; as in the prior period, he was again presented without moustache or beard, dressed in a trouser suit, wearing a tie and, occasionally, a hat. For instance, the cover of a life science textbook for second

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[143] İrge, *Hayat Bilgisi, Sınıf 3, Okuma Parçaları* (Ankara: Güney Matbaacılık ve Gazetecilik T. A. O. , 1953), 7, 64-65, 54-55, respectively.

[144] Arkın, *Hayat Bilgisi, İlk Okuma 1*, 62.

[145] Hikmet İlaydın, *Okuma Kitabı Üçüncü Sınıf,* 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1959), 68.

grade published in 1949 has an illustration of a father dressed in a suit, also with a hat and coat, taking his son and daughter to school (see illustration 10).[146] The passage titled "Traveling by Plane," published in a fourth grade language reader in 1956, and also in a fifth grade language reader in 1959, presents a similar picture with respect to the image of the (male) middle class civilized subjects of the Republic.[147] In the illustrations accompanying these passages, the men inside a plane are shown as dressed in suits with ties (see illustration 11). Although hat was established as the symbol of civilization and made mandatory with the hat laws of 1925, since the hat was to be taken off in indoors, it was the tie that became the ultimate symbol – representing the rein of civilization both in outdoors and indoors, and in the public and private spheres.

Although the middle-class man represented the ideal civilized subject, since the nation-state was to be configured on the brotherhood of men, forming such a solidarity required accepting the existence of other men, yet only as long as they were in compliance with the cultural ideal. As in the prior period, these other men were generally personified as the farmers/peasants, artisans, and workers. They were after all economic actors. The passage titled "Happiness from Nothing," published in a language reader in 1956 for fifth grade, represented one of these men, presumably a worker. In the illustration accompanying the passage, this man was shown as dressed in old but clean trousers, vest and jacket, yet without a tie. He is pictured sitting at a small table near the stove in his house, drinking his tea after a hard day's work (see illustration 12).[148]

As can be seen in the passage in a fifth grade language reader published in 1956, modernization endeavors continued to focus on external appearances. As in the previous period, men's attire was still a significant issue. In this passage, a comparison was made between the old and recent times, and the clothes that (male) children wore before the Republican times were denigrated. The text stated that: "…We were like dwarfs who would get up on stage to do ridiculous things. Some of us would wear dresses, and caps [*takke*]. ... They made us look like caricatures."[149]

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[146] Akısan, *İlkokul İkinci Sınıf Hayat Bilgisi Kitabı, Ekim* (İstanbul: Şaka Matbaası, 1949).

[147] T. C. Maarif Vekaleti, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı, Dördüncü Sınıf,* 1st ed. (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1956), 23; İlaydın, *Okuma Kitabı, Beşinci Sınıf* (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1959), 72. This passage and the accompanying illustration can also be seen the fourth grade language reader published in 1968.

[148] T. C. Maarif Vekaleti, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı, Beşinci Sınıf,* 1st ed. (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1956), 56-57.

[149] Ibid., 2-3. This passage also existed in the 1958 and 1961 versions of the textbook.

Modern men were signified as fathers, and empowered as the head of family. Being economic actors, all men were supposed to provide for their families. As can be seen in the reading passage in a teachers' guide book for first grade published in 1952, a division of labor based on the practice of separate spheres and the ideology of domesticity was put forward: "Everybody has a job in the family. My mother works in the house. My father works outside; earns money, provides for the household expenses. He takes care of us."[150] The scene presented with this example was indeed quite similar to the prior period.

Between 1948 and 1968, the modern woman was defined first and foremost as being a mother. Modern women-mothers were generally presented as fashionable yet plainly dressed, educated middle-class women. For instance, in the illustration in a first grade language reader published in 1958, mother is shown as a fashionably dressed woman in high-heeled shoes sitting in a chair with her hair made-up, and knitting a sweater for her son (see illustration 13).[151] Another illustration, in a second grade language reader published in 1959 presented a similar image of the mother. This was again a fashionably dressed woman with short hair and lipstick, wearing a short-sleeved blouse, a medium-length skirt, and high-heeled shoes (see illustration 14).[152] The length of skirt has indeed been an important symbol of the dichotomy between modern and traditional, setting the lines between promiscuity and chastity. While a long skirt symbolized being traditional and/or conservative, a short one was not necessarily modern, and in fact, could be the mark of promiscuity.[153]

Yet the mothers presented in the language reader published in 1965 for third grade students were more plainly, in fact, conservatively, dressed. For instance, the illustration showing a mother giving medicine to her child, pictures a woman wearing a blouse tight around the neck with long sleeves, and a long skirt. She has no make-up, yet wears high-heeled shoes (see illustration 15).[154] In this textbook, the illustrations showing

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[150] Hasip A. Aytuna, *Faal Metoda Göre Hayat Bilgisi Öğretmen Kitabı, Sınıf:1* (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 1952), 54.

[151] T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı, Birinci Sınıf,* 1st ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1958), 16

[152] T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, İkinci Sınıf* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1959), 13.

[153] Kadıoğlu, "Alaturkalık ile İffetsizlik Arasında Birey Olarak Kadın," *Görüş*, May 9 1993, 58-62; Afsaneh Najmabadi, "Hazards of Modernity and Morality: Women, State and Ideology in Contemporary Iran," in *Women, Islam and the State*, ed. Deniz Kandiyoti (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991).

[154] T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf,* 7th ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1965), 22.

other mothers are similar to this one (see illustration 16).[155] This alteration may point to status and class differences, and the extension of middle class behavioral modes to other classes. In fact, the same textbook also shows a similar mother figure while sewing, to make new clothes from the old ones, and praises her as talented and thrifty (see illustration 17).[156]

Making new clothes from the old ones, thriftiness and housework skills were indeed taught to all women irrespective of their status. Being a modern woman included training in child rearing and housework (including how to decorate a house) thus, a skilled mother-housewife. As these skills were taught mainly through family studies textbooks, such textbooks also instructed socially acceptable behaviors, e.g., how to walk in the street, how to greet others, how to welcome guests to how to set a dinner table.[157] Instructions were even given through reading passages where little girls were presented as playing house – accepting visitors to their presumed houses, setting the table for the visitors, greeting them, etc.[158]

For all women, motherhood was presented as including care-taking, and various forms of housework. As in a life science textbook published in 1959, motherhood was signified with washing laundry.[159] In a poem from a first grade language reader published in 1958, a little girl presented herself as the mother of her doll, and explained this as doing whatever her baby needs, such as washing and sewing her cloths.[160] There are also other examples similar to this one, showing little girls acting as mothers, in the language readers published in 1956, and 1959.[161]

With the modern women constructed along the limits of a skilled mother and housewife, the division of labor, which was supposed to make society both modern and

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[155] Ibid., 43 and 48

[156] Ibid., 40.

[157] Şevki Erkson and Ayhan Erkson, *İlkokullarda Aile Bilgisi Dersleri 4* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1950); Erkson and Erkson, *İlkokullarda Aile Bilgisi Dersleri 5* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1950); Nimet Çalapala, *Aile Bilgisi, İlkokul 4* (İstanbul: Atlas Yayınevi, 1953); Çalapala, *Aile Bilgisi, İlkokul 5* (İstanbul: Atlas Yayınevi, 1954); Osman Eğilmez and Leman Eydor, *Aile Bilgisi Sınıf 4* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1957); Eğilmez and Eydor, *Aile Bilgisi Sınıf 5* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1957).

[158] Arkın, *Hayat Bilgisi, İlk Okuma 1*, 24, 27-28.

[159] Ötüken, *İlkokullar İçin Hayat Bilgisi 2* (İstanbul: Ders Kitapları Ticaret Limitet Şirketi, 1959), 85.

[160] T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı, Birinci Sınıf,* 1st ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1958), 29-30.

[161] T. C. Maarif Vekaleti, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı, Beşinci Sınıf,* 1st ed. (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1956), 101-104; İlaydın, *Okuma Kitabı Dördüncü Sınıf,* 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1959), 67-70; İlaydın, *Okuma Kitabı, Beşinci Sınıf* (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1959), 21-22.

organic, was put forward. Such a division of labor indeed brought the practice of separate spheres and the ideology of domesticity. In the passage published in a 1953 life science textbook, the scene depicted is not much different from earlier examples: the woman prepares dinner as her husband comes home from work, having done the shopping.[162] The scene depicted in another passage is more striking. This passage, published in the same life science textbook, presents a middle class house in their leisure time after dinner; while the boy plays chess with his father, the older sister and the mother are knitting, and the younger one is embroidering and playing the piano.[163]

Women, carrying out professional jobs in the public space, were those without husbands -- usually presented as widows who were in need of money.[164] Almost all of the jobs and professions in the textbooks were occupied by men. In the life science textbook published in 1953, a reading passage introduced a group of children. As the passage signified their attributes, it also presented their prospective jobs/professions, which were supposedly in line with their attributes. Only one girl amongst these children was portrayed in a profession, namely tailoring.[165] As in the earlier times, female teachers were the prime example of modern professional women. Besides teachers, the passages titled "Traveling by Plane" published in the language readers of 1956, 1959 and 1965 introduced a new working woman – the hostess-- who at the same time looked quite modern.[166]

In the textbooks published between 1948 and 1968, the modern woman was shown as educated women teaching their children how to read and write, and informing them about physical (natural) and social world.[167] Women were also supposed to engage with the moral education of the children and guide them. Yet as different from the prior period, in the fourth grade language textbook published in 1956, these women were also

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[162] İrge, *Hayat Bilgisi, Sınıf 3, Okuma Parçaları* (Ankara: Güney Matbaacılık ve Gazetecilik T. A. O., 1953), 126.

[163] Ibid., 6-8.

[164] See for example, İlaydın, *Okuma Kitabı Dördüncü Sınıf,* 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1959), 33-34.

[165] İrge, *Hayat Bilgisi, Sınıf 3, Okuma Parçaları* (Ankara: Güney Matbaacılık ve Gazetecilik T. A. O., 1953), 10-11.

[166] T. C. Maarif Vekaleti, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı, Dördüncü Sınıf,* 1st ed. (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1956), 23; İlaydın, *Okuma Kitabı, Beşinci Sınıf* (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1959), 72; T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf,* 7th ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1965), 34.

[167] İrge, *Hayat Bilgisi, Sınıf 3, Okuma Parçaları* (Ankara: Güney Matbaacılık ve Gazetecilik T. A. O, 1953), 114-116, and 157-160.

portrayed as women who "prays" for the successful education and career of their children.[168]

4.1.3. The 1968-1981 Period:

In the aftermath of the 1968 curriculum revisions, the textbooks continued to present the middle-class man as the ideal civilized subject of the Republic. The external appearance of this man was signified with a trouser suit and a tie, even when relaxing in the house, as can be seen in the illustration in the life sciences textbook published in 1970 (see illustration 18).[169] In this illustration, showing a middle class family having dinner at their house, all the family members, the father, the mother, and the two children (a boy and a girl) were dressed fashionably, and as the mother served dinner, the rest was sitting by the neatly set table. Another illustration, accompanying the passage titled "Getting Ready for Winter" in the life sciences textbook published in 1974, showed both a boy and a man (presumably his father) as dressed in trouser suits with ties.(see illustration 19).[170]

The life science textbook published in 1974 presented this modern man in another illustration, as sitting in an arm chair at his house, dressed in pants, wearing a shirt and a tie, and examining his son's report card (see illustration 20).[171] In fact, other than his external appearance, the middle class man was still signified as a father and the head of the family. He was the rational, educated, and enlightened man, involved with the education of his children. The passages showing the middle class man-father as playing chess with his son, still explaining his son what a bank is, or telling his son about the stars, continued to exit in the third grade life sciences textbooks and language readers published in 1970 and 1973.[172] The life science textbook published in 1970 had a

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[168] T. C. Maarif Vekaleti, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı, Dördüncü Sınıf,* 1st ed. (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1956), 28 and 30. For the original text see appendix.

[169] İrge, *Hayat Bilgisi Okuma Parçaları, Sınıf 3,* 17th ed. (İstanbul: İnkılap ve Aka Kitabevleri, 1970), 129.

[170] Ötüken, *İlkokullar İçin Hayat Bilgisi 2* (İstanbul: Ulun Yayınevi, 1974), 56.

[171] Ibid., 130.

[172] Respectively, İrge, *Hayat Bilgisi Okuma Parçaları, Sınıf 3,* 17th ed. (İstanbul: İnkılap ve Aka Kitabevleri, 1970), 9-10 and 57-58, İlaydın, *Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1970), 68, İlaydın, *Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf,* 3rd ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1973), 68.

passage written in the form of a letter from father to son, where the father advised his son to be polite and respectful, and pay utmost attention to his manners on the public sphere. The letter continued: "…The education of the people of a country becomes evident through their manners in the street. Don't forget this, my child."[173]

Although the middle-class man formed the ideal, peasants, farmers, artisans, and workers were the other men presented in the textbooks.[174] They were first of all economic actors. Each man was also configured as a father, through which he was empowered as head of the family. This was indeed openly stated in the textbooks:

> In the family, our fathers, mothers and we [the children], all, have separate duties. The father is the head of the family. Our fathers, and mothers of some of us, work in a job and earn money. They provide our household expenses with this money. Our mothers clean the house, wash the laundry, and do the necessary sewing and cook our meals.[175]

As can be seen this passage published in life science textbook in 1977, the practice of separate spheres was still in place. Being the major economic actor, man was to provide for the family, while woman, even if she earns money, was limited with the ideology of domesticity.

Peasants had a special place among the visible men of the textbooks published between 1968 and 1981. The peasant family, as different from the urban families, which were represented as nuclear families, was presented as an extended family. However, the division of labor was basically the same as in the urban families: males were again presented as doing the real work, this time in the fields. In the life science textbook published in 1977, peasant men were portrayed as the most industrious people of the nation, and the text ended with the following statement: "As Atatürk had said, this country's real masters are the peasants."[176]

Between 1968 and 1981, in the textbooks, the modern women were defined as being both mothers and housewives. The life science textbook published in 1974 illustrated this modern women-mother in a fashionable yet plain dress, with her hair

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[173] İrge, *Hayat Bilgisi Okuma Parçaları, Sınıf 3* (İstanbul: Inkılap ve Aka Kitabevleri, 1970), 46.

[174] See for example, İrge, *Hayat Bilgisi Okuma Parçaları, Sınıf 3,* 17th ed. (İstanbul: İnkılap ve Aka Kitabevleri, 1970), 39, Ziya Sırmatel, and Aliyar Karaca, *Hayat Bilgisi Ünitelere Kaynak Kitap 2* (Ankara: Koza Kitapçılık, 1973), 102, 103, Hüseyin Hüsnü Tekışık, *Hayat Bilgisi Ünitelere Kaynak Kitap 3* (Ankara: Rehber Yayınları, 1977), 110-121.

[175] Tekışık, *Hayat Bilgisi Ünitelere Kaynak Kitap 3*, 25-26.

[176] Ibid., 119.

made-up (see illustration 21).[177] These modern mothers were generally presented as fashionable yet modestly dressed, educated middle-class women, skilled in child rearing and housework. Since family study courses at the primary school level were abandoned with the 1968 curriculum, it can be argued that the emphases on being a scientifically-oriented mother and housewife, and the "civilized" modes of conduct and behavior were reduced. Yet by this time, even though these practices and modes of conduct were not necessarily disseminated to the entire society, they were already normalized. In fact, instructions for being a skilled mother and housewife were still given through reading passages, as the ones in the language readers published in 1969 and 1978, where little girls were presented acting as mothers and playing house.[178]

The division of labor, which indeed brought the practice of separate spheres and the ideology of domesticity, was presented in the textbooks as making the society modern and organic, and signified as the norm. This division of labor was summarized in a poem in the life science textbook published in 1970 as the following: "My father goes to work everyday / My mother serves in the house / We study at the school."[179] The reading passages presenting this division of labor in the life science textbook published in 1953 continued to exist in this textbook published in 1970.[180] Another passage depicting a family after dinner in the same textbook presented a similar scene: "My father started reading his newspaper, my sister began studying geography. My mother began sewing, and my grandmother was knitting."[181]

The middle class mother was portrayed, as in the language reader published in 1974, teaching her children about physical (natural) and social world, and the vices of ignorance.[182] Again women were presented as obliged to engage with the moral education of the children and guide them. As a continuation of the prior period, in the

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[177] Ötüken, *İlkokullar İçin Hayat Bilgisi 2* (İstanbul: Ulun Yayınevi, 1974), 78.

[178] İlaydın, *Okuma Kitabı, Dördüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1969), 67-70, İlaydın, *Okuma Kitabı, Dördüncü Sınıf,* 6th ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1978), 67-70.

[179] İrge, *Hayat Bilgisi Okuma Parçaları, Sınıf 3,* 17th ed. (İstanbul: İnkılap ve Aka Kitabevleri, 1970), 42.

[180] Ibid., 9-10 and 110-111, respectively. These passages were removed in the 1953 version of the textbook.

[181] Ibid., 39.

[182] Ötüken, *İlkokullar İçin Hayat Bilgisi 2* (İstanbul: Ulun Yayınevi, 1974), 125.

fourth grade language textbook published in 1968, praying became an attribute, and they not only wish and guide, but at the same time pray for their children.[183]

The women other than middle-class mother-housewives were presented in the textbooks, and the peasant women were the most visible ones. These women were either women-mothers, girls, or grandmothers. All these women were confined by domesticity. While men were doing the real work in the fields, these women were depicted as providing support functions for the men in the fields, in addition to fulfilling their primary duties of housework and child-rearing.[184]

Although women were still confined by domesticity, now, women having jobs and professions were acknowledged, though not regarded as the norm. The female teacher continued to be the prime example of modern professional woman. Besides her, new professional women, such as nurses[185] and doctors[186] were now seen in the life sciences textbooks published in 1973, 1974, and 1977. This was indeed a change, albeit small, when compared with the prior periods. In fact, reading passages such as the one in the life science textbook published in 1953, introducing a group of children and their prospective jobs and professions continued to exist in the 1970 version of the textbook, again presenting only one girl from these children as suitable for a profession (tailoring).[187] Women workers continued to be presented as widows in need of money.[188] Nevertheless, the passage titled "Traveling by Plane" also continued to exist in the language reader published in 1968, introducing hostess as a new working woman.[189]

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[183] T. C. Maarif Vekaleti, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı, Dördüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1968), 28, and 30. For the original text see appendix.

[184] Tekışık, *Hayat Bilgisi Ünitelere Kaynak Kitap 3*, 111.

[185] Sırmatel and Karaca, *Hayat Bilgisi Ünitelere Kaynak Kitap 2*, 63; Tekışık, *Hayat Bilgisi Ünitelere Kaynak Kitap 3*, 97

[186] Sırmatel and Karaca, *Hayat Bilgisi Ünitelere Kaynak Kitap 2*, 83, Ötüken, *İlkokullar İçin Hayat Bilgisi 2* (İstanbul: Ulun Yayınevi, 1974), 50-51.

[187] İrge, *Hayat Bilgisi Okuma Parçaları, Sınıf 3,* 17th ed. (İstanbul: İnkılap ve Aka Kitabevleri, 1970), 12-13.

[188] İlaydın, *Okuma Kitabı, Dördüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1969), 33-34; İlaydın, Okuma Kitabı, *Dördüncü Sınıf*, 6th ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1978), 33-34.

[189] T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı, Dördüncü Sınıf,* 13th ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Basımevi, 1968), 23.

4.1.4. The 1981-2000 Period:

Between 1981 and 2000, textbooks no longer presented the middle-class man, the civilized subject, as the cultural ideal. In order to attain solidarity among men, and to broaden the basis of the existing order, the men presented in the textbooks referred to a much wider spectrum. These men were the farmers/peasants, workers, artisans, civil servants, merchants. The peasants were again quite significant figures; as before, there was a whole unit in the life science textbooks about village and peasants.

Fatherhood was the significant attribute of all these men, empowering them as the head of family. As stated in the life science textbook published in 1991: "The father is the head of the family. The mother helps him."[190] In the life science textbook published in 1985, the passage titled "Our Houses-Our Families" presented an illustration of a family, in which the father and the family was depicted rather different than the prior examples (see illustration 22). This was a family composed of a father, mother, grandfather, grandmother and three children. The father was only wearing pants and shirt, without a tie, had a moustache, whereas the mother and grandmother were wearing headscarves.[191] The same textbook also had other similar illustrations of families. In the life science textbook published in 1991, another passage, "House and Family," listed *gecekondu* as among these houses.[192] In fact, between 1981 and 2000, unlike the prior periods, men were not shown in the textbooks as dressed in fashionable suits and hats. Most of the time, they were presented as dressed in modest and plain outfits, and as having moustaches. They were occasionally illustrated without jackets and ties.

Most of the visible women of the textbooks published between 1981 and 2000 were again mothers and housewives. They were supposed to be skilled in these duties, yet now their status, class and external appearances varied. They were no more depicted as thin and fit women wearing fashionable clothes, high-heeled shoes, and make-up even when doing housework. As in the life science textbooks published in 1985, they

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[190] T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Hayat Bilgisi İlkokul 3* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991), 188. See also Nurgün Şahin, and Aziz Şahin, *İlköğretim Sosyal Bilgiler 4* (İstanbul: Salan Yayınları, 1995), 226-227. For the original text see appendix.

[191] Vedat Öğün, *İlkokul Hayat Bilgisi 3* (Ankara: Öğün Yayınları, 1985), 18.

[192] T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Hayat Bilgisi İlkokul 3,* 26.

can be seen wearing headscarves (see illustrations 23, 24).[193] In the life science textbook published in 1991, the women portrayed were wearing modest and plain clothes, not closely fitting their bodies' figures (see illustrations 25, 26, 27).[194] The same textbook presented a full-figured mother-housewife, causally and plainly dressed, looking after her baby, and also another mother-housewife as wearing working clothes, a headscarf and an apron, while hanging the clothes she washed (see illustrations 28, 29).[195] The language reader published in 1998 also had an illustration of a mother-housewife dressed in a long dress wearing slippers (see illustration 30).[196]

In the textbooks published between 1981 and 2000, the discourse of separate spheres and its accompanying division of labor were still in place. The woman's primary duty was child rearing and doing housework. As stated in the life science textbook published in 1991:

> Everybody has a duty in the family. The father governs the family. The mother helps him. The father works in order to provide the well-being of the family. The mother deals with the housework. She cooks the meals and does the cleaning. In some families, the mother also works in order to provide support for the well-being of the family.[197]

As can be seen in this passage, women, although not a frequent practice, could work outside of the house. However, their work was marginalized as "support."[198]

Women working in the public sphere were acknowledged; they were represented as teachers, doctors, nurses, policewomen, lawyers, judges, and civil servants.[199] Nevertheless, as stated in the life science textbook published in 1991, having such a profession does not result in becoming freed from housework: "The mother and father work in order to provide for the household expenses. Lots of women do both housework and work in various jobs."[200] Although there was some alteration in the division of labor in these years, the gender roles remained the same. Women were now placed under a double burden of working both outside and, at the same time, inside of the house.

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[193] Öğün, *İlkokul Hayat Bilgisi 3*, 18, 26, 118.

[194] T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Hayat Bilgisi İlkokul 3,* 25, 26, 33.

[195] Ibid., 28, 116, respectively.

[196] T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *İlköğretim Türkçe Ders Kitabı 3,* 8th ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1998), 99.

[197] T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Hayat Bilgisi İlkokul 3*, 28.

[198] See also Şahin, and Şahin, *İlköğretim Sosyal Bilgiler 4,* 226-227.

[199] Ibid., 124, 186, 188.

[200] Ibid., 188.

4.2. The Bound Modern Self

The concept of individual is one of the basic concepts of European modernity, defined along the notions reason, freedom, equality, interest and rights. The Enlightenment idea as the basis of European modernization depends upon the notion of individual -- who is able to be critical and has freed himself from tutelage.[201] However, the generic individual was specified as man: Man was regarded as the sole bearer of intellect and reason, the creator and the engine of civilization, and endowed with rights. The prospects defined for women by some, if not most, of the Enlightenment philosophies and the prominent figures of European modernization were not necessarily in line with these attributes of the individual. Women symbolized not the mind but the spirit, and were regarded not rational but romantic, equated not to civilization but to nature, and endowed not with rights but with duties. Nevertheless, the modern era in Europe has been one throughout which men and women have been subjected to both disciplinary and emancipatory processes. As well as being affected by, they were also the actors, and even the initiators, of these processes which worked to regulate, limit, and, at the same time, empower people, signifying them as individuals having primacy over the community.

The modernization project of the early Republican ruling elite, requiring men and women of the new nation-state in Turkey to be reconfigured in the image of their Western counterparts, was a "revolution of values" undertaken for the creation of a modern society. The modernization project evolved mainly as a disciplinary process, with tutelage being at its very heart. The nation-formation processes further restrained the empowering aspects of modernization, prioritizing the family and national community over the individuals. People were bound along the axes of gratefulness-obedience-sacrifice, and designated primarily to disciplinary rather than emancipatory process. For both men and women, the causes of sacrifice were designated as the family and the nation-state. While men were to be grateful and obedient to the nation-state, for women this gratefulness and obedience was directed both towards the family and the

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[201] Immanuel Kant "Was ist Aufklarung?," in *The Politics of Truth*, ed. Sylvere Lotringer (New York: Semiotext(e), 1997), 7.

nation-state. Both of them were first and foremost citizens subordinating their individuality to the state, and/or to the family, as its micro-cosmos.[202] When domesticity was added to this pre-eminence of the community (the family or the nation), women became even further subordinated.

4.2.1. The 1928-1948 Period:

Between 1928 and 1948, in the textbooks used in Turkey, the new men were, first and foremost, economic actors. Men were supposed to work to stand on their own feet. As can be seen in a poem which was published in a fifth grade language reader in 1928, the thought of standing on one's own feet was regarded as "a manly thought."[203] Since the new men were at the same time supposed to be fathers, they worked not only to stand on their own feet, but also to make a living for their families. They were also economic actors having a utility for the national economy. Their work was, after all, for the satisfaction of the needs of society and nation, and for uplifting the motherland. In an introductory passage titled "The History of the Student" in the fourth grade history textbook published by the Ministry of Education in 1936, a couple of questions were asked to children about their backgrounds, about the child him/herself, about the father, grandfather, and brothers (with no mentioning of the mother), trying to create a sense of history. Among these questions one is quite striking: "What does your father do in order to earn money? If one works to earn money, is this beneficial for his nation and homeland?"[204] The same introductory text also existed in the 1944 version of the textbook.[205]

As shown in the previous section, the primary characteristic of the idealized modern middle-class man was being a family man; he was a father with a profession. Since setting the middle-class man as the sole example of ideal man would endanger the solidarity of men which was crucial for the new order that was to be based on the brotherhood of men, the borders of acceptable masculinities were delineated along the

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[202] Sirman, for expressing this subordination, introduces the term "familial citizenship." See Nükhet Sirman, "The Making of Familial Ctizenship," in *Citizenship in a Global World. European Questions and Turkish Experiences*, ed. E. Fuat Keyman and Ahmet İçduygu (London, New York: Routledge, 2005).

[203] This is actually a poem written by Mehmet Emin. Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Beşinci Sınıf*, 154-158.

[204] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 4. Sınıf*, 6.

[205] T. C. Maarif Vekilliği, *Tarih, 4. Sınıf* (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1944), 6.

notions of fatherhood and economic productivity. Each man was assured as the patriarch of a family, thus preventing the shattering of the patriarchy. Configured along these lines, as the all capable subject within the circle of the family, men were also to be the protectors of the family. A reading passage where a father "heroically" saves his children and wife from a burning house can be seen in a fifth grade language reader published in 1929, and in third and fifth grade language readers published in 1934. [206]

Besides middle-class males, the other visible men in the textbooks were signified as men with low-paid jobs requiring physical labor, strength, and perseverance. These men are portrayed as having well-built bodies, and laboring in a disciplined manner. In fact, the modern men were supposed to have healthy well-built bodies. Their physical endurance was necessary for the national duty of successful economic activity and military service. In the reading text titled "The Improvement of the Generation," published in a fifth grade language reader in 1929, the importance of boys' and men's health for the nation's economy and military service was emphasized.[207]

These other men were presented as being proud of their jobs, and doing them willingly. They were not discouraged by the problems they encountered, and could endure the hardships they come across while performing their jobs. Thus each man was a hero, due to hard-work, sacrifices, courage, and resoluteness. For example, a bricklayer is such a man who is also regarded a hero since he confronts a lot of difficulties and dangers in his work.[208] His story can be seen in a language reader for second grade published in 1929. As stated in a passage in a language reader for fourth grade published in 1934, this kind of work was considered as "working like a man."[209] Such a man, as signified in a passage published in 1933 in a language reader for third grade, was said to have "a manly heart;" a heart which can endure hard work.[210]

The new men were also portrayed as altruistic and helping people who were in worse conditions than themselves. At the same time, all men were supposed to be content and grateful with their place in the hierarchy and try not to question or challenge

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[206] See for example Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 5*, 28-30; İçsel and İçsel, *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, İlk Mektep Beşinci Sınıf*, 158-161; İçsel and İçsel, *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, İlk Mektep Üçüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitaphanesi, 1929; reprint, 1934), 82-84. In these reading passages a man "heroically" saves his children and wife from a burning house.

[207] İçsel and İçsel, *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, İlk Mektep Beşinci Sınıf*, 44-48. For the original text see appendix.

[208] See for example, Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, İkinci Sınıf*, 21-24.

[209] Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 4*, 102-103.

[210] Ertaylan, *Kıraat Dersleri, Sınıf 3*, 27-28.

it. For example, a passage titled "A Man Who is Content," published in a fourth grade language reader in 1929, presents a poor farmer who, while working all day and hardly earning any money, is content with his status. The man is also, at all costs, and selflessly, tries to help other people.[211]

In fact, from all these, the new men evolved as strong, heroic and selfless men; undertaking sacrifices to perform heroic deeds such as protecting or saving the weak. As seen above, within the circle of the family, the new men, besides symbolizing the rational part of the whole, also represented the all-capable actor. They were portrayed as the actors creating the livelihood of the family and protecting it at all costs. When the whole in question was the nation-state, the new men were presented as subordinated to it. They were to be grateful, obedient, and sacrificial with respect to the nation-state.[212] While the ideal men were delineated as bound along these lines, there were also men who were named as unworthy and made visible as counter models. They were represented as idle men, not disciplined, not working or doing their jobs properly, who drink alcohol and/or gamble. These men were designated as unworthy and were presented as counter models. They were the "bad men" who should be rejected by the society, and regarded as not loving their motherland and nation.[213]

In addition to the physical and educational contributions they were to make, the new women, reconfigured as modern mothers and housewives, were supposed to have a set of moral traits. In the language readers and life science textbooks between 1928 and 1946, the idealized middle-class woman was portrayed as hard-working, compassionate and sacrificing, not discouraged by hardships, endowed with love, and put everyone and everything above herself. These can be seen in the definition of mother given in a passage in a fifth grade language reader published in 1934. In this passage titled "Mother," a little girl describes her mother in the following way:

> She is everything… our guardian angel. She is the one who ties us together and makes us into one heart and soul. She gives us compassion; she has an endless patience, sweetness and goodness. When we are sick, she takes care of us, and makes incomprehensible sacrifices. She is the happiness of our house. ….. With her intelligence and hard-work, she manages to do all the

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[211] İçsel and İçsel, *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, İlk Mektep Dördüncü Sınıf*, 35-38.

[212] This subordination to the nation-state can also be seen in the analyses carried out in chapters 3 and 5.

[213] See for example, Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Dördüncü Sınıf*, 132-135; Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Beşinci Sınıf*, 110-113, 114-116; İçsel and İçsel, *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, İlk Mektep Beşinci Sınıf*, 84-85; İçsel and İçsel, *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, İlk Mektep İkinci Sınıf*, 42-43.

work, and provide everyone with what they need. In spite of all these sacrifices, she only expects one thing: To see us around her joyfully![214]

These characteristics and efforts were necessary to provide a bond of solidarity throughout the community - -defined either as the family and/or the nation. By adding the representations of the modern woman as happy, harmonious, and content to this picture, any possible changes in the set hierarchies were prevented. In fact, the middle-class woman was to be a successful part of the whole, whether this whole is the family or the nation. It was not possible for her to exist outside of these. Yet the existence of the middle-class woman was also a necessity for the existence of these wholes. She was a bridge connecting the parts, an element that realizes the unity and indivisibility, and was supposed to act as the heart of the whole. The borders and the hierarchy of the community were actualized and maintained over her. When domesticity was coupled with the pre-eminence of the community, the middle-class woman became configured as totally bound and far from being an individual. Although designed in the image of her Western counterpart, she ended up with much less empowering possibilities.

The other visible women in the textbooks were represented as subordinate yet in a relationship of complicity with middle-class woman by embracing the role of mother and housewife, and defined as hard-work, obedience, compassion and sacrifice. Like the middle class women, these women were selfless, and, furthermore they were, at times, pushed onto center stage their sacrifices. They were content with their status and attentive towards their duties. These women were patriotic, brave, and tough, able to encounter hardships and ready to make sacrifices for their family, nation, and homeland. They can become war heroines due to the sacrifices they make.[215] Other than these women, different and non-conformist women were rendered invisible in the textbooks.

4.2.2. The 1948-1968 Period:

The modernization perspective of the post-World War II era was developed in line with the US foreign policy agenda, and scholarship. Under the auspices of the

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[214] Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 5*, 15-16.

[215] See for example, İçsel and İçsel, *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, İlk Mektep Üçüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitaphanesi, 1929; reprint, 1934), 173-176, Peyami Safa, *Cumhuriyet Mekteplerine Kıraat, Sınıf 5* (İstanbul: Türk Neşriyat Yurdu, 1929), 142-153, 154-156.

modernization perspective, development became the primary concern. Democracy, though the catchword of the times, were only secondary to capitalist development. In realizing change and development, the emphasis was not on the individual but on elites and the military. Maintaining order and stability throughout the modernization endeavors was highlighted, "an expanded role for the military of Third World regimes, as well as for the US military forces, was strongly endorsed," and "military intervention was offered as an alternative to the prevailing chaos."[216] Through the alignment with the US, these perspectives became dominant in Turkey. Economic development (mainly agricultural development, through the mechanization of agriculture) became the major concern of modernization, and the individuation of the people was traded off for this good. While the efforts at Westernization continued, elites were still at the center of the modernization project. In textbooks, between 1948 and 1968, the new men and women were again formulated on the axes of gratefulness-obedience-sacrifice as bound selves. Although the concept of democracy was introduced into the textbooks, selflessness, unity, solidarity and order continued to be demanded from the people; the pre-eminence of the community was still in place.

Between 1948 and 1968, modern men continued to be portrayed first and foremost as economic actors, providing for their families and having a utility for the national economy. Their work was for the satisfaction of the needs of society, nation, and motherland. Besides being represented as civil servants and merchants, men were personified as peasants/farmers, workers, artisans; as having laborious jobs that require hard-work, and sacrifice. A passage in a third grade language reader published in 1959 introduced to the students one of these men, a fisherman, who worked all night long while thinking about his wife and child, and thus did not get tired or feel the cold.[217] The example of blacksmith was still a favored one, as can be seen in various language readers, such as the ones published in 1950, 1955, 1959, and 1965, and was used for putting forward the premise that work cannot be done without getting tired (see illustrations 31, 32, 33).[218]

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[216] Gendzier, *Managing Political Change*, 39. Gendizer shows the direct connections between national security concerns, foreign policy agendas, development studies and modernization literature. See, ibid, 22-79. For the relation between the US foreign policy, aid programs, military and modernization in Turkey, see Daniel Lerner and Richard D. Robinson, "Swords and Ploughshares: The Turkish Army as a Modernizing Force," *World Politics* 13, no.1 (1960), 19-44.

[217] İlaydın, *Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf,* 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1959), 14-15.

[218] T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1950), 11; T. C. Maarif Vekaleti, *Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf,* 1st ed. (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1955), 6; İlaydın,

As in the prior period, these men were heroes because of their hard-work, sacrifices, courage, and resoluteness. Besides being heroic and selfless, they were also disciplined, obedient, and content subjects. In fact, in the passage titled "Happiness from Nothing," published in a language reader in 1956 for fifth grade, the worker is presented, despite his deprived material conditions, as not only content, but also happy with his status and material conditions.[219]

The modern women, besides being reconfigured as scientifically-oriented and skilled mothers-housewives, were also portrayed as selfless, hard-working, and compassionate women, blessed with love and as failing to get discouraged over hardships. These sacrificing women are exemplified in the mother-housewife presented in a passage in the language textbook published in 1956. This woman, through her work and sacrifices, is able to provide a happy home for her children.[220] These attributes and efforts of the new women in fact provided not only the solidarity of the community -- as the family and/or the nation. Yet differing from the prior period, while the sacrifices of mothers were highly praised and taken as showing devotedness to their children, family and nation, they were also given religious meaning, and signified along religious themes, as can be seen in the language textbooks published in 1956 and 1965.[221]

4.2.3. The 1968-1981 Period:

During these years of turmoil, selflessness, unity, solidarity and order continued to be highlighted and demanded in the textbooks. The pre-eminence of the community was favored over the individual; modern men were again presented as economic actors providing for their families and the national economy. They were to be disciplined and obedient citizens. Yet the most selfless and at the same time content men were the ones who were personified as peasants/farmers, workers, artisans. Among the artisans,

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Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1959), 6; T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı, Birinci Sınıf,* 1st ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1958), 28-29 and 46; T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf,* 7th ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1965), 62.

[219] T. C. Maarif Vekaleti, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı, Dördüncü Sınıf,* 1st ed. (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1956), 56-57.

[220] Ibid., 29-30.

[221] Ibid., 28 and 30. For the original text see appendix. T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf,* 7th ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1965), 65.

blacksmith was still a favored example, as can be seen in the language readers published in 1970 and 1973 (see illustration 31). This figure was used for showing that jobs require hard-work, and sacrifice, and that work cannot be done without getting tired.[222] The passages in a third grade language readers published in 1970 and in 1973 presented to the students a fisherman who worked all night and did not even feel tiredness or the cold.[223] These men were regarded as heroes because of their hard-work, resoluteness and sacrifices. As can be seen in the life science textbook published in 1977, peasants were also considered among these industrious, selfless men.[224]

The middle class women, configured as the modern women along skilled motherhood and housewifery, again portrayed as selfless, hard-working and compassionate. As can be seen in the passage in language textbook published in 1968, through her work and sacrifices, this woman was able to provide a happy home for her children.[225] In another passage in life science textbook published in 1974, mothers were regarded as the symbols of love and loyalty.[226] The textbook, in the following pages, stated the following: "His father had a good job. They were well-off. His mother was a compassionate and docile woman. She dealt with the housework, worked endlessly in order to bring up her children."[227] In a passage, accompanied by an illustration of short haired, fashionably dressed woman sitting in an arm chair with her two children, in another life science textbook published in 1973, the child defined her mother in the following words: "She does everything in order to make me happy. She undertakes everything for this."[228] The sacrifices of mothers were highly praised and taken as showing their devotedness to their children, family and nation. The women were again formulated on the axes of gratefulness-obedience-sacrifice as bound selves. As a

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[222] İlaydın, *Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1970), 6; İlaydın, *Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf,* 3rd ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1973), 6.

[223] İlaydın, *Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1970), 14-15; İlaydın, *Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf,* 3rd ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1973), 14-15.

[224] Tekışık, *Hayat Bilgisi Ünitelere Kaynak Kitap 3*, 119.

[225] T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı, Dördüncü Sınıf,* 13th ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1968), 29-30.

[226] Ötüken, *İlkokullar İçin Hayat Bilgisi 2* (İstanbul: Ulun Yayınevi, 1974), 101.

[227] Ibid., 103.

[228] Sırmatel and Karaca, *Hayat Bilgisi Ünitelere Kaynak Kitap 2*, 163

continuation of the prior period, the passages where these sacrifices were given religious meaning also continued to exist in the language reader published in 1968.[229]

4.2.4. The 1981-2000 Period:

Between 1981 and 2000, despite the changes in the profiles of men and women that were presented in the textbooks, both men and women were defined as disciplined, obedient, and selfless. These were emphasized in order to create solidarity, and continued to restrain the empowering aspects of modernization. Other than individuation of the people, the pre-eminence of the community, now signified as unity, marked the modernization process.

As before, all men were supposed to be economic actors. As fathers, and heads of the families, they were supposed to work and provide the well-being of the family. As stated in the life science textbook published in 1985:

> Every house has its jobs such as cleaning, shopping, cooking, washing laundry and dishes. These jobs are done by the members of the family through a division of labor. The mother does the housework. If necessary she works at a job to provide support for the family budget. The father works at a job, and spends his earnings for the well-being of the family.[230]

These were again selfless men; their labors were not for themselves, but for the good of the family. This work was also for the good of the nation. For instance, in the life sciences textbook published in 1991, peasants were presented as "working for us." They were selfless and hardworking men, laboring in order to provide "our" necessities.[231]

All women, configured as being mothers and housewives, were supposed to be hardworking, compassionate, and sacrificing, not discouraged by hardships, endowed with love, and put everyone and everything above her. These can be seen in the passage titled "Mother's Hands" in a language reader published in 1998, where a little girl described the overburdened situation of her mother by transforming her into a super-human with many hands:

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[229] T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı, Dördüncü Sınıf,* 13th ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1968), 28 and 30. For the original text see appendix.

[230] Öğün, *İlkokul Hayat Bilgisi 3*, 22.

[231] T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Hayat Bilgisi İlkokul 3*, 162.

> With one of her hands my mother churns. With the other she holds a book.
> With the other she irons my father's jacket. With the other she cooks. With
> the other she combs my hair. … Two of her hands are for my father. … She
> has seven children. If you count two hands for each, it makes fourteen. Six
> hands are necessary for the kitchen and garden. Add two more hands for the
> poor…. Consider two more hands for praying. … It makes exactly twenty
> six hands. My mother has exactly twenty six hands.[232]

As can be seen from the above passage, women were still configured as bound selves, far from being all-capable actors and individuals. Another passage, from the life science textbook published in 1991, completes this picture. Love, compassion, and sacrifice were demanded from women in order to provide a bond of solidarity throughout the society:

> The woman is the basis of the family. … the woman organizes family life.
> She takes over important duties for the happiness of the family. The place
> and value of the woman in the society is even greater. The Turkish woman,
> both today and in the past, has given a lot services to society. … For Turks,
> the family is sacred and the basis of the society. The woman is the one who
> ties the family members to each other with love and respect. This is because
> the Turkish woman is sacrificing.[233]

As seen above, women were indeed utilized as bridges creating the unity of the community, whether this unity was the family or the nation, through their services and sacrifices.

4.3. Conclusion

The analyses of textbooks presented here tried to provide insights into what modernization discourses included from the early years of state formation onwards, and along which lines they had been sustained throughout education. In Turkey, as seen in this analysis of textbooks, the boundaries of what is considered modern were defined along the image of the West, and presented as 'civility.' The limits of modernization were set according to middle-class images and behavior codes, with the practice of separate spheres and the ideology of domesticity being a part of these. The ideal civilized subject of the Republic was configured along these lines as the middle class

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[232] T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *İlköğretim Türkçe Ders Kitabı 3,* 101.

[233] T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Hayat Bilgisi İlkokul 3*, 186.

male. Other men were set in a relationship of complicity with the middle-class man through their embracement of the same values; while defined as enlightened and economically productive fathers, they were made the head of the family and empowered as the primary citizens. Women, both, empowered and restricted through the practice of domesticity, were subordinated to men, and defined as civilized subjects as long as they became scientifically-oriented and skilled mother-housewives.

The modernization project of the early Republican ruling elite was indeed undertaken with aim of the ultimate realization of a nation-state in the image of the West. This project, requiring men and women of the new nation-state to be reconfigured in the image of their Western counterparts, evolved as a disciplinary process. The overriding importance that was placed on the nation-formation process further restrained the empowering aspects of modernization, prioritizing family and nation over the people. Giving such a priority to the community, defined either as the nation or the family (the latter was indeed exerted as the basis of the former), at times, created contradictions with the images and codes that were being simulated. Thus through education, people were at the same time delimited, conditioned as bound selves, and defined primarily as citizens rather than individuals. As the prospects for individuation were hindered, it in turn constrained the horizons of modernization to images and external appearances of men and women. Thus the ideal men ended up as the primary civilized citizens, and bound actors in the sphere of the family, and objects in the sphere of the nation-state. They were to be selfless and heroic with respect to the family and the nation-state, and grateful and obedient towards the nation-state--ready to perform whatever is asked from them. For women, gratefulness, obedience and sacrifice were directed both to the family and the nation-state. As domesticity was coupled with the pre-eminence of the community, women became even further constrained.

The modernization project of the Kemalist ruling elite remained resilient despite the developments in Turkey in the aftermath of World War II. Their modernization discourse was embraced albeit with changes. The efforts of Westernization with its emphasis on the middle class values continued, despite limited introduction of Islamic symbolism and wording. Men were still the primary civilized subjects in the family and thus primary citizens of the nation-state, yet they were constrained with the family and treated as the objects of the nation-state. Women were subordinated to men through the practice of domesticity, as well as to the family and the nation. Their appearances now became more plain and modest, and they were not considered to be scientifically-

oriented but rather only skilled mother-housewives. In the textbooks published between 1968 and 1981, a change, albeit small, compared to the prior periods was the acknowledgment of women having jobs and professions. However, this was not regarded as the norm, and the primary duties of women were defined as child-rearing and housework.

Major modifications to the modernization project occurred after 1980. In order to attain solidarity among men, and to broaden the basis of the existing order, men presented in the textbooks referred to a much wider spectrum. Women were still portrayed in textbooks primarily as mothers and housewives; nevertheless, now their status, class and external appearances varied. There was also some alteration in the division of labor presented. Women working outside of the house were acknowledged. Women were now more visible and at times became primary actors. However, gender roles remained the same as before; women were placed under the double burden of working both outside and, at the same time, inside of the house.

These developments did not change the view of men and women, as bound selves. In fact, they underlined the limiting and disciplining parts of modernity. The existence of other men was realized only as long as men were in compliance with the defined motives and ideals of modernization discourse, and only if they were disciplined, obedient, and selfless. While women's work in the public sphere was marginalized as providing support to the family and/or service to the nation, the stress on the significance of family was increased. Thus both men and women were defined as increasingly grateful, obedient and sacrificial. These were emphasized in order to create solidarity and unity throughout the nation. As the pre-eminence of the community, now signified as unity, marked the modernization discourse and endeavors, people were further subordinated. Modernization, taken to be a project in relation to continuous nation-formation, ended up regulating the creation of grateful, obedient and sacrificial citizens, not individuals, with close ties to military, the details of which will be analyzed in the following chapter.

4.4. Illustrations to Chapter 4

Illustration 1: Çığıraçan, Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 2, 7th ed. (İstanbul: Türk Kitapçılığı Limitet Şirketi, 1934-1935), 122.
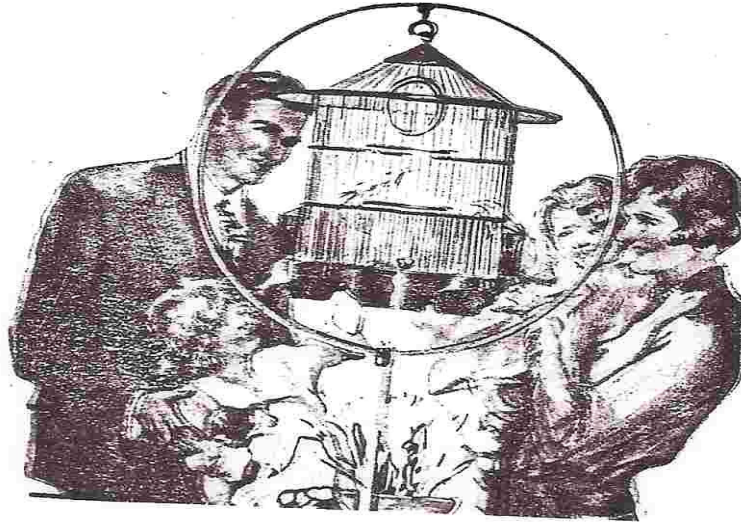
Illustration 2: Ertaylan, *Kıraat Dersleri, Sınıf 1* (İstanbul: Türk Kitapçılığı Limitet Şirketi, 1934-1935), 22; Ertaylan, *Kıraat Dersleri, Sınıf 3* (İstanbul: Türk Kitapçılığı Limitet Şirketi, 1933-1934), 179.

Illustration 3: Sertel, *Resimli Kıraat, İkinci Sınıf* (İstanbul: Türk Kitapçılığı Limitet Şirketi, 1934-1935), 9.

Illustration 4: Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 4* (İstanbul: Türk Kitapçılığı Limitet Şirketi, 1934-1935), 102.

Illustration 5: Ertaylan, *Kıraat Dersleri, Sınıf 3* (İstanbul: Türk Kitapçılığı Limitet Şirketi, 1933-1934), 88.

Annesi ona şu cevabı verdi:
— Okuma-yazma dediğimiz şey işte bu güneş ışığı gibidir. Okuma öğrenenler yeni yeni bilgiler kazanırlar.

Okumamışlara gelince, onlar karanlık bir yere kapatılmış adamlara benzerler. Herne olursa görmezler.

Illustration 6: T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, İkinci Sınıf* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1935), 61; T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, İkinci Sınıf,* 13th ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1945), 61.

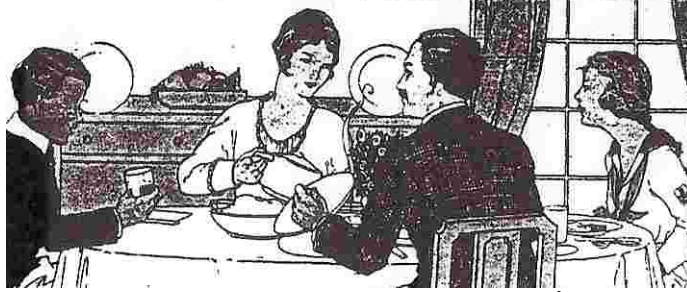Illustration 7: Sertel, *Resimli Kıraat, İkinci Sınıf* (İstanbul: Türk Kitapçılığı Limitet Şirketi, 1934-1935), 98.

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Illustration 8: Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 4* (İstanbul: Türk Kitapçılığı Limitet Şirketi, 1934-1935), 2.
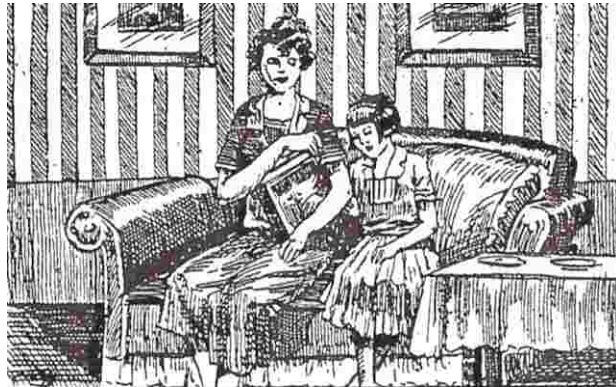
Illustration 9: İçsel and İçsel, *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, İlk Mektep İkinci Sınıf* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitaphanesi, 1928; reprint, 1934), 3.
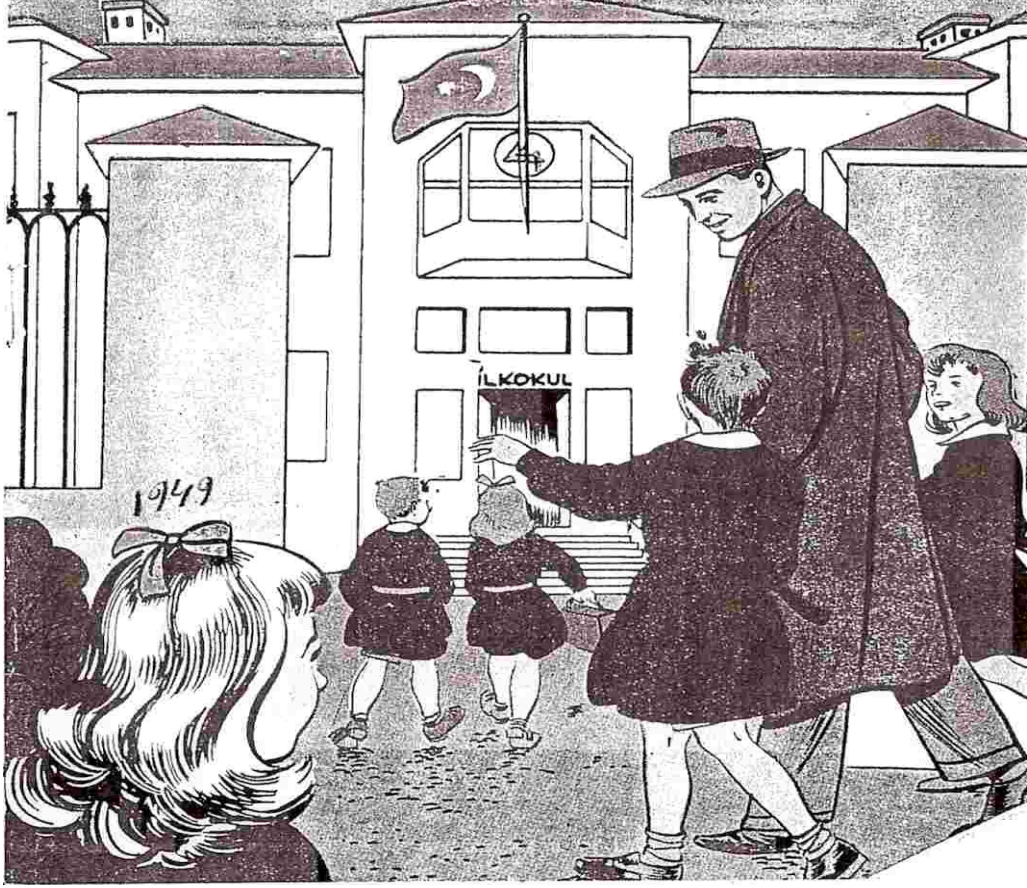
Illustration 10: Akısan, *İlkokul İkinci Sınıf Hayat Bilgisi Kitabı, Ekim* (İstanbul: Şaka Matbaası, 1949), cover.

Illustration 11: T. C. Maarif Vekaleti, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı, Dördüncü Sınıf,* 1st ed. (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1956), 23; İlaydın, *Okuma Kitabı, Beşinci Sınıf* (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1959), 72.

Illustration 12: T. C. Maarif Vekaleti, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı, Beşinci Sınıf,* 1ˢᵗ ed. (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1956), 56-57.

Illustration 13: T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı, Birinci Sınıf*, 1ˢᵗ ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1958), 16.

Illustration 14: T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, İkinci Sınıf* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1959), 13.

Illustration 15: T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf*, 7th ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1965), 22.

Illustration 16: T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf*, 7th ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1965), 43.

Illustration 17: T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf*, 7th ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1965), 40.
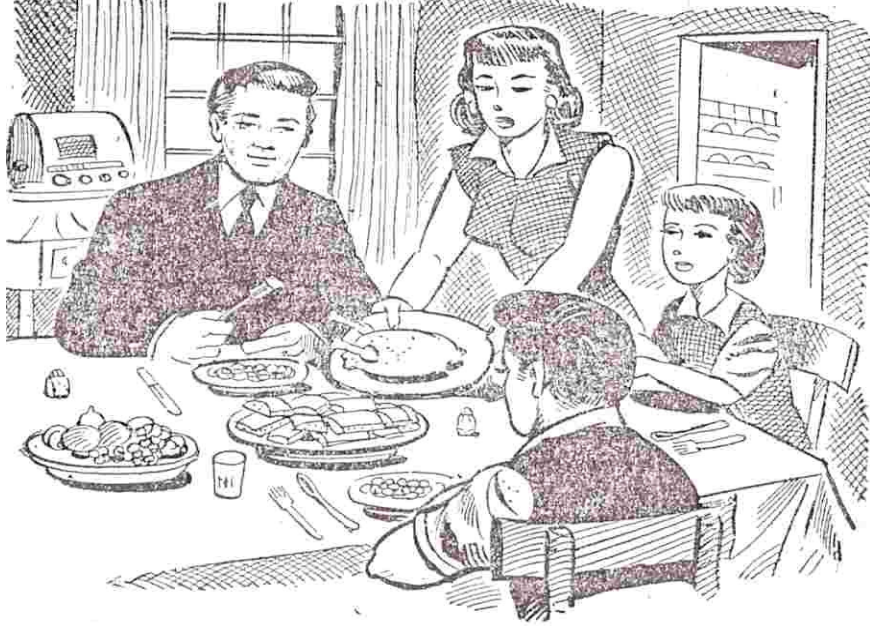
Illustration 18: İrge, *Hayat Bilgisi Okuma Parçaları, Sınıf 3,* 17th ed. (İstanbul: İnkılap ve Aka Kitabevleri, 1970), 129.
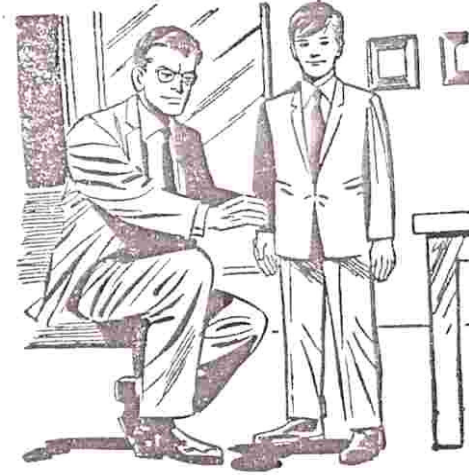
Illustration 19: Ötüken, *İlkokullar İçin Hayat Bilgisi 2* (İstanbul: Ulun Yayınevi, 1974), 56.

Illustration 20: Ötüken, *İlkokullar İçin Hayat Bilgisi 2* (İstanbul: Ulun Yayınevi, 1974), 130.

Illustration 21: Ötüken, *İlkokullar İçin Hayat Bilgisi 2* (İstanbul: Ulun Yayınevi, 1974), 78.
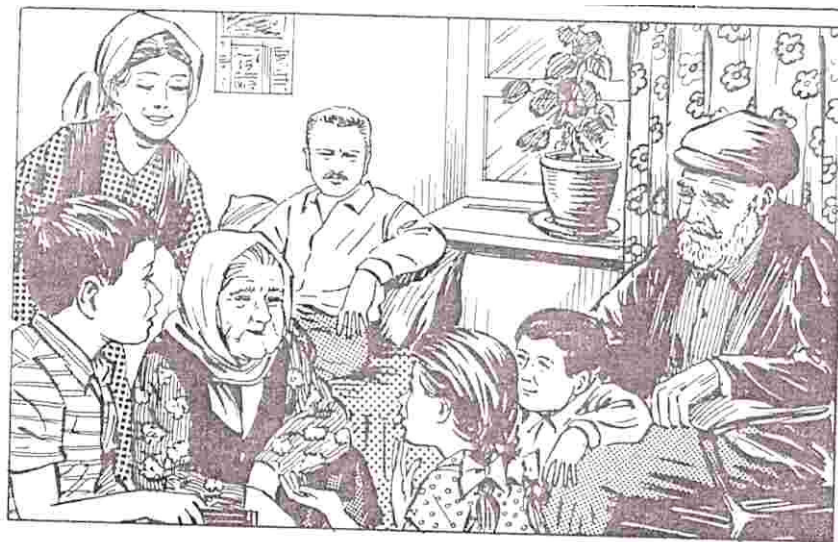
Bazı Evlerde Anne, Baba, çocuklardan Başka Büyükanne ve Dede Birlikte otururlar.

Illustration 22: Öğün, *İlkokul Hayat Bilgisi 3* (Ankara: Öğün Yayınları, 1985), 18.

Komşular Birbirlerini Ziyaret Eder, Küçükler Büyüklerin Ellerinden Öperler.

Illustration 23: Öğün, *İlkokul Hayat Bilgisi 3* (Ankara: Öğün Yayınları, 1985), 26.

Yemek Yerken Sofra Kurallarına Uymak Gerekir.

Illustration 24: Öğün, *İlkokul Hayat Bilgisi 3* (Ankara: Öğün Yayınları, 1985), 118.

Illustration 25: T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Hayat Bilgisi İlkokul 3* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991), 25.

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Illustration 26: T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Hayat Bilgisi İlkokul 3* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991), 26.
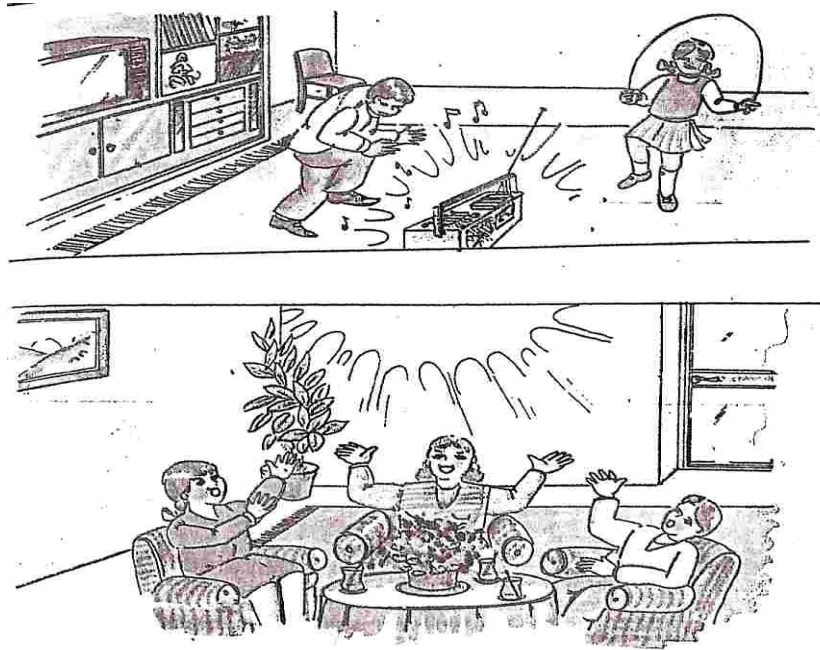
Illustration 27: T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Hayat Bilgisi İlkokul 3* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991), 33.

Illustration 28: T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Hayat Bilgisi İlkokul 3* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991), 28.

Illustration 29: T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Hayat Bilgisi İlkokul 3* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991), 116.
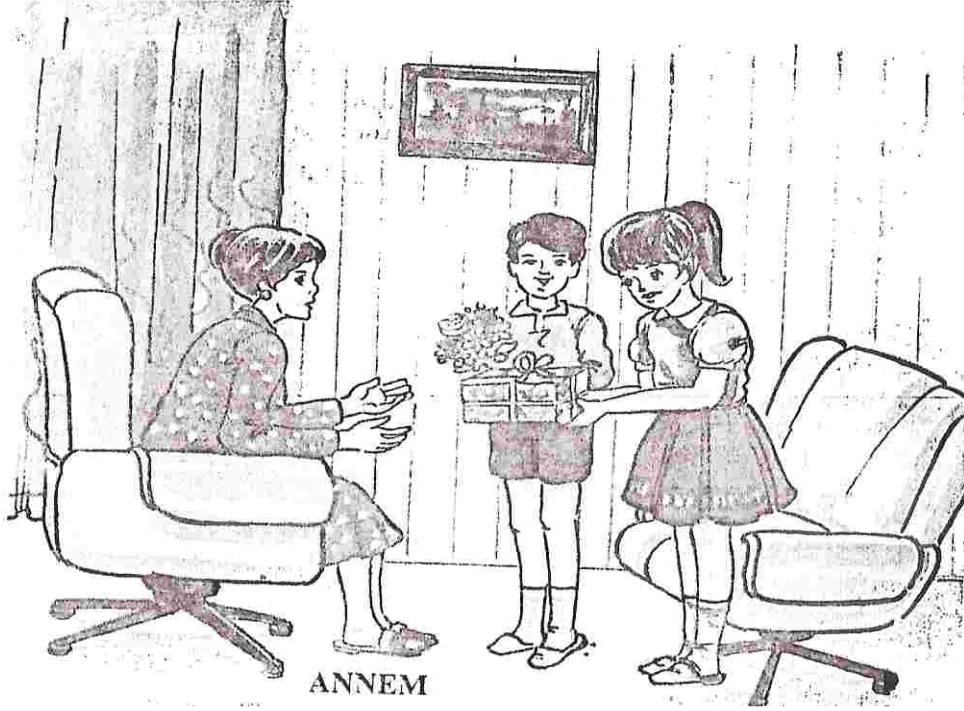
Illustration 30: T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *İlköğretim Türkçe Ders Kitabı 3,* 8th ed. (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1998), 99.

Illustration 31: T. C. Maarif Vekaleti, *Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf,* 1st ed. (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1955), 6; İlaydın, *Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf,* 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1959), 6; İlaydın, *Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1970), 6; İlaydın, *Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf,* 3rd ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1973), 6.
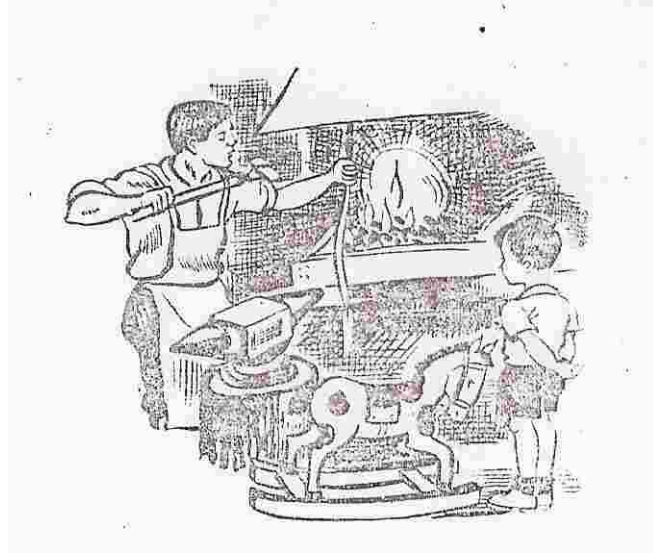
Illustration 32: T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı, Birinci Sınıf,* 1st ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1958), 28.

Illustration 33: T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf,* 7th ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1965), 62.

CHAPTER 5

MILITARIZATION OF THE NATIONAL SELF

The previous chapters have focused on the discourse of nationalism in the making of national self with respect to the ethnic and civic sources of the nation, the formation of national identity through the construction and naming of 'others', as well as the discourses pertaining to modernization and on the imaginings of the modern men and women of the nation. This final chapter concentrates on the militarized imaginings of the national self and the nation presented in the primary public school textbooks used in Turkey between 1928 and 2000, and tries to shed light on the process of the militarization of national identity and everyday lives through education. Since such a pursuit requires elaboration on the concepts of militarism and militarization, first the theoretical discussions on these concepts are presented, referring to a wide array of scholarship from the earliest works on militarism back in the nineteenth century to the recent feminist scholarship on militarism and militarization. Then the analysis draws attention to the dependencies between the nation and state-building and militarization processes, as well as the intricate linkages between these processes and the introduction of universal male military service. After providing a discussion of the history and specificities of military service with respect to militarism and militarization, the chapter focuses on the analysis of the textbooks in the light of all these debates and scholarship.

One of the earliest works on militarism is Karl Liebknecht's book, entitled *Militarism*, which was a revised version of the lecture he gave on this subject in 1906. Working within the Marxist paradigm, Liebknecht defined militarism as an institution essential to class societies, one of which is capitalism.[1] According to this approach, militarism is not a modern phenomenon; however, capitalism develops "a kind of

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[1] For other representative works of on militarism within this paradigm, the works of Lenin and Rosa Luxemburg can be referred. See, for example, Rosa Luxemburg, "Militia and Militarism," in *Selected Political Writings*, ed. Dick Howard (New York, London: Monthly Review Press, 1971), 135-158.

militarism peculiar to itself."[2] Liebknecht argued that the army built on universal military service is the institution best adapted to the capitalistic stage of development; "it is, in the first place, a national institution destined for attack abroad or for protection against a danger coming from abroad."[3] This "militarism for abroad" indeed served "the exploiting interests of the ruling classes of capitalism."[4] Liebknecht further argued that the standing conscript army also serves "the function of 'militarism for home' against the interior enemy."[5] It was a weapon in the hands of the ruling classes to protect the existing state of society. According to Liebknecht, militarism first promoted the "military spirit" in the army itself, and then in all the other parts of the population; he signified it as a system that appears, first, in *the army*, and then, reaching beyond the army, embraces all of the society.[6] He highlighted disciplinary practices and technologies as the main method used for the creation of military spirit and military world view,[7] and noted "doing away with the initiative of the individual" as one of the main aspects of this disciplining. [8]

While the scholars working within the Marxist paradigm concentrated on defining and analyzing militarism with respect to the economic and social structure of capitalist societies, other scholars, mainly working within the liberal paradigm, have provided explanations regarding the legal and political system of the state which focus mainly on the functional relationship between the military and the civilian spheres of the state. Alfred Vagts' major work, *A History of Militarism: Civilian and Military,* written on the eve of the Second World War, can be considered as one of the premium studies done within this paradigm. Yet this study, besides focusing on the military's predominance over the civil society, conducts an analysis and critique of militarism regarding the appropriation of the ideology and values of the military by the civil society.

According to Alfred Vagts, the word and concept of militarism was first used in France, during the political struggles under the Second Empire. It was employed to mean "a domination of the military man over the civilian, an undue preponderance of

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[2] Karl Liebknecht, *Militarism* (New York: B.W. Huebsch, 1917; reprint, Hawaii: University Press of the Pacific Honolulu, 2002), 21.

[3] Ibid., 23.

[4] Ibid., 33.

[5] Ibid., 50.

[6] Ibid., 59. Original emphasis.

[7] Ibid., 72.

[8] Ibid., 72-76.

military demands, an emphasis on military considerations, spirit, ideals, and scales of value, in the life of states."[9] Its English and German usages (after 1864 and 1870, respectively) had similar connotations. In this long treatise, Vagts made a distinction between military and militarism, and argued for the existence of two brands of militarism --civilian and military—as seen below:

> Every war is fought, every army is maintained in a *military way* and in a *militaristic way*. The distinction is fundamental and fateful. The military way is marked by a primary concentration of men and materials on winning specific objectives of power with the utmost efficiency, that is, with the least expenditure of blood and treasure. It is limited in scope, confined to one function, and scientific in its essential qualities. *Militarism, in the other hand, presents a vast array of customs, interests, prestige, actions, and thought associated with armies and wars and yet transcending true military purposes.* Indeed, militarism is so constituted that it may hamper and defeat the purposes of the military way. Its influence is unlimited in scope. *It may permeate all society and become dominant over all industry and arts.* Rejecting the scientific character of the military way, militarism displays the qualities of caste and cult, authority and belief.[10]

Vagts differentiated the militaristic way from the military way, and stressed that although militarism was related to the military and wars, it was not equal to any one of these. He argued that "militarism was more, and sometimes less, than the love of war. It covers every system of thinking and valuing and every complex of feelings which rank military institutions and ways above the ways of civilian life, *carrying military mentality and modes of acting and decision into the civilian sphere.*"[11] It is this connection between the mentalities and working modes of the military and the civilian sphere that Vagts regarded as the defining aspect of militarism. He also differentiated military and civilian militarism, and argued that the prolonged existence of the former has been in part guaranteed by the latter.[12] Vagts defined civilian militarism as

> the unquestioning embrace of military values, ethos, principles, attitudes; as ranking military institutions and considerations above all others in the state; as finding the heroic predominantly in military service and action, including war --to the preparation of which the nation's main interest and resources

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[9] Alfred Vagts, *A History of Militarism: Romance and Realities of a Profession* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1937; reprint, *A History of Militarism: Civilian and Military,* New York: Meridian Books, Inc., 1959), 14 (page citations are to the reprint edition).

[10] Ibid., 13. My emphasis.

[11] Ibid., 17. My emphasis.

[12] Ibid., 22. My emphasis.

must be dedicated, with the inevitability and goodness of war always presumed.[13]

According to Vagts, militarism was not a modern phenomenon; however, "modern militarism" had specific characteristics. The "mass character" of modern militarism was related to the introduction of nationalized mass armies at the time of the French Revolution. Vagts stressed the militarizing role of conscript armies, and argued that "the standing army in peacetime is the greatest of all militaristic institutions."[14] He also argued that the beginnings of "militarism of sentiment and conviction as a mass phenomenon" can be traced back to the era of Romanticism (the latter part of the eighteenth century) when "the glory of romance was being spread over the drab realities of war."[15]

In the aftermath of the Second World War, militarism was generally identified with reference to particular countries, namely Germany and Japan.[16] The specific political and social formations of these countries were regarded as standards against which other countries are judged to be militaristic or not. As Gillis pointed out, this post-war critique of militarism employed evolutionary presuppositions; militarism was seen as "something exceptional, archaic, even exogenous to modern society."[17] Howard Wilson, a prominent military historian writing in the 1970s, warned us that militarism "has become a term of such general illiterate abuse that the scholar must use it with care":

> Here we mean by it simply *an acceptance of the values of the military subculture as the dominant values of society*: a stress on hierarchy and subordination in organization, on physical courage and self-sacrifice in personal behavior, on the need for heroic leadership in situations of extreme stress; all based on an acceptance of the inevitability of armed conflict within the states-system and the consequent need to develop the qualities necessary to conduct it. By the end of the nineteenth century, European society was militarized to a very remarkable degree.[18]

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[13] Ibid., 453.

[14] Ibid., 41.

[15] Ibid., 17.

[16] As Hook points out, the forced demilitarization of Germany and Japan in the aftermath of the Second World War by the Allied Powers "involved not only legal and political reforms to prevent the military from again becoming politically powerful, but also educational reforms to prevent the schools from once again inculcating militaristic values in future generations." Glenn D. Hook, *Militarization and Demilitarization in Contemporary Japan* (London, New York: Routledge, 1996), 16.

[17] John R. Gillis, "Introduction," in *The Militarization of the Western World*, ed. John R. Gillis (New Brunswick, London: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 3.

[18] Michael Howard, *War in European History*, 109-110. My emphasis.

A new term, militarization, started to be used in the 1970s and 1980s. Although in the most cases the terms militarism and militarization were used interchangeably, the latter was also used in order to move away with these specific national and chronological associations.

John Gillis, writing in the 1980s, stressed the valuable usages of the concept of "militarization" for critical analyses. He regarded militarism as an old value-bounded concept which had been defined as "the dominance of the military over civilian authority," or, as "the prevalence of warlike values in a society." However, what actually constituted a warlike society was no longer evident (in fact, according to him, the apotheosis of war was not possible in the current era), and "even when there is no overt politicization of the military, there is an evident militarization of politics."[19] Gillis in fact defined militarization as "the contradictory and tense social *process* in which civil society organizes itself for *the production of violence*."[20] The concept of militarization indeed let us capture the changing relationships between the military and the society, as well as the attitudes toward war, and its differentiation from militarism is necessary since it refers to a historical process. Gillis' emphasis on the relation between militarization and violence is also important and insightful; however, a unilateral focus on militarization at the expense of militarism is problematic, since it deprives the term from much of its meaning, and makes it a rather elusive concept.

Patrick Regan in his insightful study, *Organizing Societies for War: The Process and the Consequences of Societal Militarization,* also employed the term militarization instead of militarism. However, he provided the term in connection with "militarism," as well as other terms such as "militarized." Regan identified militarism as pertaining to military-based values and ideals. As his work was based on the premise that "military capability is inherently destructive and that the ultimate end-use of military hardware or organization is *war,*" Regan paid specific attention to the phenomenon of war, and defined militarization as a process organized around this phenomenon.[21] He argued that militarization was "the process by which states move from a less-militarized condition toward a more-militarized one;" the term militarized referred to a "condition reflecting

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[19] Gillis, "Introduction," 10

[20] Ibid., 1. My emphasis.

[21] Patrick M. Reagan, *Organizing Societies for War: The Process and the Consequences of Societal Militarization* (Westport, Connecticut, London: Praeger, 1994), 2-3. My emphasis.

the extent to which civil society is organized around the preparation for war." Regan further argued that

> In a highly militarized society, a large segment of the general public is organized by the elite around the production and preparations necessary to maintain (a) continued elite dominance and (b) the "preeminence" of the security sector over the elite apparatus. … They are … socialized to accept and participate in its [this organizational structure's] continuance.[22]

In forming his arguments, Regan actually utilized Harold Lasswell's thesis on the development of the "garrison state," and provided an analysis around these factors based on the countries such as the UK, the US and Brazil.

In his 1941 article, Lasswell argued for the growth of garrison states, the modern military states dominated by "the specialists in violence." The increasing influence of the military over the civilian sphere of the society was actualized by management of symbols, violence, goods and practices.[23] Instrumental democracy would be substituted by dictatorial practices; only the symbols of "mystic democracy" would remain, and continue to be propagated. Drawing upon Lasswell's insights, the model Regan proposed focused specifically on the militarization of societies through the notion of "threat," as well as the manipulation of the "symbols of nationalism" to gain the acquiescence of the public.[24] Threat, he argued, can be real or imagined; in the beginning, there may be an actual threat directed to the viability of a ruling coalition and/or society driving military expansion; however, in the latter stages, it is the military

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[22] Ibid., 4.

[23] Harold D. Lasswell, "The Garrison State," *American Journal of Sociology* 46, no. 4 (1941), 463.

[24] Regan described a militarized society in the following way: "[I]nstitutions of secondary and higher education will have programs available to the mass public that integrate into the curriculum military values, organization, and planning. A large fraction of the population will be directly or indirectly tied to the military establishment for their means of subsistence. A large percentage of the money available for research will be devoted to either military hardware or to military strategy. Constraints on freedom of speech and association will be evident to the attentive public, as will be access to official information. … *Because the ability of a state to maintain this structure of military influence is dependent on the perception of an external threat, symbols of nationalism and patriotism designed to convey this sense of threat will be highly visible within the society.* This will in turn lead to media and entertainment outlets that glorify military service to the country and denounce the enemy of the moment. Popular will myths will evolve that not only promote the politico-centralism of the society … but also extol the virtues of the military. *Military confrontations and wars will be used to mobilize the general public when the manipulation of the symbols fails to do so.* Not only will military service be the tool to shape attitudes towards the military and the state, but *positive attitudes toward both will be formed long before the opportunity to service is available.* …. participation is secured, in part, by use of symbols of nationalism and patriotism that inculcate in the public the conception that military service, military production and "national security" are noble values to be held by upstanding citizens. … the media and entertainment outlets perpetuate this system of continued mobilization by recapitulating and glorifying the myths exposed by the security elite." This description indeed provides insights about the possible technologies and techniques used in the militarization of societies. Reagan, *Organizing Societies for War*, 10.

expansion that drives the threat. Regan further argued that, the perception of threat is strategically manipulated to extract compliance of the public. Although the actual threat emanating from the enemies may dissipate within time, the notion of threat will be continually emphasized for mobilizing and maintaining mass support. This continuing expectation of violence is also organized around the exploitation of the symbols of nationalism, and, in some cases, initiation of limited military action.[25]

Although Regan's work provides useful insights with respect to the dynamics of the militarization of societies, it is, nevertheless, a gender-blind analysis. As Joan Smith has shown applying the conceptual category of gender to the research at hand provides us with more thorough analyses.[26] Thus the following pages will introduce the insights provided on war, militarization and gender by two feminist scholars, Jacklyn Cock and Cynthia Enloe. Cock's work, analyzing the phenomenon of war in South Africa through the lens of gender, provides a useful differentiation between military, militarism and militarization, as an institution, an ideology, and a social process. According to Cock,

> A distinction should be made between the military as a social institution (a set of social relationships organized around war and taking the shape of an armed force); militarism as an ideology (the key component of which is an acceptance of organized violence as a legitimate solution to conflict); and militarization as a social process that involves a mobilization of resources for war. These phenomena are closely related. *Militarization involves both the spread of militarism as an ideology, and an expansion of the power and influence of the military as a social institution.*[27]

As seen here, besides presenting the distinctions between military, militarism and militarization, Cock, at the same time, underlines their linkages. She specifically highlights, similar to Regan, the phenomenon of war as providing the basis of the militarization process, and conceptualizes the military and militarism also around this basis. Cock also utilizes Michael Mann's argument that militarism "involves more than conscription and the practice of war," and should rather be defined as "a set of attitudes and social practices which regards war and the preparation of war as a *normal and desirable* social activity."[28] Yet she further argues that war is a gendering activity:

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[25] Ibid., 11.

[26] See, Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1986), 1053-1075.

[27] Cock, *Colonels and Cadres*, 25. See also Jacklyn Cock, "Introduction," in *War and Society: The Militarization of South Africa*, ed. Jacklyn Cock and Laurie Nathan (New York: St. Martins Press, 1989).

[28] Ibid., 188. See Michael Mann, "The Roots and Contradictions of Modern Militarism," *New Left Review*, no. 126 (1987), 35.

> It [war] both uses and maintains the ideological construction of gender in the definitions of 'masculinity' and 'femininity.' *Women are widely cast in the role of 'the protected' and 'the defended' … Dividing the protector from the protected, defender from defended, is crucial to both sexism and militarism.*[29]

Cock stresses that "understanding war involves examining the military and its power in society" and "understanding that the military involves examining gender relations."[30] In line with this argument, she regards the military as an institution which mobilizes gender identities, and characterizes militarization as a process utilizing the same traditional gender conceptions: men as the protectors and women as the protected.

Cynthia Enloe, another feminist scholar who has substantially contributed to the scholarship on militarism and militarization through her various works analyzing mainly the militarization of women's lives and societies, has also defined militarization as a process.[31] She argues that militarization, which is itself "a specific sort of transforming process," entails cultural, institutional, ideological, and economic transformations.[32] Enloe, in defining militarization, places specific emphasis on the concept of military:

> Militarization is a step-by step process by which a person or a thing gradually comes to be controlled by the military or comes to depend for its well-being on militaristic ideas. The more militarization transforms an individual or a society, the more that individual or society comes to imagine military needs and militaristic presumptions to be *not only valuable but also normal.*[33]

In fact, the issues of militarism in and/or militarization of Turkey have generally been disregarded in the scholarship on Turkey. Two exceptions at this point are Taha Parla's, and more recently, Ayşe Gül Altınay's studies.[34] While the studies on militarism and militarization are largely absent, the role of the military in Turkish politics has indeed been widely analyzed both by scholars from Turkey and abroad.

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[29] Cock, *Colonels and Cadres*, p. x.

[30] Ibid., viii.

[31] See for example, Cynthia Enloe, *Does Khaki Become You? The Militarization of Women's Lives* (London: Pluto Press, 1983); Cynthia Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Making Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1989); Enloe, *Maneuvers.*

[32] Enloe, *Maneuvers,* 3-4

[33] Ibid., 3.

[34] Taha Parla, *Türkiye'de Siyasi Kültürün Resmi Kaynakları* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1992); Parla, "Mercantile Militarism in Turkey," 29-52; Altınay, *The Myth of the Military-Nation*; Altınay, "Human Rights or Militarist Ideals?," 76-90; Altınay, "Eğitimin Militarizasyonu," 179-200.

These analyses have mainly been conducted within the limits of the liberal paradigm. Since they examine the relations between the military and civilian spheres, they have concentrated on the military coups and interventions in Turkey, limiting the effect of the military in politics to these overt cases.[35] Analyses that have focused on the role of the military in society utilize a modernist approach, which gives the military the positive role of being the modernizing force of the Turkish society.[36]

Parla's works have focused on the militarization of politics, its legal framework, as well as the state structure (through the constitutions of 1961 and 1982). Parla argues that militarism in Turkey is an "all-pervasive" one working on the political, constitutional/legal, and cultural levels, and into which the public has been socialized through "the national education system, the whole political discourse, the press, and now the audio-visual media."[37] He also suggests that militarization of the economy is an outcome of this all-pervasive militarism, and characterizes the continuing militarization of the economy in Turkey as resulting in "mercantile militarism." Parla traces the beginnings of this economic militarization to the foundation of OYAK in the aftermath of the 1960 military coup, and argues that it was supported by a "complementary wave" of economic militarization with the foundation of TSKGV (*Türk Silahlı Kuvvetlerini Güçlendirme Vakfı*, Foundation for Strengthening the Turkish Armed Forces) in 1987.[38] He argued that mercantile militarism is different, something more than, the military-industrial complex; it represented an "innovation" in terms of the civil military relations. Mercantile militarism was the outcome of "a structural transformation in late capitalism taking place in a late-capitalizing country, perhaps revealing better, in this semi-peripheral context, the militaristic propensities inherent in capitalism in general."[39] It depended mainly on "the degree of the feelings of insecurity … on the part of the

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[35] There have of course studies that are exceptions; see, for example, Ümit Cizre's studies on the relations between the military and politics. Cizre, *AP-Ordu İlişkileri*; Cizre, "Egemen İdeoloji ve Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri," 135-161; Cizre, "Demythologyzing The National Security Concept: The Case of Turkey," *Middle East Journal* 57, no. 2 (2003), 123-229. Recently, more studies have been conducted which diverts from these general lines of inquiry; see, for example, the works of Tanel Demirel, and the edited book of İnsel and Ali Bayramoğlu. Tanel Demirel, "Türk Silahlı Kuvvetlerinin Toplumsal Meşruiyeti Üzerine," *Toplum ve Bilim* 93 (2002), 29-54; Ahmet İnsel and Ali Bayramoğlu, eds., *Bir Zümre, Bir Parti: Türkiye'de Ordu* (İstanbul: Birikim Yayınları, 2004).

[36] For a representative work working within the modernist paradigm, see Lerner and Robinson, "Swords and Ploughshares," 19-44.

[37] Parla, "Mercantile Militarism in Turkey," 50.

[38] Ibid., 29.

[39] Ibid., 49.

business elite vis-à-vis other social groups in the society," and its success was assured by an "all-pervasive militarism in the culture not only of the military men but also of the civilian ruling classes."[40] Parla also stresses that mercantile militarism in turn legitimized and advanced the production of the "cultural-ideological militarism" in Turkey.

Altınay, in her book *The Myth of Military Nation*, exposes some of the dynamics of militarism and militarization in Turkey through ethnography of military service, using gender as a scholarly lens. She provides insights with respect to the intricate linkages between militarization, nationalism, the state, and culture, as well as the realms of education and military service. Following the lead of the feminist scholarship on war, gender, militarization and military service, her study undertakes the deconstruction of the "myth of the military-nation," and shows that it is indeed a product of "a century of practices and discourses."[41] This genealogical analysis of the notion of military-nation in the Turkish context highlights how the development of a militaristic understanding of Turkish citizenship, as one "based on duties and responsibilities to a military-nation ha[s]" occurred.[42]

The following analysis of the textbooks follows the lead of feminist scholarship on war and militarization, yet it at the same time utilizes the insights of the earlier scholarship on militarism. This study is built on the differentiation between the military, militarism and militarization, respectively, as an institution, a discourse, and a social process. It specifically focuses on militarism, signifying it as a discourse that i) involves a specific worldview as well as practices, ii) expresses the inevitability and value of war, and iii) exalts the military and its working modes, values and norms. The analysis also tries to uncover militarization of the society through educational discourses. It does so by defining militarization as a social process through which individuals and societies become mobilized around the war effort. This mobilization serves to normalize the values, norms, and working modes of the military. The normalization, in turn, results in the acquiescence of the society with regard to the power concerns of the military. Militarism is considered as a modern and gendered phenomenon, which is intricately

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[40] Ibid., 35, and 40, respectively.

[41] Altınay, *The Myth of the Military-Nation*, 2. For more a more detailed review of the book and its arguments, as well as her other studies on militarism, see Chapter 2 in this study. Altınay's arguments with respect to the notion of military-nation can also be found in the following pages.

[42] Ibid., 8.

related to the rise of the modern state, mass armies, and the development of capitalism. It requires a pre-existence of a differentiation between the military and civilian spheres, and is based on the blurring and violation of this differentiation. Although the introduction of universal conscription and standing mass armies are considered as an important element of militarism, signifying the beginnings of the historical militarization processes, their existence is not taken as a sufficient factor in the continuing militarization of the society, considering the changing nature of international political and economic system, and the technologies of war. Glorification of the military and military service, the manipulation of the "symbols of nationalism," and the notion of "threat," as well as the normalization of violence and the exaltation of death through education, media and entertainment outlets are regarded as elements in militarization.

The following analysis deconstructs the discourse of the textbooks in the light of these arguments. The primary school textbooks are analyzed to uncover the sustained militarization of the society through education. The discourse of militarism has been employed in the textbooks mainly through the following themes:

i.   The primacy of war, the cult of defense and military service,

ii.   The glorification of warrior identity as the national character,

iii.   The naturalization of violence and the exaltation of death.

These themes can be observed in the textbooks used in primary public education in Turkey from the 1920s onwards. The textbooks surveyed here are life sciences, history and social sciences textbooks, and language readers. From the late 1920s to 2000s, these authoritative textual educational materials are analyzed along the same periods as in the prior chapters: from 1928 to 1948, from 1948 to 1968, from 1968 to 1981, and from 1981 to 2000.

5.1. The Primacy of War, the Cult of Defense and Military Service

During the early 1980s, war began to be examined as one of the primary means by which the states came to be established, as well as a means for states used in consolidating their power within the society. Tilly has argued that "state-making" can

be regarded as "organized crime" that requires warfare.[43] Giddens and Mann have also showed how war, and/or its possibility were used for realizing the centralization of the state.[44] Most nation-states have been founded by armed struggles if not by total wars. War, besides being a tool in state-making, has also been used as a key instrument in nation-building.

War and the mobilization of manpower and resources of societies for warfare as key instruments in nation-building can be observed, first and foremost, in the Revolutionary Wars of France. The doctrine of *patrie en danger* brought the notion of *defense* and resulted in mass mobilization as it was coupled with the discourses of defending and saving the revolution, its ideals, and the republic. *Leveé en masse* was declared by the revolutionary government of France (1793) in order to protect the liberty of the people and the fatherland, and to save the revolution and the new regime from external and internal enemies. With the help of these discourses, the ideals of the revolution were reflected at the level of the nation. People's enthusiasm for the revolution was directed against the enemies of the new regime within or without France. *Leveé en masse* became a symbol of modern nationhood in France, and war was made the business of the people, all who identified themselves as citizen-nationals. As Karl von Clausewitz observed at the time with respect to the Revolutionary Wars:

> Suddenly war became the business of the people - a people of thirty million, who considered themselves to be citizens… The people became a participant in war; instead of governments and armies as heretofore, the full weight of the nation was thrown into the balance. The resources and efforts now available for use surpassed all conventional limits: nothing now impeded the vigor with which war could be waged. [45]

This is not to say that there was no reaction to the decree; the stronghold measures of the Committee of Public Safety and the fear of punishment were never far in the back of people's minds. Throughout the period, there had been "mass resistance of a sustained, endemic character" against military conscription.[46] Woloch argues that:

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[43] See Charles Tilly, "War-Making and State-Making as Organized Crime," in *Bringing the State Back In*, ed. Peter Evans, Dietrich Reuschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 169-191.

[44] Anthony Giddens, *The Nation-State and Violence*; Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power*.

[45] C. von Clausewitz, *On War*, trans. M. Howard and P. Paret (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1976), 591-592; quoted in John A. Hall, "Nationalisms, Classified and Explained," in *Notions of Nationalism*, ed. S. Periwal (Budapest, London, New York: Central European University Press, 1995), 14.

[46] Isser Woloch, *The New Regime: Transformations of the French Civic Order*, 432

[T]he state power marshaled by the revolutionaries of 1789 should in the end have achieved its greatest impact with Napoleonic conscription looms as the cruelest of ironies. True, military conscription was not a prospect entirely alien to the mental universe of 1789, steeped as the revolutionaries were in sentimentalized Rousseauism, one of whose causal precepts held that citizens should be soldiers and soldier-citizens. Apart from embracing the concept of a national guard, however, the *constituants* in the end rejected this view. When the Convention, out of dire necessity, moved in that direction with the *leveé en masse*, it intended this mass mobilization as a one-time only, emergency measure.[47]

Although declared as one time emergency measure, *leveé en masse* continued to be implemented, and the succeeding developments of the Napoleon era created the Napoleonic military machine, *the nation in arms*, where universal military service became the norm, and was tied to the emergence and ideals of the republic.[48] Napoleon transformed this emergency expedient to into a fully bureaucratic and strictly exercised conscription. As Woloch states, "the Napoleonic state eventually broke the back of draft evasion and rendered it a largely futile response to the state's inexorable demands."[49] Napoleon indeed regarded universal military conscription as the top priority of the French state; it served as "the ultimate frontier of state building," and made into the cornerstone of the evolving civic order.[50]

Yet by the late eighteenth century, Prussia was the sole example of a nation-in-arms, and taken as a model throughout Europe. It was with the Prussian military men, the new military machine, the nation in arms, was perfected.[51] It was said that "no serious military reform was possible" by mechanically imitating French techniques. According to this argument "the army had to consist of serious, intelligent, reliable patriots who saw themselves as the defenders of their country and were seen as such by the rest of the community."[52] Now the new nature of war was signified, both in practice and theory, as *defense*:

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[47] Ibid.

[48] For the developments, the resistance, and the measures taken in the period after 1793 see ibid., 380-426. See also Alan Forrest, "Citizenship and Military Service," in *The French Revolution and the Meaning of Citizenship*, ed. R. Waldinger, P. Dawson, and I. Woloch (Westport, London: Greenwood Press, 1993), 153-165.

[49] Ibid., 433.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Von Scharnhorst, von Boyen, von Gneisenau, von Clausewitz can be listed among these men who set out to reform the military after the defeat of Jena (1806).

[52] Howard, *War in European History*, 87.

Destruction should be the aim in each individual engagement. Defense is indeed stronger than attack and thus it is the weapon of the weak; but once the defender gains advantage he must revert to the attack.[53]

Yet, in order for the people to defend, first, the Prussian military reformers were to "give the people a fatherland."[54]

This link between war, the modern state, and nation-building, as well as the manipulation of the notion of defense and the introduction of the universal male conscription army in the context of Turkey can be traced back to the mid-nineteenth century. Conscription was then introduced in the Ottoman Empire as a major component of the military reforms of the nineteenth century – which were undertaken as a part of the Westernization *cum* modernization attempts focusing on the preservation and enhancement of the state. Due to the extensive system of exemptions, the new army came to be an army of "sedentary Muslim men."[55] Yet for the sedentary Muslim men military service was not popular at all. This was mainly due to the extension of service with the prolonged war era, as "some reports speak about conscripts serving for ten years and more," as well as the conditions in the army, such as "payment with worthless paper money, undernourishment, lack of medical care, epidemics of typhus, cholera and dysentery, bad or non-existent clothing and shoes."[56] Zürcher in his study on the foundation of the modern army in the Ottoman Empire argues that these conditions were so bad that desertion became commonplace. Men either tried to become a member of the exempted groups, or they ran away and hid; "'Leaving for the mountains' to stay out of the hands of the representatives of the state was a well-established tradition in the Ottoman Balkans and Anatolia."[57]

Following the introduction of the conscription army in the late nineteenth century, Prussian military men and reformers were invited to the Ottoman Empire as military

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[53] Azar Gat, *A History of Military Thought: From the Enlightenment to the Cold War* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 209.

[54] Howard, *War in European History*, 87.

[55] Erik Jan Zürcher, "Ottoman Conscription System, 1844 -1914," *International Review of Social History* 43 (1998), 444. "Broadly speaking, one can say that there existed two types of exemption: individual and collective. Groups which were exempted were: women, non-Muslims (formally until 1856, in practice until 1909), inhabitants of the holy places, Mecca and Medina, religious functionaries and students in religious schools and a whole range of professional groups. ... Nomads, even if not legally exempt, by and large were so in practice. Istanbul with its outlying districts (and a population of over a million) also did not deliver a single soldier to the army." (Ibid.)

[56] Ibid., 443, 449.

[57] Ibid., 443. "Exemption from the draft was a prime attraction of membership of each of these groups. It is even reported that young men went on pilgrimage to Mecca when recruitment threatened." (Ibid., 444.)

advisors. Among these Prussian generals Colmar von der Goltz had a special importance. Von der Goltz had been on a direct mission in the Empire leading the reform movements, and had led advisory missions of the Prussian military to the Ottoman Empire for long periods of time (from 1883 to 1895 and from 1909 to 1913). He also headed the Ottoman army at Iraq in the First World War.[58] His internationally acknowledged book, *Das Volk in Waffen* (1883), was translated into Turkish upon the order of Abdulhamid II, and substantially influenced the Young Turks.[59] The book theorized that the doctrine of nation-in-arms defined wars as inevitable, and intricately linked the nation, army and the state. Von der Goltz argued in this book that "wars are the fate of mankind, the inevitable destiny of nations."[60] War was now directly related to the nations, and it was regarded as a life-and-death struggle for them. He further stressed that "War is now an exodus of nations and no longer a mere conflict between the armies. All the moral energies will be gathered for a life-and death struggle…."[61] According to this argument, what was important in this historical moment was not the art of war or technical advancements in war, but continuous mobilization of the "moral energies" of the nationals for the purposes of the state.

5.1.1. The 1928-1948 Period:

Mobilizing the physical and moral energies of the people for military causes in peacetime required emphasis on nationalism, which was to be coupled with the beliefs in the inevitability of wars, as well as the existence of enemies and threat. In the late 1920s, the textbooks of the new Turkish nation-state were dominated by narratives of the War of Independence. This preeminence of war and war narratives continued with the formulation of the Turkish History Thesis -- the officially formed historiography of the Turkish nation. The thesis, as mentioned earlier, was developed in the early 1930s,

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[58] See Hasan Ünder, "Goltz, Milleti Müsellaha ve Kemalizmdeki Spartan Öğeler," *Tarih ve Toplum*, no. 206 (2001), 109-118.

[59] For the similarities between the ideas of Young Ottomans and von der Goltz, and the latter's relation to pre-totalitarian movements, see Şerif Mardin, *Jön Türklerin Siyasi Fikirleri,* 216-217.

[60] Colmar von der Goltz, *The Nation in Arms* (London, 1906), 470; quoted in Azar Gat, *A History of Military Thought: From the Enlightenment to the Cold War* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 346.

[61] Goltz, *The Nation in Arms*, 463-465; quoted in Gat, *A History of Military Thought*, 347.

and treated Turks as an ethnic group that had originated in Central Asia and migrated all around the world, bringing civilization along, and forming victorious states.

With the introduction of the Turkish History Thesis to the textbooks, from the early 1930s onwards, history was defined mainly as an account of wars. In the textbooks, war was set in relation to nature and history, and presented as natural and unavoidable. History textbooks were founded upon the theme of migrations and their mission of spreading civilization. However, migration, besides referring to the movement of peoples, was also used throughout these textbooks in relation to war, conquering and dominating. As stated in the fourth grade history textbook published in 1936,

> The children and the youth acquired, as an inheritance, the knowledge of the old, and at the same time the longing to settle. For this reason, when they found a country where they could settle, they did not hesitate to conquer it, and as they conquered it they did not hesitate to fight and make war in order not to lose it.[62]

This historical narrative of the ethnic nation indeed defined civilization through military power. This focus was also evident in the history textbooks written for the fifth grades of the primary schools. As can be seen in the history textbook published in 1937 by the Ministry of Culture, which was used until the mid-1940s with minor revisions, wars were presented as the creator forces of history and civilization. Conquering lands and people was linked to civilizing them.[63] Although the emphasis placed on the War of Independence in the textbooks had not declined with the introduction of the History Thesis, now the textbooks were also filled with the narratives of the wars of ancestors.

Between 1928 and 1948, this preeminence of war in the textbooks was coupled with a discourse on enemies, pointing to a continuous need for defense. In the previous chapters, we have seen that the construction of the national identity in the textbooks used in Turkey was also conducted through a self and 'other' distinction. The 'others' apart from providing the role of a "constitutive outside," were signified as the enemy. Here, I will trace the general discourse on enemies, and the need for defense utilized in the textbooks, through references to the remembered and/or invented rivalries and atrocities, as well as the narratives of wars. In the textbooks of the late 1920s, the

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[62] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 4. Sınıf*, 129.

[63] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 5. Sınıf*; T. C. Maarif Vekilliği, *Tarih, 5. Sınıf* (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1945). See especially, T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 5. Sınıf,* 5-7, 11, 23, 25, 37, 48, 54.

existence of enemies was underlined through the narratives of the War of Independence. "Turks have no friends, but other Turks," came to be repeated in textbooks. In a history textbook for fourth graders published in 1930, the author used the same wording: "We finally understood that Turks have no friends, but other Turks," and stated this as "wisdom" gained through history.[64] With the new official account of national history defined along the Turkish History Thesis, being surrounded by enemies and being at war with the neighbors were naturalized by referring to the ancient Turks, as well as to the other periods of Turkish history. For instance, a language reader for fourth grade published in 1934 stressed that "Turks were always at war with their neighbors [neighboring countries]."[65] Another passage entitled "Seas of Turkey," from a language reader for second graders published by the Ministry of Culture in 1935, also exemplifies this discourse on enemies:

> In order to keep enemies from entering these vast seas, the Turkish navy travels around. … They [Turkish young men] learn to hit the enemy ships on the first strike. … Our ancestors were also like them. They traveled into the most distant open seas, and raided enemy soils without fear or fatigue.[66]

This passage is taken from one of the introductory passages (the second) of the textbook. It is followed by the passages "Home-Homeland" and "Borders," the sixth and eighth passages, respectively.[67] The former passage equates the family house to the homeland, and the latter equates the enclosed garden of the house to the borders of the nation-state. Both passages focus on keeping the outsiders/foreigners away from the homeland. It is also noteworthy that these passages can be found in most of the language readers published by the Ministry of Education from 1935 to 1960s.[68]

Since the discourse of nationalism was more suitable for defense, the latter was set as the main type of military action. Any offensive acts were to be legitimized under these parameters. The perception of the inevitability of wars and presentation of Turkey and Turks as surrounded by enemies, or at least by potential enemies, from time immemorial stressed the necessity of defense. These themes can be encountered, not only in the passages and stories related to the War of Independence and the history of

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[64] Nasır and Siyavuşgil, *Yavrumun Tarih Kitabı, İlkmektep Dördüncü Sınıf*, 159.

[65] Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 4*, 215. For the original text, see appendix.

[66] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, İkinci Sınıf* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1935), 5-6.

[67] Ibid., 11, 14. For the 1955 versions of the original texts, see appendix.

[68] For a version of the passage "Borders" see appendix. T. C. Maarif Vekaleti, *Okuma Kitabı, İkinci Sınıf*, 1st ed. (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1955), 12.

the ancient Turks, but in any narration. For instance, in a passage entitled "Ferid's Castle," from a language reader published in 1934 for first grade primary school students, a little boy who built a castle from sand at the beach proudly stated that he had done it in order to defend the country against the enemy attacks from the sea.[69]

In the textbooks of the new Turkish nation-state, as nationalism was defined along the lines of defense, the necessity of a strong military, formed by the very nation itself, was explained through the narratives of the War of Independence, and Turks being surrounded by enemies throughout history. Universal peacetime compulsory military service was legitimized first and foremost through the discourse of defense, and it was defined as an obligation for citizen-nationals, and a requirement for the modern nation-states. In the words of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, it was the "necessity of our times."[70] In a language reader for second graders published in 1935 by the Ministry of Culture, a passage entitled "Borders," depicted soldiers as the guardians, and argued that the homeland was protected best by the "steel chests" of "our soldiers."[71] In a language reader for fifth grade published in 1934, the passage entitled "Military Service Duty," the following was argued: "They [soldiers] run to wherever they are called, and they do not hold back from sacrificing their comfort and tranquility, and if necessary, their lives for this duty. …every male citizen is obligated to fulfill the military service duty."[72]

Besides presenting military service as a civic duty and necessity, attempts were made to inculcate affinity and love for soldiering. Such attempts are visible in the illustration printed in the 1936 fourth grade history textbook (see illustration 1).[73] The illustration portrays a totally different picture of the Republican army with respect to the conscription army of the late Ottoman times. It puts emphasis on the shortened terms of service, in comparison to the prolonged service times of the Ottoman conscripts, as well as the good and modern conditions in the new army, in comparison to the conditions of deprivation that exited during the Ottoman years. The illustration also characterizes the army as a school of modernization and patriotism where the conscripts learn to read and

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[69] Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 1*, 70-71.

[70] Altınay, *The Myth of the Military-Nation*, 27-30.

[71] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, İkinci Sınıf* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1935), 14. The passage "Borders" also has an illustration of this steel-chested soldier. As noted before, this passage can be observed in most of the language readers that were published from 1935 to 1980.

[72] Ibid., 168-170; Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 5*, 80-81. For the original text see appendix.

[73] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 4. Sınıf*, 19.

write, increase their love of homeland, do sports, attain health, and leave the army having obtained a Western outlook (symbolized by a Western style hat, shirt, tie, and jacket) -- all of which are presented as the benefits of military service.

The attempts to inculcate affinity and love for soldiering were further elaborated in the language textbooks as can be seen in a poem titled "The Song of the Students," from a language reader for fourth graders published in 1928." In this poem, the students were made to present themselves as the "soldier sons of the Turks."[74] It was argued that, as in the language reader for third grade students published in 1929, the children now formed the "school battalion."[75] In a poem entitled "Soldier's Song" from the life sciences textbook for first grade students published in 1934, the students identify themselves. Each is a "soldier son of a soldier."[76] Another passage in a language reader for fifth graders published the same year stated that "Now even the school children are getting ready for the military service."[77]

In the readers of these years, soldiering games were also presented to the children. In a language reader for first grade primary school students published in 1929, two passages introduced soldiering games portraying soldiering as a joyful act.[78] In line with these, being a scout was highly appreciated, and took the form of early preparation for military service. Although there are numerous examples with respect to the scouts, the passage titled "Scouts at Camp," from a language reader for fourth grade published in 1934, is a rather significant one. In this passage, all the boys in the scout camp see themselves in their happy dreams as soldiers training and preparing for war. The next day, a general officer comes to their camp for inspection; satisfied with what he sees, he applauds the boys as he calls them "the soldiers of the future."[79]

The cult of protection is realized through utilizing patriarchal gender hierarchy and strict gender differentiation. On the individual level, the cult signifies the man as the protector of the woman. This protection requires defending the woman from

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[74] Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Dördüncü Sınıf*, 13-14.

[75] Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Üçüncü Sınıf*, 3-4. For the original text see appendix.

[76] Ertaylan, *Kıraat Dersleri, Sınıf 1*, 100-101. For the original text see appendix.

[77] Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 5*, 81. For the original text see appendix.

[78] Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Birinci Sınıf*, 9, 87.

[79] Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 4*, 206-213.

violation of her borders (here bodily borders), thus safeguarding her purity.[80] Woman is deprived of an actor position and objectified, with femininity signified as enfeebling. Masculinity is provided with this warrior-protector image, and coupled with man as the patriarchal provider of the family. The concept of honor is redefined along these lines. This equation is easily reflected to the level of the nation-state through representing the family as a microcosm of the nation-state. Men are to protect the homeland, which is feminized through imageries and/or metaphors. These can be observed in the language readers that were used in public education in Turkey. For instance, the homeland is referred to as the mother of the nation, or it is symbolized by a peasant woman, who at the same time symbolizes motherly qualities. The following is excerpted from a poem entitled "Homeland" in a fifth grade language reader published in 1928:

> One day, if you travel to other places,
> If you feel a strangeness in your heart;
> Like the sibling who is kept away from the mother
> Your little heart aches, this is
> The love of homeland, believe in this word:
> The mother of all of us, it is this homeland.[81]

In a language textbook for fourth grade published in 1928, the poem entitled "Anatolia," is accompanied by a map of Anatolia with an illustration of a woman placed in the middle of the map.[82] The poem goes as

> Our nation is born there and grows up there
> That land is to us what a mother's lap is![83]

In another language textbook for fifth grade published in 1934, in a different, but similar, poem entitled "Anatolia," it is again stated that "Our mother's lap is that land."[84]

The gendering of peacetime compulsory military service was deliberately done, too, because of the need to re-gender the social order after the war.[85] Such re-gendering

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[80] See Enloe, "Feminism Milliyetçilik ve Militarizm," in *Vatan Millet Kadınlar*, ed. A. G. Altınay (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2004), 216.

[81] Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Beşinci Sınıf*, 21.

[82] Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Dördüncü Sınıf*, 35. The image of woman provided in this illustration has traditional features rather than modern; it probably refers to a peasant woman, who is used to symbolize tradition, authenticity, and, at the same time, the motherly qualities.

[83] Ibid. It is noteworthy that the place where the nation has born is not regarded as Central Asia, but instead Anatolia.

[84] Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 5*, 25.

has "a central significance for stabilizing the entire social order."[86] As the society was re-gendered and stabilized, masculinity, citizenship, the state and the military were interwoven together. Since military service, the most prime duty of citizenship, has at the same time a masculinizing aspect, it could not be fulfilled by women. As it can be observed in the soldiering games presented in the textbooks, women were treated, at best, as helpmates only.[87] Women were instead employed with another duty, motherhood, which was in fact not referred as "the prime duty of citizenship." Women were to fulfill the duty of military service indirectly through the care of family and children, a role which made them into second class citizens. The significance of women was defined in relation to their role in the family and social life. In a passage titled "Improvement of the Generation," from a language reader for fifth grade students published in 1929, a mother writes a letter to her daughter, in which she summarizes the role of girls in family and social life as raising better future generations:

> As history shows, in a nation, *strong and brave soldiers cannot be gained only through training the bodies of men.* For the improvement of the *race, first of all, what needs to be trained are the bodies of young girls.* The health of young girls has utmost importance for their nation. The endurance of the next generations is dependent on the endurance of the girls. …….when they become mothers, with their health or sicknesses, they will become the source of power, health or disease for the next generations…[88]

As seen above, women were again objectified: Their physical health and strength were regarded as necessary only for assuring the physical strength of the prospective citizens of the Republic, and especially for raising strong, incontestable, ever-victorious soldiers.

As seen here, before the end of the Second World War, militarism, at the discursive level in education, had already been set as a component of the Turkish nation-building process through the importance placed on the concept of war, and the cult of defense, as well as significance placed on the military service, and warrior-protector citizens. It was not only the civilian-military distinction that was transgressed through such processes, but also the distinction between homeland and front was

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[85] This can be observed from the discussions at the Grand National Assembly. See Altınay, *The Myth of the Military-Nation*, 33.

[86] Hagemann, "Home/Front: Military, Violence and Gender Relations in the Age of the World Wars," 4.

[87] Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Birinci Sınıf*, 9, 87.

[88] İçsel and İçsel, *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, İlk Mektep Beşinci Sınıf*, 44-48. For the original text see appendix.

blurred. Everything became a war to fight and win, e.g., the war on ignorance, the war on religious revivalism. As stated in the primary school curriculum of 1936 "every Turkish child was an unyielding soldier of the Atatürk revolutionary army."[89] Although the international developments of the interwar era, such as the growth of fascism and one man-one party regimes, had definite effects on the developments in Turkey, it was also this blurred distinction that had sustained the ideological ground for the "one-party regime" starting in mid-1920s and continuing until the mid-1940s. The era was marked by authoritarian politics, which, at times, gained dictatorial overtones, with top-down reform pressures, martial law and emergency measures, under the governments of RPP.[90]

5.1.2. The 1948-1968 Period:

The period after the Second World War saw the decline of the nation-in-arms model, and democracy became the catchword of the day. Yet these did not mark the end of the militarization of people, nation-states, and the world. Disguised under the discourse of national security, militarism became increasingly part of the system that held up the balance of power between the US and the Soviet Union. The developments in Turkey after 1945 were also commensurate with these worldwide trends. But they also had the mark of country-specific conditions which were, on the one hand, the structural consequences of the developments that had occurred in the previous era and, on the other, the deliberate and conscious choices of the ruling elite. Although the years from mid-1940s onwards in Turkey were characterized by experiments with democracy, an end to martial law, and softening of the reformist pressures on the society, the militarization of education continued. With the military coup of 1960, the experiments with democracy came to a halt. They began once again a year later with the institutionalization of military's tutelage over the political system (mainly with the newly formed National Security Council, and the Armed Forces Union), which left it prone to future military interventions. In addition, the military's presence in the

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[89] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *İlkokul Programı*, 85.

[90] Mete Tunçay, *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Tek Parti Yönetiminin Kurulması (1923-1931)* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999); Parla, *Türkiye'de Siyasi Kültürün Resmi Kaynakları*.

economy was guaranteed through the creation of OYAK, which brought the army directly into the sphere of business and industry.[91]

Even in the aftermath of the Second World War, and the opening up of the political system in Turkey, the textbooks used stressed the primacy and the inevitability of war, the cult of defense, and the importance and necessity of (male) military service. With respect to the history textbooks, the continuing framework of the Turkish History Thesis, which emphasized migrations-raids, was one of the elements in the continuing militarization of education. The parts allocated to the migrations and concomitant conquests were presented as civilizational acts, and not as invasions consisting of killing and death. The decrease in the parts directly focusing on the Thesis was counterbalanced by the inclusion of the first Islamic states, the dissemination of Islam among Turks, and the services of Turks to Islam (as its soldiers), as well as an emphasis on the Islamic civilization. The parts focusing on the Ottoman Empire were also extended. Yet all these themes were treated within the boundaries of state-making and war-making. Although there were various authorized history textbooks, this new emphases formed the general line of arguments in all the textbooks published for fourth grade students until 1968.[92]

However, the fifth grade history textbooks diverged significantly from the ones published in the prior period. These textbooks did not stick to the narrative of the Turkish History Thesis. Moreover, the number of passages narrating the War of Independence, the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, and the Turkish Revolution were reduced. Now the foci were the Turkish conquests of Anatolia, the conquests of the Ottomans, and the War of Independence. These narratives of wars were concluded by the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, followed by the narrative of the Turkish Revolution.[93] This structure of the fifth grade history textbooks stayed the same until the history textbooks were changed into social sciences textbooks with the curriculum changes in 1968.

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[91] Ahmad, *The Making of Modern Turkey*, 128, 130.

[92] See Unat, and Su, *Tarih, 4. Sınıf* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1950); Niyazi Akşit, and Osman Eğilmez, *Tarih, Sınıf 4* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1954); Oktay, *Yeni Tarih Dersleri 4* (İstanbul Atak Yayınevi, 1958); Hilmi Oran, *Tarih, 4* (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 1954). The first three of these textbooks continued to be published until the 1960s with the same framework.

[93] See Unat, and Su, *İlkokullar İçin Tarih Dersleri, 5. Sınıf* (İstanbul: Kanaat Yayınları, 1957); Akşit, and Eğilmez, *Tarih, Sınıf 5* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1954); Oktay, *Yeni Tarih Dersleri 5* (İstanbul: Atak Yayınevi, 1958); Oran, *Tarih, 5* (İstanbul: İnkılap Kitabevi, 1954). The first three of these textbooks continued to be published until the late 1968s with the same framework.

It is noteworthy that in the primary school curriculum of 1948, the terminology of history was summarized with the following words, in the given order: "raid," "war," "attack," "siege," "invade," "capture," "to take land," "to give land," "to defeat," "to be defeated," "enslave," "to make peace," "to sign an agreement," "to gain freedom," "to lose freedom," "to create culture," "to disseminate culture."[94] War-making was indeed regarded as the main element of civilization in the textbooks. Throughout the history textbooks, in the parts referring to "life and civilization," which were placed at the end of the sections focusing on specific civilizations, the first major element had always been the administration of the state, followed by the army. For instance, in a fourth grade history textbook published in 1954, the subject of "Hittite Civilization" was introduced through the following questions, which at the same time acted as the outline of the subject:

> Hittites: How should the subject be approached?
> A) Anatolia and the first civilizations in Anatolia
> B) The Kingdom of Hittites
> C) The Civilization of Hittites: 1. How was the state administrative apparatus of Hittites organized? 2. How many parts there were in the Hittite army? ...[95]

The discourse of defense, now transformed into national security, continued militarizing education. The discourse of national security emerged in the aftermath of the Second World War was a main concern. The enemy was now defined as communism and the Soviet Union; national security, as the premium concern of the Cold War era, acknowledged a permanent stage of insecurity due to the continuous threat of communism. As defined by the US, this threat was also a threat to peace, liberty, and democracy. The US aid to Western Europe during 1946, the Truman Doctrine of 1947, and Marshall Plan in 1948 were all steps in the containment of this threat of communism. These culminated in the establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in 1949, a military alliance formulated against the Soviet threat.

The concept of national security was introduced to Turkey also around this time -- as the country became a part of the US axis with the Truman Doctrine in 1947. As Lerner and Robinson state, "the American aid program provided a stimulus needed for

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[94] T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *İlkokul Programı* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1948), 130. The same words were also given in the 1936 curriculum, T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *İlkokul Programı*, 86.

[95] Not to mention that part B, "the Kingdom of Hittites," was mainly of a narrative of wars. Akşit and Eğilmez, *Tarih, Sınıf 4* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1954), 16.

the revival of the Turkish military corps. With the American military aid came a new mission for the Turkish army."[96] They further argue that "The mission of the army is [was], of course, providing an efficient force for national defense," but this necessitated a new mission: "*modernization* of the most substantial and significant sector of the population – its young and healthy males from the rural hinterlands."[97] Meanwhile, in 1952, through the newly founded Joint American Military Mission for Aid to Turkey (JAMMAT), the US officer corps became directly involved in the modernization, professionalization and rearmament of the army.[98] Turkey also became a part of the NATO (1952). With accession to the alliance, geopolitics became a significant and widely expressed concern in Turkey. National security was now defined as a two-tiered issue in relation to the threat of communism: External security was equated to defense, whereas the concept of internal security, in the peripheral countries, required protecting the state from communist influences.[99]

In line with these developments, references to geopolitics became important. As well as history, geography was now also treated in the textbooks as a significant concern, making people and states act in specific ways. For instance, a fifth grade history textbook published in 1954 gave the following as a research topic to the students: "Analyze the relationship between Turkish nation being a nation bringing up good soldier sons, who are loyal to their homeland, with respect to our history and geography."[100] As different from this textbook's 1947 edition, this research topic was added to the end of the section on Turkish army in the new version of the textbook published in the 1950s.

Military service was an important issue as before, and references to military service as a civic duty continued to exist. In the primary school curriculum of 1948, soldiering was still presented as a requirement of citizenship and modernity, and as "the" primary duty of the members of the nation.[101] However, defense was specified not only as the utmost concern of the nation, but also as the job of the army. What are to be defended are both the homeland and the nation. Even though the nation was generically

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[96] Lerner and Robinson, "Swords and Ploughshares," 29.

[97] Ibid., 30, my emphasis.

[98] Ibid., 31.

[99] Cizre, "Egemen İdeoloji ve Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri," 157.

[100] Unat and Su, *Tarih Dersleri, 5. Sınıf* (İstanbul: Kanaat Yayınları, 1954), 121.

[101] T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *İlkokul Programı* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1948), 70.

regarded as a masculine entity, when it came to the necessity of defense, it was feminized. In a history textbook published in 1947 for fifth graders, and also in its revision in 1954, it was stated that "The Turkish nation is aware of its national defense duty and ready to make sacrifices in order to fulfill the material needs of the army." It was further argued that with respect to fulfilling this duty, the army depended on the nation; and the nation trusted its army.[102] As seen here, the nation was to be protected by the army, and at the same time was to act as the helpmate of the army. Now the army was differentiated from the nation, its professionalization became an important concern; such a concern indeed bears the marks of being a part of the NATO alliance. Signified as the protector of both the homeland and the nation, the army was now integrated into the cult of defense as the masculine protector.

5.1.3. The 1968-1981 Period:

The chaotic context of the 1970s was marked by another military intervention in 1971. This was followed by repressive measures brought to the more liberal constitution of 1961, the incorporation of the far right into the politics and government coalitions, as well as, political terrorism, and assassinations. During these turbulent years, the textbooks continued to highlight the themes of war, enemy, national security and defense. The national account of history as constructed upon wars did not change although the history textbooks evolved into social sciences textbooks with the curriculum changes of 1968.

A major change from the prior period was the absence of open acknowledgements of Turkishness of the first civilizations of the world. Textbooks were now re-written in line with the discourses of the Hearth of Intellectuals, embracing the so-called Turkish-Islamic synthesis. The concern with being the originators of the forerunner civilizations, and the forerunner of the Western civilization declined in importance leaving its place to the glorification of the Islamic civilization, and services of the Turks to this civilization. Turks were presented as its soldiers protecting and diffusing the civilization through raids and wars. In fact, this new discourse placed much more emphasis on raids

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[102] "The army depends upon the nation, and the nation trusts on its army." Unat and Su, *Tarih, 5. Sınıf* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1947), 211; Unat and Su, *Tarih Dersleri, 5. Sınıf* (İstanbul: Kanaat Yayınları, 1954), 121. The book was in use also in the 1960s.

and wars, and paid only lip service to the notion of civilization. Especially with respect to the parts on Ottoman history, wars came to define the political. The existence of the ghazi tradition in the foundation of the Ottoman state can be related to this overemphasis on raids and wars; however, it is far from being sufficient to explain the all-encompassing military focus of the history textbooks. Other modifications made to the general framework of the history parts of the social sciences textbooks were related to the important domestic and international events of the time. These included, for example, the shortening and formalization of the narrative about the 1960 military coup – or the "revolution of May twenty-seven" as stated in the textbooks.

References to the military service as a civic duty, and a requirement of modernity continued to exist. Yet this time, although military service was still a subject of life sciences courses, soldiering games were not encountered in the textbooks. As the subject was moved to grade three from grade two with the 1968 curriculum, it became much more formalized. Now the duty of military service, its fulfillment, and the army as the agent of national defense were explained in detail referring to national security and defense.[103]

5.1.4. The 1981-2000 Period:

The textbooks used between 1981 and 2000, bear the marks of the heightened nationalism of the prior years, as well as the military coup of 1980, and the concern for the containment of the left. In this context, history continued to be considered as an account of wars, full of enemies, and defense, still being a main concern, continued militarizing education under the discourse of national security. Although the educational system, from the early years of nation-state formation in Turkey, taught the students that the world was a hostile place, and that they had no friends but the nation, during this period, the stress on the discourse on enemies was escalated. A feeling of insecurity was deeply implanted in the hearts and minds of the children.

Women's citizenship duties were discussed along the same lines in this period. Since military service, the prime duty of citizenship, cannot be fulfilled by women, they are given another duty – motherhood. Women are supposed to sacrifice themselves

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[103] T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *İlkokul Programı* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1968), 55. With respect to the life sciences course, the 1968 curriculum was still in use in the 1990s.

readily for children and family, as well as for the homeland and nation. Citizenship rights were directly tied to military service, thus making women's citizenship status problematic and only secondary to that of men. No matter how vital women's services were, they were regarded as merely support, and at best as self-sacrifice. This can be seen in a passage in the language textbook for fifth grade published in 1984, which portray a selfless woman serving the homeland through providing support functions. The passage focuses on an imaginary heroine, Elif, who carries ammunition to the battlefront during the War of Independence. One night, as Elif is on the road with her cart, which she calls "The Cart of Mustafa Kemal," one of her oxen dies, and as the cart stops, other carts pass her by. Not knowing what to do, Elif cries to the dead ox: "Kill me! Don't leave me here on the road!" The solution she found for reaching the front was indeed harnessing herself in the place of the dead ox.[104] The passage narrates a selfless and even dehumanizing sacrifice, and at the same time shows that women are expected to take part in the defense effort, acting as helpmates of the military.

In the textbooks published between 1981 and 2000, the stress on enemy discourse escalated especially through the introduction of the "subjects pertaining to Atatürkism" into the textbooks. In 1986, a list of subjects, issues, and attributes were signified under the title of "subjects pertaining to Atatürkism," and added as required subjects, first, to the curriculum, and then to the textbooks, by a special decision of the Board of Education and Discipline and the High Council on Education [*Eğitim ve Öğretim Yüksek Kurulu*], the latter founded in the aftermath of the 1980 military coup. The issue of *threat* was among these newly introduced topic as subject matter for both fourth and fifth grade Turkish language and social science courses. The subject of threat, in all these courses, was to be taught by focusing on the "sources of threat." The main reasons were signified: the "geopolitical significance of Turkey," and the other countries' "dislike of a strong Turkey"[105] With respect to the fifth grade social sciences course, as seen from the fifth grade social sciences textbook published in 1988, the subject of threat was incorporated into the first unit entitled "Our Homeland and Its Neighbors."[106] In this example, the significance of Turkey's location is emphasized, and the need for

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[104] Beşir Göğüş, *İlkokullar için Türkçe 5,* 3rd ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1984), 90-92.

[105] T. C. Milli Eğitim Gençlik ve Spor Bakanlığı, *İlkokul Programı* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1988), 165, 167, 225.

[106] Sanır, Asal, and Akşit, *İlkokul Sosyal Bilgiler 5,* 15th ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1988), 241-243.

"strength, awareness, unity, and solidarity" is stressed in relation to this geopolitical significance.[107]

National security and defense were linked to "national power," and the discourse on military service transposed into one on "military power." Among "subjects pertaining to Atatürkism," national power was presented as an important element in the "Atatürkist thought."[108] Meanwhile, military power was set as an element of national power, and explained by referring not only to the "sacredness of the duty of military service," but also to "the significance and duties of the Turkish Armed Forces."[109] Besides the continuity between the discourse on military service and military power, the formalization of the concept of army, and its primal relation to national power is noteworthy here.

In the 1990s, following the end of the Cold War, the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and the escalation of the "low-intensity war" in the south-eastern parts of the country, the militarization of education in Turkey intensified. Special significance was attributed to the concept of national security and it was redefined along new lines. Now the discourse of threat was restructured as "internal and external threats directed to Turkey." National power was again a basic national security concern. It can still be observed among the "subjects pertaining to Atatürkism," which are revised, and re-introduced into the curriculum and textbooks in 1995. Military power, presented again as one of these subjects, is still defined in relation to the significance and duties of the Turkish Armed Forces, and to the sacredness of the duty of military service.[110]

As the discourse of threat was restructured in the mid-1990s, the "internal and external threats" were not openly stated. They were defined along two categories as the "geopolitical significance of Turkey," and "dislike for strong Turkey." Yet this time, the aims for introducing such a subject to the textbooks were specifically defined and clearly stated. The aims for teaching "the subject of internal and external threats directed to Turkey" were: "grasping the importance of Turkey's location in the world," and "becoming aware that the advancement of Turkey is not desired by other states."[111]

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[107] Ibid., 243.

[108] The other two power elements presented are "political power," and "socio-cultural power."

[109] T. C. Milli Eğitim Gençlik ve Spor Bakanlığı, *İlkokul Programı*, 71.

[110] T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *İlköğretim Kurumlarının Birinci Kademesindeki Öğretim Programları ile Ders Kitaplarında Yer Alması Gereken Atatürkçülükle İlgili Konular* (Ankara: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1995), 19, 46-47.

[111] Ibid., 50-51.

Appropriate behavior with respect to these issues was also presented in detail. The students were expected to fulfill these expectations; they had to "think," "talk," "act," and "feel" in the ways presented.

Similar to the 1980s, the subject of "internal and external threats directed to Turkey," was incorporated into the fifth grade social sciences course, under the unit "Our World, Our Homeland, and Our Neighbors." In a fifth grade social sciences textbook published in 1997, the subject of internal and external threats is discussed in the last two pages of the unit "Our World, Our Homeland, and Our Neighbors"[112] In this example, besides the emphasis on the geopolitical significance of Turkey's location, and the country's peace stance, the stress is specifically on the desire of other states, including neighboring ones, to keep Turkey from becoming a strong state, and their attempt to divide Turkey and expand their own borders. This can be exemplified with the following:

> Likewise, today there are states wanting to divide our country. ... Two states neighboring us on the east and southeast also have intentions of expanding their borders vis-à-vis Turkey. ... In spite of this, our country, by not abandoning Atatürk's principle of "peace in the country, peace in the world," will continue to be a symbol of peace and unity.[113]

5.2. The Glorification of the Warrior Identity as the National Character

As already discussed in Chapter 3, the introduction of the officially formulated Turkish History Thesis to the textbooks in the 1930s actualized a discursive shift. This shift crystallized the ethnic elements; ethnic references and themes dominated the primary school textbooks. The Turkish History Thesis reconstructed the national self along ethno-cultural lines, such that ethnic origins, primordial ancestors, and culture became the focus of nationalist discourse of the textbooks. National character was largely defined with respect to such ethnic attributes as origins and mythical ancestors who were characterized by respect to their warrior virtues, spirit, and glories. This exaltation of the warrior identity of the ethnic ancestors was linked to the exaltation of

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[112] Senihi Kitapçı, *İlköğretim Sosyal Bilgiler Ders Kitabı, Sınıf 5* (Ankara: Özgün Matbaacılık, 1997), 45-56.

[113] Ibid., 56.

their military virtues, spirit, and glories, which were presented as the natural outcomes of this warrior identity. Thus, with this discursive shift, national identity was not only reconstructed along ethno-cultural lines, but at the same time defined along military virtues, spirit, and glories, leading to the reconstruction of military service as a "cultural practice" and the re-imaging of the nation as a "military-nation."

Altınay in fact stresses that a crucial argument of the Turkish History Thesis was the argument that Turks were a "military nation" by nature. As she also underlines, "the making of the myth of the military-nation" coincided with the formation and launching of the Turkish History Thesis. Altınay argues that Turkish culture was defined through the military, and Turkish masculinity was defined through military service, both of which in turn "contributed to the culturalization of military service" in Turkey.[114] She states that "military service, an obligation set by the nation state for its male citizens, was turned into an "invented tradition" that combines the realms of culture and politics in the body of the military-nation."[115] As she further argues, while military service has became a "sacred institution central to the national order of things," military nationhood evolved into an "authoritative discourse," both contributing to a unique form of civilian militarism in Turkey.[116]

Sara Helman argues that a similar process is taking place in Israel. She stresses that the construction of military service in terms of a community signified as the "community of warriors" has both embodied and shaped "Israeliness."[117] Referring to her analysis on the military service as well as various other studies conducted on military service in Israel, Helman further argues that

> By instituting military service as the main socio-political mechanism that constructs the socio-cultural boundaries of society, the Israeli state has turned war and conflict management into a routine, and normalized war into the life-cycle of Jewish-Israeli males. Moreover, the Israeli-Jewish national self-perception has been defined in light of war and national conflict, and the army has become the utter expression of the nation.[118]

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[114] Altınay, *The Myth of Military Nation*, 23.

[115] Ibid., 30.

[116] Ibid., 32.

[117] Sara Helman, "Militarism and the Construction of Community," *Journal of Political and Military Sociology* 25, (1997), 306, 325.

[118] Ibid., 325.

5.2.1. The 1928-1948 Period:

The textbooks published in the 1930s, following the introduction of the History Thesis into the educational discourse, signified the warrior image as an ethnic characteristic. This warrior was also presented as the actor spreading civilization.[119] During these years, raiders and raids became common subjects of poems. The children were told that, as stated in a passage from a language reader for fourth grade published in 1934, Turks regarded "dying in battle as honor, dying at home as disgraceful."[120] The emphasis, which we have seen in the textbooks of the late 1920s, on the War of Independence had not declined. Yet now the textbooks were also full of the narratives of the wars of ancestors. These narratives added a historical ethnic continuity to the warrior identity of Turks. A passage titled "Ancient Turks," in a fourth grade language reader published in 1934, defined the ancestors as the following: "Ancient Turks were a nation who *loved to make war*… who depended on nothing but their swords. … They wanted to die in war by giving their life and blood; they considered dying at home a disgrace. As they have said: Man is born in the house, dies in battle."[121] Pictures of warriors symbolizing the historical ancestors are regularly seen in the history textbooks and language readers. For instance, the above-mentioned passage titled "Ancient Turks" was accompanied by an illustration of warriors.[122] In a third grade language reader published in 1935 by the Ministry of Education, the passage about historical ancestors, entitled "Turk," was also accompanied by illustrations of warriors. Although this textbook had been subject to revisions, this passage existed in the language readers published in the following years.[123] In another language reader for fourth grade again published in 1935 by the Ministry of Education, the passage entitled "Turkishness" was again accompanied by illustrations of warriors.[124] The passage can be seen as well in the language readers of later, despite the modifications made to the textbooks. (See illustrations 2, 3, 4)

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[119] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 5. Sınıf*; T. C. Maarif Vekilliği, *Tarih, 5. Sınıf*. See especially, T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 5. Sınıf,* 5-7, 11, 23, 25, 37, 48, 54.

[120] Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 4*, 217. For the original text see appendix.

[121] Ibid., 169-170. My emphasis. For the original text see appendix.

[122] Ibid., 168. For the original text see appendix.

[123] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1935), 44.

[124] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, Dördüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1935), 96-97.

The warrior spirit was presented as the source of the military virtues of Turks. It was stressed that every Turk is a "born" a soldier. Military service was regarded as the natural outgrowth of the military virtues and military spirit, and was defined as the basic cultural characteristic of Turks. The first articulation of this notion of the soldier spirit can be seen in the fourth (the final) volume of the high school history textbook, published in 1931, which was indeed the first textbook written under the framework of the Turkish History Thesis. In the section entitled "Turkishness and Military Service," a distinction was made between "military training" and "military spirit," and it was argued that although the former can be given in some years, the latter was innate. The Turkish nation had this spirit, and perfected it throughout the course of history.[125]

In addition to the history textbooks, military service was signified as an ethnic attribute in the life sciences textbooks of 1930s as well. In one of the life sciences textbooks for fifth grade published in 1934, it was stated that "the Turkish nation is a soldier nation by birth."[126] In another life sciences textbook for fourth grade published in 1934, it was further argued that, "Even the language Turks used was a short soldierly language."[127] Through such arguments the military virtues, values and norms were labeled as the defining features of the national self and culture, and military service was reconstructed a cultural practice. In line with this reconstruction, the nation-in-arms idea of the nineteenth century was "culturalized," and the Turkish nation was re-imagined as a military-nation from the time immemorial. As Enloe stresses: "Conventional wisdom undercounts the decisions that are necessary to keep patriarchy alive and to sustain a society's militarization: The common conception is that decisions are driven by tradition or culture rather than by deliberate, conscious thought."[128] Although the institution of "citizen-army," based on universal conscription, has usually defined the nations in the beginning as "nations-in-arms," as a result of the strategic choices of the ruling elite, a characteristic of contemporary armies was turned into an ethno-cultural characteristic.

However, references to the military service as a civic duty existed in the textbooks of these years side by side with arguments about military service being an ethno-cultural practice, and were utilized this time to strengthen the discourse on military-nation. This

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[125] T.T.T. Cemiyeti, *Tarih 4, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti* (İstanbul: Devlet Matbaası, 1934), 344-345.

[126] Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 5*, 26-27.

[127] Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 4*, 218. For the original text see appendix.

[128] Enloe, *Maneuvers,* 33-34.

duality towards military service can also be observed in the primary school curriculum of 1936, where soldiering was presented both as a duty of citizenship, and as the basic character of the Turkish nation. The program, however, in the explanations given with respect to the history courses, specifically emphasized soldiering as the first and foremost accomplishment of Turks throughout history.[129]

All these references complicated the situation of women. Were they still members of the nation which was now being defined in the image of the warrior? Did they embody the soldierly virtues and spirit with the rest of the nation? As discussed in the previous section, women were supposed to fulfill the primary citizenship duty of military service indirectly through family and children. The discourse of military-nation was used to naturalize women's relationship to military service, which indeed consisted of the indirect fulfillment of this citizenship duty, and defined along the lines of bearing soldier sons, making sacrifices, unifying the nation-state, serving the soldiers. Through this naturalization of their roles, they were denied real membership in the nation. In fact, women are never seen in the illustrations of the "nation" accompanying the passages about ancient Turks, while male warriors are the most common figures in these illustrations. Women were either treated as absent from the history of the ancient Turks and the nation, or, as in the history textbooks, they were debunked to a small paragraph at the end of the sections related to "social life."

5.2.2. The 1948-1968 Period:

Between 1948 and 1968, the theme of Turks being born soldiers continued to be emphasized. The main characteristic of the nation was underlined as being a military-nation, and a discourse on the military virtues of ethnic Turks was largely utilized. Yet these arguments existed side by side with arguments on democracy and peace. Despite an emphasis on peace, liberty and democracy in the textbooks, the citizens were encouraged to be submissive to the homeland, nation, and the state, and such submissiveness was considered cultural uniqueness.

Raids and Turkish warriors, as the main element of nation's history and glory, were the subjects of all textbooks. Stories and poems about raids and warriors, together

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[129] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *İlkokul Programı*, 80.

with the pictures of warriors identified as the historical ancestors, were regularly seen in the language readers. For instance, first printed in a third grade language reader published in 1935 by the Ministry of Education, the passage entitled "Turk," accompanied by the illustrations of warriors, can also be seen in the third grade language reader published in 1952.[130] A similar passage entitled "Turks," in a language reader for fourth grade published in 1956 by the Ministry of Education, was again accompanied by an illustration of warriors.[131] One of the poems in a fifth grade language reader published in 1956 by the Ministry of Education, and which was also used in the 1960s, indeed posed the following question: "Who are we?" Then answered it: "the Turk who raids towards the heavenly light."[132] (See illustrations 5, 6)

The warrior spirit was an extension of warrior virtues, and identified the national ancestors. The same fifth grade language reader published in 1956 had an excerpt from a famous poem "Raiders" exemplifying this spirit:

A thousand horsemen, we were joyful as children,
A thousand horsemen, that day we defeated an army as grand as a mountain.[133]

The poem was also accompanied by an illustration of warriors/raiders (see illustration 7). Another poem from the same textbook titled "Going to Raid/Battle" further defined this spirit:

My chest, and substance is full of fire,
……..
My love of nation is in my essence.

The poet also added that a Turkish child, with such characteristics, cannot stay at home, but indeed goes to battle.[134]

As well as warrior identity, soldiering was still considered an ethnic attribute. This continuation is exemplified in a poem in the life sciences textbook for third graders published in 1953. The student was still made to identify himself as "the soldier son

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[130] T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1952), 35. For the original text see appendix.For this passage, also see T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1935), 44.

[131] T. C. Maarif Vekaleti, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı Dördüncü Sınıf,* 1st ed. (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1956), 52.

[132] T. C. Maarif Vekaleti, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı Beşinci Sınıf,* 1st ed. (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1956), 23.

[133] Ibid., 28. This is actually a well-known poem which was written by Yahya Kemal Beyatlı.

[134] Ibid., 78. The excerpt was taken from a poem written by Mehmet Emin Yurdakul.

who glorifies history." [135] Glorifying war-making kept the idea of military-nation alive. The curriculum of 1948, like the prior one, still stated soldiering as the first and foremost accomplishment of Turks. According to the program, history classes were indeed supposed to "inculcate in children how Turks had been the forerunner to other nations in areas of military service, administration, law, medicine and science."[136] In the wording of a history textbook for fourth grade published in 1954, also used in the 1960s, "Turks are first of all a military-nation."[137] That Turks are the best soldiers in the world was regarded as a cultural fact, defined by both history and geography. This relationship between "Turkish nation being a nation bringing up good soldier sons" and history, as well as geography, was stated in the end of a section on Turkish army in another history textbook for fifth grade published in the same year.[138]

5.2.3. The 1968-1981 Period:

Between 1968 and 1981, despite the curriculum changes made in 1968, the themes and arguments that were used in the textbooks were similar to the previous period. The aim of the social sciences courses, as stated in the new primary school curriculum 1968, was similar to the aim of the history courses presented in the 1948 curriculum: "…the teacher, taking advantage of every chance, should state the role Turks had played in history, should show that they had been examples to other nations in areas of military service, administration, law, medicine and science."[139] The line of reasoning attaining military service primacy in the historical achievements of the nation continued to rule throughout this period.

"Turks are the best soldiers" was regarded an ethno-cultural fact. In a life sciences textbook for third grade published in 1974, the following questions were asked: "Why do Turks love soldiering so much?," and "Why do we, as a nation, give so much

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[135] İrge, *Hayat Bilgisi, Sınıf 3, Okuma Parçaları,* (Ankara: Güney Matbaacılık ve Gazetecilik T. A. O., 1953), 24.

[136] T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *İlkokul Programı* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1948), 126. For a similar argument in the prior curriculum, see T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *İlkokul Programı*, 80.

[137] Akşit, and Eğilmez, *Tarih, Sınıf 4* (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1954), 60. The book was also used in the 1960s. It has 1956, 1961 and 1968 editions.

[138] Unat, and Su, *Tarih Dersleri, 5. Sınıf* (İstanbul: Kanaat Yayınları, 1954), 121.

[139] T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *İlkokul Programı* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1968), 69.

significance to military service?" The same textbook then stated that "There is no one in the world, who knows and does this duty [military service], better than Turks."[140] Turks were regarded as born soldiers, while raiders were still highly valued as historical ancestors; the nation continued to be identified as a military-nation, This imagined military national identity was indeed reinforced with the Turkish-Islamic synthesis of the 1970s, which not only emphasized the continuity of warrior virtues and warrior spirit through history, but also coupled these with the Islamic cultural motifs.

5.2.4. The 1981-2000 Period:

The modifications made after 1980 did not change the argument about the role Turks had played in history -- being the forerunner to other nations in the area of military service, and in fact reinforced the emphasis on the military.[141] While Turks were regarded as being born as soldiers, the nation was identified as a military-nation. In 1986, "subjects pertaining to Atatürkism" were introduced into the curriculum and the textbooks. Among these subjects, the one titled "Elements of National Power in Atatürkist Thought" referred to military power among the main components of national power. Military power was explained by referring both to "the significance and duties of the Turkish Armed Forces," and also to the "sacredness of the duty of military service," meanwhile the latter was specified with a single sub-entry: "The attribute of the Turkish nation being soldiers by birth."[142]

The "subjects pertaining to Atatürkism" were in fact the focus of education until the mid-1990s. In 1995, they were replaced with new ones, and even though the subjects did not change significantly, they were now defined in a much more detailed way. The "Elements of National Power in Atatürkist Thought" was still observed among these subjects. "Military power," presented again as one of these elements, was defined in relation to the significance and duties of the Turkish Armed Forces, the

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[140] Ötüken, *İlkokullar İçin Hayat Bilgisi 3* (İstanbul: Ulun Yayınevi, 1974), 44-45.

[141] T. C. Milli Eğitim Gençlik ve Spor Bakanlığı, *İlkokul Programı*, 160.

[142] Ibid., 171.

sacredness of the duty of military service, and the attribute of the Turkish nation being soldiers by birth.[143]

5.3. The Naturalization of Violence and the Exaltation of Death

Through the processes defined above, warring and military might became primary factors in the creation of the cult of protection and defense. Warrior virtues, such as readiness and ability to fight, physical strength, endurance, courage, heroism were signified as highly valuable, equated to manliness, and constructed as ethno-cultural attributes. In addition to warrior virtues, self-sacrifice in the name of the nation and homeland was also exalted, and martyrdom was presented to children as the highest eternal status one could ever reach. As Yael Tamir argues the "finite human experience" is shifted "from the sphere of the mundane and contingent to the realm of the eternal" through the discourses of nationalism.[144] The "symbols of nationalism" were used in the textbooks to realize the effective working of the cult of defense through naturalizing violence, and extolling dying and killing. Death was glorified in this context "in an attempt to counter the fear of the moment of death itself," with a view to mobilize the society around the war effort and military causes.[145]

5.3.1. The 1928-1948 Period:

In the textbooks published between 1928 and 1948, worked to naturalize violence in relation to protection and defense, and killing and dying in the name of the nation were exalted. As exemplified in the words of a language textbook author, published in 1934 for fifth grade students, "in order to understand the survival might of Turks what

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[143] T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *İlköğretim Kurumlarının Birinci Kademesindeki Öğretim Programları ile Ders Kitaplarında Yer Alması Gereken Atatürkçülükle İlgili Konular*, 19, 46-47.

[144] Yael Tamir, "Pro Patria Mori! Death and the State," in *The Morality of Nationalism*, ed. Robert McKim and Jeff McMahan (Oxford University Press, 1997), 236. Tamir also argues that self-sacrifice for the state can also be justified without making any reference to nationalism, and he presents two alternative conceptions of the state that serves such an end. These two conceptions are "organic view of the state" and "state as the carrier of religious ideals."

[145] Ibid., 234.

is necessary is to look at the number of Turkish heroes who died in war."[146] In numerous reading passages, in the language textbooks, boys were presented as sacrificing their bodies and lives in defense of the nation and homeland.[147] In these stories, war and death, set in relation to homeland and nation, were sanctified. In a history textbook for fourth graders published in 1936 by the Ministry of Culture, "Die[ing] in combat in order to protect the homeland" was indeed linked to "being useful for the homeland."[148]

Blood and shedding of blood became frequently used imageries. For instance, a poem published in the 1941 language reader for fifth grade students, stated that the flag took its color from "the real blood of the Turkish son." It continued by sanctifying death, and presenting martyrdom as a lyric act: "I'll die, shed blood."[149] This textbook was used until 1955 with minor revisions. A similar poem from the 1928 fifth grade language reader, also referred in the previous chapters, stated that "With the blood of the martyrs / Red is the territory of homeland."[150] In another language reader for fourth grade students, published in 1935 by the Ministry of Education, protection, death and shedding of blood were inextricably interlinked: "In order to protect the existence and well-being of the state, each Turk sheds his blood and gives his life."[151] The passage, despite the modification made in the textbook, continued to appear until 1955.

Death was exalted through such imagery, and the land was presented as the homeland of martyrs. In addition, violence was naturalized through texts such as the poem titled "Victory." This poem printed in a fifth grade language reader, published by the Ministry of Education in 1935, put forward the following as a sign of victory: "We

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[146] Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 5*, 27.

[147] See for example, Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Üçüncü Sınıf*, 35-36. For the original text see appendix; Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Dördüncü Sınıf*, 127-129; Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Beşinci Sınıf*, 101-107; İçsel and İçsel, *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, İlk Mektep Üçüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitaphanesi, 1929; reprint, 1934), 17-20, 57-59; İçsel and İçsel, *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, İlk Mektep Dördüncü Sınıf*, 193-201, 205-207. For the original text see appendix; İçsel and İçsel, *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, İlk Mektep Beşinci Sınıf* , 210-213. For the original text see appendix; Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 5*; T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1935), 40-41; T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1945), 30-32.

[148] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 4. Sınıf*, 6.

[149] T. C. Maarif Vekilliği, *Okuma Kitabı, Beşinci Sınıf* (Ankara: Maarif Matbaası, 1941), 8.

[150] Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Beşinci Sınıf*, 9.

[151] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, Dördüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1935), 3. See also T. C. Maarif Vekilliği, *Okuma Kitabı, Dördüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1941), 3.

wiped off the rust on our swords with the blood of the enemy."[152] The same textbook, which was used until 1955 with minor revisions, contained the same poem.[153]

5.3.2. The 1948-1968 Period:

The period after the Second World War saw the worldwide decline of the nation-in-arms model and democracy and peace became the words of the day. In Turkey, where they became rhetorically valued concepts, the transition to multi-party politics was made. However, the discourse on defense of the homeland, state and flag, and slef-sacrifice on their behalf had already become a hegemonic one. The Turkish flag, as can be seen in a language reader published by the Ministry of Education in 1955, continued to be related to sacrificing lives and shedding blood.[154] Sacrificing bodies and lives in defense of homeland, nation, state and flag were demanded from the children. Martyrdom was glorified. A life sciences reader for second grade published in 1959 presented to the students the lists titled "Do you do these?" The following statement can be observed among the listed issues: "I will willingly give my life."[155] As exemplified in a poem from a life sciences textbook for third grade students published in 1953, soldiering was signified as "glorifying the history." The poem further added: "No death can scare me."[156] This exaltation of killing and dying in the name of the nation can also be seen in the passages printed in the language reader for third grade students published by the Ministry of Education in 1952: "Turk does not hesitate to give his life to exterminate the ones who look at his land with an evil eye."[157] In this example, martyrdom and killing with reference to the symbols of nationalism were in fact

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[152] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, Beşinci Sınıf* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1935), 31. For the original text, see appendix. For the same poem see also, T. C. Maarif Vekilliği, *Okuma Kitabı, Beşinci Sınıf* (Ankara: Maarif Basımevi, 1941), 30.

[153] See, T. C. Maarif Vekaleti, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı Beşinci Sınıf,* 1st ed. (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1956), 6.

[154] T. C. Maarif Vekaleti, *Okuma Kitabı, İkinci Sınıf* (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1955), 13. For the original text, see appendix.

[155] Ötüken, *İlkokullar İçin Hayat Bilgisi 2* (İstanbul: Ders Kitapları Ticaret Limitet Şirketi, 1959), 19.

[156] İrge, *Hayat Bilgisi, Sınıf 3, Okuma Parçaları* (Ankara: Güney Matbaacılık ve Gazetecilik T. A. O., 1953), 24.

[157] T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1952), 36. For the original text, see appendix.

culturalized. This passage first occurred in 1935 version of the reader, and despite the modifications made in the textbook, continued to exist until the 1960s.[158]

Between 1948 and 1968, textbooks were full of reading passages made up of graphical definitions of battles. In some textbooks, such as the life sciences textbook for third grade published in 1953, the students were even asked to make pictures of these battle scenes.[159] Dying and killing in war were also justified. As it was stated in a reading passage from a language reader for fifth grade published in 1956 by the Ministry of Education:

> Turks made the others fall, but they themselves have never fallen. They knew how to kill and die when they were fighting. Outside the war and in their country they were never murderers. The hand of Turk, which uses the sword with extensive skill, is also skillful in healing the wounds of the people it has defeated.[160]

However, this was not the same in the case of the enemy. Violence was perceived as caused only by the enemy. For example, in a teacher's guide book published in 1952 for life sciences grade one, the teacher was advised to tell the students the following: "The enemies ... killed the babies by hanging them on the bayonets. They cut down the older ones."[161]

As the primary school curriculum of 1948 presented soldiering as a required subject for life sciences courses at grade two, the subject involved soldiering games, stories about soldiers in war, and presentation of artillery and military hierarchies.[162] As it can be observed in the life sciences textbook for second grade students published in 1959, walking drills, "imitating walking as a soldier," "imitating horse riding, gun firing," and "lying down to spy on the enemy" were all presented as physical education exercises for the children.[163] The education system was organized to inculcate not only affinity to military service and to provide affirmative ideas and feelings for the military, such as love and trust for the army, but also to make the minds and the bodies conform to the working modes of armies.

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[158] T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1935), 43-44.

[159] İrge, *Hayat Bilgisi, Sınıf 3, Okuma Parçaları* (Ankara: Güney Matbaacılık ve Gazetecilik T. A. O., 1953), 23. For the original text see appendix.

[160] T. C. Maarif Vekaleti, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı Beşinci Sınıf,* 1st ed. (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1956), 40.

[161] Aytuna, *Faal Metoda Göre Hayat Bilgisi Öğretmen Kitabı, Sınıf: 1*, 70.

[162] T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *İlkokul Programı* (İstanbul, Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1948), 70.

[163] Ötüken, *İlkokullar İçin Hayat Bilgisi 2* (İstanbul: Ders Kitapları Ticaret Limitet Şirketi, 1959), 20, 105.

5.3.3. The 1968-1981 Period:

Between 1968 and 1981, despite the changes in the primary school curriculum in 1968, war and death, set in relation to homeland, nation and flag, continued to be sanctified. It was argued that "For the homeland, nation, flag and rights, Turk knows how to die willingly and without hesitating."[164] In the textbooks, the symbols of nationalism were inextricably linked to death. For instance, flag was represented as "painted by the blood of martyrs."[165] This statement, sanctifying death through using the imagery of blood and linking it to the flag, can also be observed in the previous period, and it continued to exist in the new language readers that were published until 1980. The glorification of death through the imagery of blood can also be seen in various other textbooks, such as the fourth grade social sciences textbook published in 1978. It was argued in this textbook that "Our ancestors and brothers, in order to save our existence and honor, fought side by side, shed their blood, and did not withhold from sacrificing their lives."[166] This argument presented self-sacrifice and martyrdom to the children as desirable actions, but as actions which they owe their present lives.

As death was sanctified through such imagery, violence was normalized through others. For instance, the poem entitled "Victory," defining war as wiping off the rust on the swords (of the victorious) by the blood of the enemy, first printed in a fifth grade language reader published in 1935 by the Ministry of Education, can be found in the language readers published until 1980 under different titles.[167] In fact, textbooks were still full of reading passages consisting of graphical definitions of battles. In some textbooks, such as a life sciences textbook published for third grade students in 1974, the children were even asked to make pictures of military artillery.[168]

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[164] Sanır, Asal, and Akşit, *İlkokullar İçin Sosyal Bilgiler, 4. Sınıf,* 5th ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1978), 226. For the original text see appendix.

[165] T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1952), 36. For the original text see appendix.

[166] Sanır, Asal, and Akşit, *İlkokullar İçin Sosyal Bilgiler, 4. Sınıf,* 5th ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1978), 230. For the original text see appendix.

[167] T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, Beşinci Sınıf* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1952), 28. For the same poem see also, T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, Beşinci Sınıf* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1935), 31. For the original text see appendix.

[168] Ötüken, *İlkokullar İçin Hayat Bilgisi 3*, 47.

5.3.4. The 1981-2000 Period:

Between 1981 and 2000, the textbooks used in education in Turkey, similar to the former periods, contained texts and illustrations which served to naturalize violence, and exalt killing and dying in relation to the symbols of nationalism (the homeland, nation and flag). In this period, militarization of education continued, and even escalated with the introduction of the subjects, issues, and attributes that were signified, and gathered together under the title of "subjects pertaining to Atatürkism." These subjects were added, in 1986, as required subjects to the textbooks and with their introduction "control of the unnecessary power of mercy" came to be presented as one of the attributes of Atatürk. This newly introduced virtue was another step in naturalizing violence. It further legitimized recourse to violence through outlawing compassion.

This new attribute –"control of the unnecessary power of mercy"-- was incorporated into the program of language classes, where it was defined as one of the behaviors that the students should gain through education.[169] It was also incorporated into the life sciences courses and textbooks – into the parts concerned with the foundation of the Republic and Atatürk—and taught to the children as one of the virtues of the founder of the Republic.[170] For instance, in a life sciences textbook for third grade published in 1991 by the Ministry of Education, under the unit entitled "Commemoration of the Proclamation of the Republic, and Atatürk," the subtitle of "Atatürkism" consisted of a list of the characteristics of Atatürk, which actually contained only four entries. One of these entries was the following:

> Control of the unnecessary power of mercy: Atatürk was firm and authoritarian in his outward appearance. His orders were strict. He had a merciful heart under this tough appearance. He felt pity for the weak and the poor, and helped them. Yet he knew how to control his feeling of compassion. He put the nation's interest into the first place. He forgave the ones who tried to kill him, but not the ones who harmed the nation.[171]

The "subjects pertaining to Atatürkism" was revised in 1995, and new ones were introduced to the curricula and textbooks. In these revised entries, this attribute of

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[169] T. C. Milli Eğitim Gençlik ve Spor Bakanlığı, *İlkokul Programı*, 216

[170] Ibid., 145.

[171] T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Hayat Bilgisi İlkokul 3*, 71. For the original text see appendix.

"control of the unnecessary power of mercy" was not presented as one of the attributes of the founder of the Republic, Atatürk, and was no longer signified as one of the virtues that the students should gain through education.

5.4. Conclusion

War mobilization and war making, universal (male) compulsory military service and reconstructed war narratives have been key instruments in state-making and nation-building. The formation of the Turkey as a nation-state was also structured and limited along these lines. The above analysis tried to provide insights into the militarized dimension of the nation-building process in Turkey, and the engineering of a militarized national self to complement the nationalization and modernization processes. The deliberate educational choices and actions of the ruling elite, as seen here, have been significant in solidifying and intensifying the links between these processes. Although the linkages between these processes are hardly exceptional to the Turkish case, they have specific characteristics, and have led to some unique outcomes. These include the persistent imagining of the nation as the military-nation with warrior-protector citizens, and constructing military service as a cultural practice, as well as the perpetual transgressing of the line between the civilian and military spheres.

Throughout education in Turkey, the land, nation, and state are presented as absolute goods and truths; people are asked to accept sacrificing their lives to defend these causes. The borderlines of the new order were delineated over women, and men were set as the protectors and guardians of this new order and its borders. Warring for the viability of the homeland, nation, and state was demanded from men, and it was legitimized through the discourse of defense. As defense was equated to warring, in a world where wars were regarded inevitable, defense of the homeland and the nation through the use of coercive practices, armed struggle, and/or fighting became crucial and imperative. However, defense, in the textbooks published after the Second World War, was specified not only as the utmost concern of the citizens, but also as the job of the army. The army signified as both being formed by and as different from the nation. Its professionalization became an important concern, and it was integrated into the cult

of defense as the masculine protector, signified as the protector of both the homeland and the nation.

Military service, in the textbooks, was presented as the primary citizenship duty, and the necessity of the modern times. In addition, it was also regarded as a duty the fulfillment of which signified "becoming a man," and a cultural practice signaling true membership to the nation. The true Republican boy was the one who follows this path. The gendering of compulsory military service was deliberately done because of the need to re-gender the social order of the new nation-state. Through the practice of military service, and the meanings attached to it, masculinity, citizenship, the state and the military were interwoven together, making women's citizenship status problematic and secondary to that of men. No matter how vital women's services were, they were regarded as merely support, and at best as self-sacrifice.

The militarization of education was sustained in the textbooks in Turkey mainly through treating war as a constant in life, reducing history to a narrative of wars, constructing the cult of national security and defense through utilizing the discourse on enemies and the notion of threat, as well as naturalizing violence together with exaltation of dying and killing in the name of the nation and homeland. In addition, the warrior virtues and the warrior spirit were made into the main ethno-cultural attributes of the Turkish nation. This construct was introduced to the textbooks in the 1930s with the Turkish History Thesis, and led to re-imagining of the nation as the military nation. The discourse of military-nation was used to naturalize women's relationship to military service, which consisted of the indirect fulfillment of this citizenship duty, and defined along the lines of bearing soldier sons, making sacrifices, unifying the nation-state, and serving the soldiers. This imagined military national identity was reinforced with the Turkish-Islamic synthesis of the 1970s, and continued to be highlighted thereafter. The synthesis emphasized the continuity of warrior virtues and warrior spirit through history, and also coupled it with the Islamic cultural motifs.

These discourses led to the militarization of education, and created a constant feeling of fear and insecurity, culminating in increased violence, and permanent mobilization of society. They also resulted in the differentiation between the civilian and military spheres to become problematic. When coupled with the representation of the land, nation, and state as absolute goods and truths, these discourses ended up in creating militarized citizen-nationals. As the links between militarism, nation and state were sustained and legitimized through education, this caused militarism's linkage to

the two dominant paradigms of the Turkish nation-state, nationalism and modernization, to solidify.

5.5. Illustrations to Chapter 5
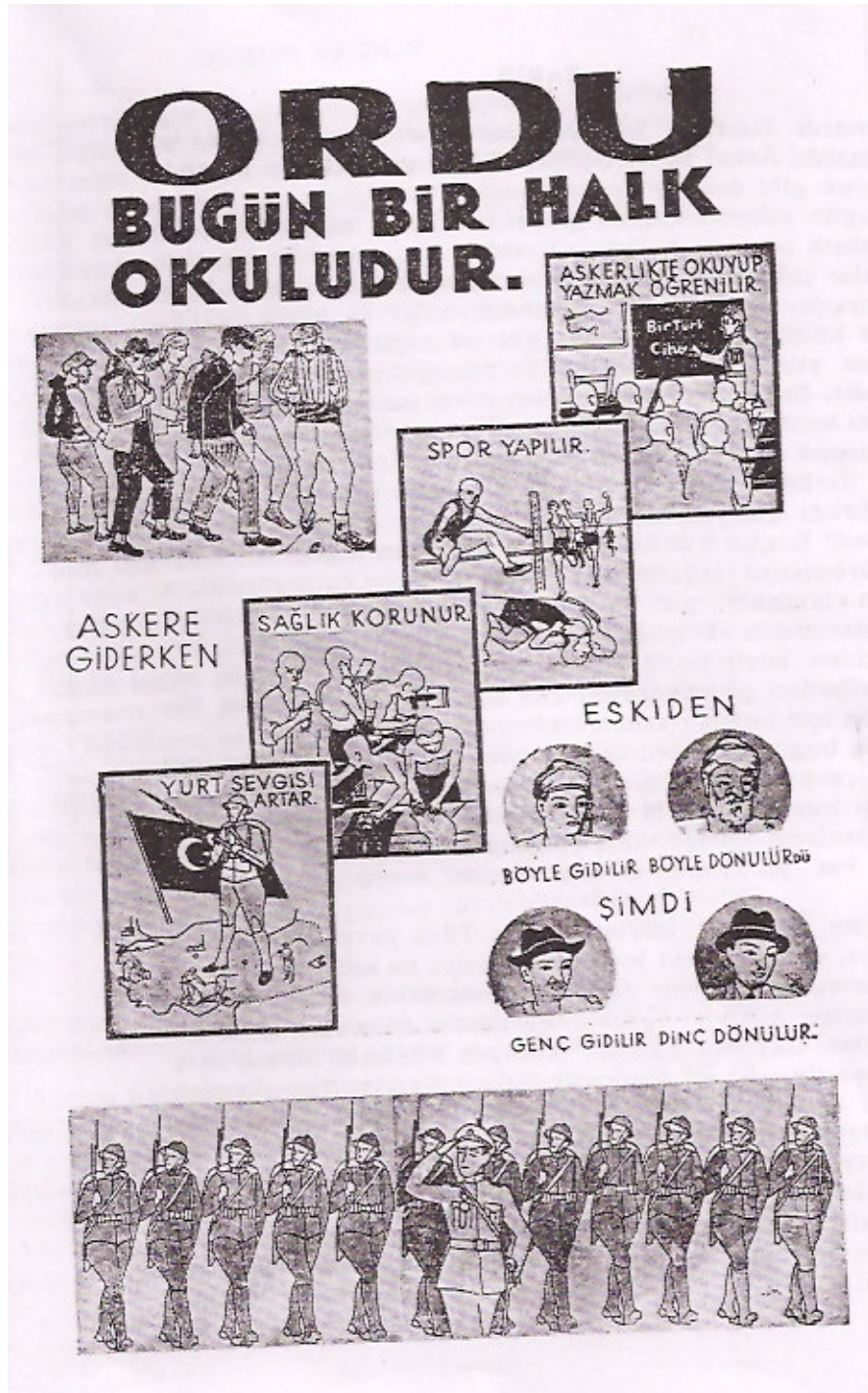
Illustration 1: T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 4. Sınıf* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1936), 19.

Illustration 2, "Ancient Turks": Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 4* (İstanbul: Türk Kitapçılığı Limitet Şirketi, 1934-1935), 168.

Illustration 3, "Turk": T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1935), 44

Illustration 4, "Turkishness": T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, Dördüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1935), 96.

Illustration 5, "Turk": T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1952), 35
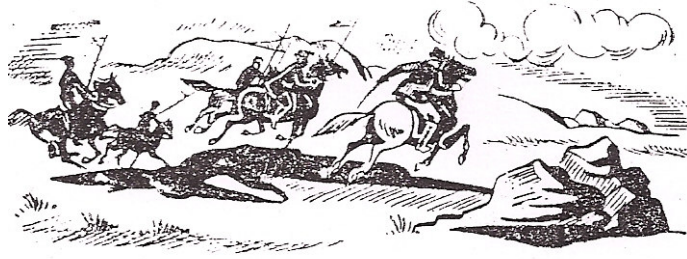
Illustration 6, "Turks": T. C. Maarif Vekaleti, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı, Dördüncü Sınıf,* 1st ed. (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1956), 52.
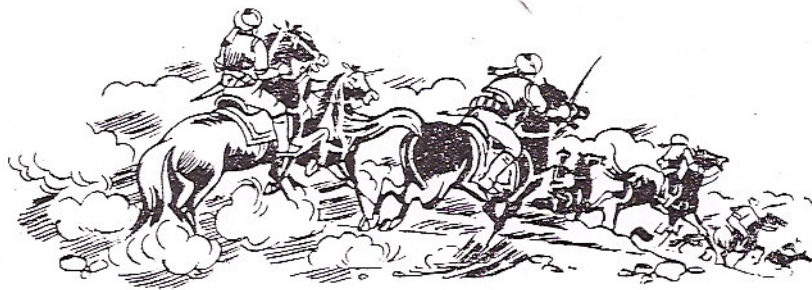
Illustration 7: T. C. Maarif Vekaleti, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı, Beşinci Sınıf,* 1st ed. (İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1956), 28.

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, the main aspects of and the changes in the national self that have been imagined and tried to be formed through public mass education in Turkey are examined through their reflections in primary school textbooks used from 1928 to 2000. This study on textbooks, the major carriers of discourses defining the locus of public education, provides answers to the question regarding the frameworks in which the identities of the people in Turkey tried to be (re)formulated. The analysis concentrates on three main discourses: nationalism, modernization and militarism. It reveals their specific and interlinked utilization in the imaginings of the national self, and shows that they have delimited the imaginings and set the boundaries of the national self in specific ways.

The analysis of the textbooks used in Turkey from 1928 to 2000 with respect to the discourses of nationalism highlights, by utilizing both the elements of civic and ethnic nationalisms, the multidimensional imaginings of the Turkish national identity. The textbooks of the late 1920s emphasized territory as one of the main signifiers of the nation. Other signifiers included, for example, Republican morality and duties. The attempts to shape national identity as a territorial identity led to a conception of nationhood that was structured along awareness of, love for, and indebtedness to the territory of the new state. The textbooks frequently linked geography to Turkishness and tried to inculcate geographical awareness and love of the land. The narratives of the War of Independence were utilized to instill an historical awareness with respect to the territory in question. Through these narratives, it was frequently emphasized that many people had died creating and protecting the territorial borders of the new state -- the homeland. These ongoing emphases on self-sacrifices made all the living, and all who

would be born *indebted* to the martyrs, and thus to the homeland. Each and every citizen was supposed to show his/her love and gratefulness by acting obediently and doing whatever was asked from him/her in the name of the homeland.

In the textbooks of the late 1920s, the national self was constructed as exhibiting the Republican morality, which was indeed the culmination of the national character, as well as wholehearted performance of the duties laid out. Republican morality was constructed as a framework for action and behavior, and was defined according to the needs of the secular Republic. The set of behavior that defined the Republican morality were being hardworking, well-mannered, docile, obedient, trustworthy, brave, heroic, and self-sacrificing, which were, at the same time, presented as national character traits. Exhibiting bravery, heroism and self-sacrifice were particularly stressed as role models through the narratives of the War of Independence.

Serving the homeland was represented as the duty of every national in the textbooks of these years. The biggest service to the homeland was defined as military service, while the others included internalizing a protestant work ethic and paying taxes. Duties were not linked to rights but to the feelings of love and indebtedness. Women were not allowed to fulfill the most fundamental duty of citizenship, and were, hence, transformed into second-class citizens. Men were regarded as the true bearers of nationhood and citizenship. Not being able to perform military service, but being still indebted with the duty of protecting the geographical territory of the state (and thus protecting national identity), resulted in a differentiation of women's status as citizens and nationals.

The textbooks of the late 1920s were not without ethno-cultural references. The ethnic references existed in the textbooks of the late 1920s together with civic ones. Although sparingly used, racial ideas, in the form of racial purity and eugenics, were also evident in the textbooks of these years. The ethnic axis of the nationalist discourse and identity was solidified in the mid-1930s through a discursive shift that was maintained by the official introduction of the Turkish History Thesis in the textbooks. Focusing specifically on origins and ancestors, this ethnic axis continued to be particularly emphasized until the mid-1940s.

The Turkish History Thesis reconstructed the national self along ethno-cultural lines, such that ethnic origins, primordial ancestors, and culture became the focus of nationalist discourse of the textbooks. A mythical motherland (the prehistoric Central Asia) was invented. In the textbooks of the mid-1930s and early-1940s, the Turkish

nation was signified as "the" primordial and greatest nation of the world, migrating to different parts of the world, bringing civilization along. It was argued that these waves of migrations, followed by occupations and the subsequent settlements, continued throughout the history resulting in the dissolution of the existing states, and in the formation of new ones by the migrating ethnic Turkish groups. The geographical territory of the new state was also invented as ethnically Turkish from time immemorial; thus all the different identities that had existed and/or still existing in these lands were disguised. There were two options left for the people who would claim otherwise (that they are not ethnically Turkish): either they had forgotten their Turkishness and had a false consciousness, or they were foreign elements. While the first one comprised the Muslims living on the land, the latter referred to the non-Muslims, the official minorities.

The textbooks of the mid-1930s and early-1940s still signified the fundamental duty of nationals as protecting the territory of the state. Sacrificing lives to protecting the homeland was again a highlighted theme, but this time also with reference to primordial ancestors. The citizens were indebted with the duty of military service, which was now set as the major aspect of the ethnic character. A linkage was also provided between homeland, patriotism and working. In the textbooks published in the mid-1930s and early-1940s, national character continued to be defined with the Republican morality. However, more often than not, national character was defined with respect to ethnic attributes such as origins and mythical ancestors.

The textbooks used in the aftermath of the Second World War placed less emphasis on ethnic elements in the imaginings of the national self. Although the basis and rationale of the History Thesis continued to structure the textbooks, its most extreme claims, such as the ones pertaining to race, were dropped from the late 1940s onwards. The Turkishness of the forerunner civilizations of the world was not stressed as it had been in previous years. However, the narratives on the origins, the myths of ancestors, and the emphases on language and national character (the latter defined with respect to ancestors) still filled the textbooks. The Ottoman, as well as Islamic past, was restored. In addition, the Aegean, Greek, and Roman civilizations gained importance. However, the historiography of the immediate past (the narrative of the late-Ottoman times) was not challenged. The civic elements co-existed in the textbooks with the ethnic ones; Republican morality and duties, with military service being the prime one,

were signified. The geographical territory of the new state was still constructed as ethnically Turkish from time immemorial.

Over the next few years, the textbooks dropped the framework of the Turkish History Thesis, and adopted the Turkish-Islamic Synthesis, the latter glorifying the Islamic civilization and emphasizing the Muslim character of Turkishness. However, this change, which occurred in the late 1970s, did not lead to a decline in the emphasis on ethnicity, but instead introduced a new religious-ethnic rewriting of history. The Turkification of Anatolia back in the eleventh century and its concomitant conversion to Islam were now specifically signified. The emphasis on the ethnic axis of national identity gained momentum again in the late 1970s, with the formulation of this so-called synthesis.

The textbooks published in the 1970s and after defined and presented national character in the form of lists. These imaginings of the national self were not blueprints or mind maps to be inculcated, but strict schemes to abide by, systematized as practical programs for national restoration. The necessary fulfillment of duties was signified as a part of the national character. The emphasis on the territory, and on love and indebtedness towards it, continued to be important themes, too. Sacrificing lives in the protection of the homeland, nation and its symbols was again presented as a defining feature of Turkishness. The homeland was still defined as the land of martyrs. The importance of a shared culture was emphasized, and together with it, the emphases on tradition, custom, and religion (read here as Islam) increased. The discourse on progress was replaced with development, which was defined mainly in terms of economic wealth. The existence of shared ideals, which were defined as freedom, independence and development, were strongly underlined. Attainment of wealth and national security was linked to these ideals. These civic and ethnic elements were defined as the "ties connecting Turks."

In the textbooks of the 1990s, although the civic elements still prevailed, the ethnic emphases were strengthened. Specific emphasis was placed on conceptualizing territory by focusing on the notion of unity. The textbooks stressed the "inseparable unity of the Turkish homeland and the Turkish nation." This stress on unity was coupled with an increased emphasis on Turkishness. The existence of an ethnic Turkish base was stressed in the textbooks and underlined as the basis for the state. The nation was defined in terms of this base, signifying the ethnic axis of the national identity as its defining component.

Besides a general conception of enemies, which dominated all the textbooks used from 1928 to 2000, specific people, nations and states have been defined as the 'others' of Turkish national self. The imaginings of the national self were specified through the construction and naming of "internal and external others." The "internal others" of the nation were the people who were portrayed as and blamed for being indolent, coward, ignorant, and/or backward-minded. These people, though a part of the nation, were regarded as outcasts, degenerates, and/or traitors. They were stigmatized as the enemies of the society, nation and state. The "external others" of national identity were the people or states with connections or claims to the territories that the national historical narrative focuses; these people and states were presented as the enemies of the Turkish states and people.

In the textbooks of the late 1920s, the sultans of the late Ottoman times (portrayed as cowards, degenerates, traitors, insane, and/or ignorant people lost in the pleasures of life) were presented among the internal others. These characteristics were in fact the opposite of the presented national characteristics. In the primary school textbooks written after the official formulation of the Turkish History Thesis, not only the sultans of the late Ottoman times, but in fact "the Ottoman" was regarded as the nation's 'other'. This repudiation of the immediate past was possible through the re-writing of history with the Turkish History Thesis, which reinvented historical continuity along different lines; by creating an ethnic past. *İstibdat,* despotism, was used to define the regime of the Ottoman Empire, which was presented as the 'other' of the Republican regime. The nationalist narrative argued that the whole nation had been suppressed and kept ignorant by the Ottoman rule. In these textbooks, another widely referred group of internal others consisted of the people who were referred to as "backward minded" and "ignorant." These people were not ignorant in a naïve way; they were the ones who stuck to the old ways of doing things, and try to poison the nation. A differentiation between the backward-minded and the progressive-minded people were introduced into the textbooks - the latter defining the "nationalists", who wanted to "modernize" the state.

The states having claims over the territories on which the national historical narrative focused were presented as the external others of the nation. The external others differed according to the narrative of national history; however, some people and states, such as the Greeks, were specifically stressed and underlined with a continuing emphasis throughout all the years under survey as the nation's paramount 'other'.

Turkish identity was constituted as a masculine identity in opposition to a feminized Greek one. The historical narrative of the textbooks also continuously underlined other external others and enemies besides the Greeks: the Armenians, British, French, and Italians.

The textbooks written after the formulation of the Turkish History Thesis presented the Byzantine Empire as a historical external other and enemy. This was because the Byzantine Empire's historical presence in Anatolia contradicted the argument about Anatolia being an ancient and genuine Turkish homeland. The Empire was presented as a source of the false consciousness that some people living in Anatolia had acquired. According to this argument, through various deceitful acts, such as converting Turks to Christianity, and changing their language, the Byzantine state tried to get the people living in Anatolia to forget their Turkishness. Even though Christianity was presented as an element depriving Turks of their national consciousness, no such argument was made with respect to the conversion of ancient Turks to Islam.

The presentation of the European states as the external others, and enemies of the nation points to a hostility towards the West. However, this hostility was at the same time accompanied by an acceptance of dominance of the West. Ultimately aiming at the consolidation and preservation of the state, reaching the level of contemporary civilization was set as one of the main targets of nationalism. The Turkish History Thesis of the 1930s presented civilization as belonging originally to the Turkish nation, and introduced the concerns of Western modernity such as progress and productiveness as the national characteristics of Turks. It can be regarded as a response to the paradox that had been aroused in the nationalist project due to the embracement of whole scale Westernization. History was reconfigured according to the Thesis in order to not only settle the dichotomy between modernization and authenticity, but also to serve modernization. What was modern was not Western but indeed authentic, and thus national. This ethnic rewriting of history at the same time points to the overarching importance of modernization *cum* Westernization.

The specified internal and external others of the national self changed in the textbooks published in the late 1970s. A positive affirmative emphasis was placed on "the Ottoman;" as such, it was no longer presented as the internal other of the nation. The restoration and glorification of the Ottoman era excluded the last centuries of the Empire. The sultans of the late Ottoman times, and the people and groups referred to as backward minded and ignorant continued to be regarded as the internal others of the

nation. The textbooks of the following years stick to the same lines; however, in the 1990s, in line with the growing ethnic emphasis, the sultans of the late Ottoman times, other than being referred as traitors, cowards, and degenerates, were charged only with not abiding by the aims of their ancestors, i.e., the glorious sultans of former eras of imperial splendor.

Another difference in the textbooks published in the late 1970s was that an additional group of internal others was introduced: traitors who had collaborated with the external enemies. These internal enemies and traitors were signified as the "local *Rums*" and the "local Armenians." Although there was mention of such collaboration in the earlier textbooks, such groups of people were not specifically named as historical internal enemies. The concept of minority was introduced to the discourse of the textbooks in the 1990s, and signified as referring to the internal others of the nation. It was used to refer to specific groups of internal others, namely the "local *Rums*" and the "local Armenians," and as such, it had a negative connation. Similar to the prior era, the Christian millets of the Empire, the *Rums* and Armenians, were stigmatized as the collaborators of the foreign enemy states. However, as different from the earlier textbooks, the textbooks of these years used the term minorities to refer to these Christian *millets* of the Empire, thus providing a connection between the concept of minority and the act of treason. Meanwhile, the ethnically non-Turkish Muslim groups such as Kurds, Circassians, the Abkhaz, and the Laz were Turkified discursively by their omission from the textbooks. Throughout all these years, they were never mentioned in the textbooks, and basically treated as non-existing.

The textbooks of the 1970s and the following years continued to present both the Greeks and the Armenians as external enemies. The internal and external Armenian others, as well as the local and external Greeks, were regarded as inherently linked to one another. Unlike the specific emphases on the Greeks and Armenians, the national historical narrative both continued to use the general term "enemies" to refer to various European peoples and states, and to acknowledge and name them explicitly.

The analysis of the textbooks used in Turkey from 1928 to 2000 with respect to the modernization discourses highlighted the 'civilized' character of the imagined national self, and portrayed this 'civility' mainly via appearances. In addition, the Western European inspired appearances, practices, values and norms were defined as signifying 'civility.' In the textbooks of the late 1920s, 30s and 40s, middle-class images and behavior codes were emphasized as designating the ideal citizens, as men

and women, of the new nation-state. These ideal middle-class men and women were portrayed especially in the illustrations in textbooks with the goal of displaying 'civility' as a prime motive. Men were defined primarily as enlightened and economically productive fathers, made the head of the family and empowered as the primary citizens of the new nation-state. Women, both, empowered and restricted through the practice of domesticity, were set as only secondary to men, defined as civilized subjects as long as they became scientifically-oriented and skilled mother-housewives. This analysis of the discourses of the modern with respect to gender uncovers the specifics of the national order; the imaginings of the national self were undertaken with the aim of the ultimate realization of a nation-state in the image of the West, a goal which inherently entailed disciplinary processes.

However, as seen in the textbooks, both men and women counterparts of the national self were imagined with much less empowering possibilities than in the Western examples. The nation-formation processes further restrained the empowering aspects of modernization. In all the textbooks analyzed, the modernization endeavors were, besides being restrained to disciplinary acts, also constrained in relation to the nation and the family (the latter being treated as the micro-cosmos of the former, the nation) due to the concerns of nation-building processes. People were treated primarily as nationals rather than individuals, and embedded with gratefulness, obedience, and sacrifice towards greater beings, defined as family, nation, homeland, and state. The ideal men ended up as the primary civilized citizens, and bound actors in the sphere of the family, and objects in the sphere of the nation-state. They were to be selfless and heroic with respect to the family and the nation-state, and grateful and obedient towards the nation-state --ready to perform whatever was asked from them. For women, gratefulness, obedience and sacrifice were directed both to the family and the nation-state. As domesticity was coupled with the pre-eminence of the community, women became even further subordinated.

In the textbooks of the late 1920s, 30s and 40s, portrayals of different groups of people can also be found besides the emphases on the middle-class norms, behavior and appearances. The other visible men were usually personified as workers, artisans, and farmers/peasants. These men were not necessarily well-educated; what was stressed was being a hardworking economic actor, and embracement of the same values, norms and behaviors held and exhibited by middle class men. References to national myths and origins were also evident in some of these personifications; such as the widely used

figures of the blacksmith, and the warrior. Besides the middle-class woman, who was the cultural-ideal female, other women, urban women of lower status and rural women, were also presented in the textbooks.

The textbooks of these years presented motherhood as the primary signifier of womanhood. Housework was considered effort necessary for the well-being of the people living in the house, and a natural part of motherhood. Doing housework was presented as the new ideal woman's duty, and it was differentiated from the "real work," the latter being undertaken by men in the public sphere. This differentiation advocated the ideology of separate spheres, and an attempt was made to create a division of labor based on gender as the foundation of the new social order.

The analysis of the discourses of the modern with respect to gender uncovers the specifics of the ideology of nationalism presented through the textbooks, as well as the specifics of the national order. As already discussed with respect to the analysis of the ethnic and civic elements of the ideology of nationalism in the textbooks used in Turkey, the duties of the citizen were defined as the military service, working and paying taxes. The formulation of military service as the fundamental duty of the nationals made the situation of women problematic. However, women were constructed as second class citizens primarily, but not only, with respect to the duty of military service. As seen in this analysis of the textbooks, it was men who were given the duty of military service, working, and paying taxes, while women were to indirectly undertake these citizenship duties, through motherhood and housewifery – these including child rearing (enabling the reproduction and socialization of the future citizens), and doing housework (enabling the necessary recreation of men in the private space).

In the textbooks published in the aftermath of the Second World War, the definition of the civilized subjects of the Republic, and their bound and constrained nature did not change. The modernization discourses of the prior periods were embraced albeit with small changes. The efforts of Westernization with its emphasis on middle class values continued, despite the limited introduction of Islamic symbolism and wording. Men were still presented as the primary civilized subjects of the family, and thus primary citizens of the nation-state. However, they were at the same time constrained with the family and treated as the objects of the nation-state. Women were set secondary to men through the practice of domesticity, and subordinated to the family and the nation. The priority of motherhood remained constant. Women's appearances became more plain and modest, and they were thought as not necessarily scientifically-

oriented but as skilled mother-housewives. The textbooks of the 1970s and the following years changed this picture incrementally. A change, albeit small, compared to the prior periods was the acknowledgment that women could have jobs and professions. Yet this was not regarded as the norm; their work as always was marginalized as "support." The primary duties of women were still defined as child-rearing and doing housework.

In the textbooks published after 1980, the cultural ideal no longer referred to middle class appearances. The status, class and external appearances of the representations of both men and women varied. The men presented in the textbooks referred to a much wider spectrum. Women were now more visible and at times became primary actors. Their work in the public sphere was openly and widely acknowledged. But they were still portrayed primarily as mothers and housewives. They were in fact placed under the double burden of working both outside and, at the same time, inside the house. Although there were some alterations in the division of labor in these years, the gender roles remained the same in the textbooks of these years, as did the constrained nature of the imagined men and women.

The analysis of the textbooks used in Turkey from 1928 to 2000 from the angle of militarism highlighted the militarized dimension of the nation-building process, and the imagining of a militarized national self complementing the nationalization and modernization processes in Turkey. Although the intricate linkages between these processes are hardly unique to the Turkish case, they employed some particular characteristics that have led to some rather distinctive outcomes. These include, for example, the persistent imagining of the nation as the "military-nation" with warrior-protector citizens, and constructing military service as a cultural practice, as well as the perpetual transgressing of the line between the civilian and military spheres.

In all the textbooks analyzed, war was regarded as a constant in life. In addition to this social Darwinian view of life, a Schmittian understanding of politics also dominated the textbooks. War was conceived not only as unavoidable, but as the extreme realization of the political. History was reduced to a narrative of wars between states. War-making was regarded as the main element of civilization. A cult of national security and defense was constructed through utilizing the discourse on enemies.

The textbooks published in the late 1920s underlined the existence of enemies and threat emanating from them as "wisdom" gained through history, mainly through utilizing the narratives of the War of Independence. With the new official account of

national history defined along the Turkish History Thesis, being surrounded by enemies and being at war with the neighbors were naturalized by referring to the ancient Turks, as well as to the other periods of Turkish history. As nationalism was defined along the lines of defense, the necessity of a strong military formed by the very nation itself was explained in the textbooks through the narratives of the War of Independence, and Turks being surrounded by enemies throughout history. Men were integrated into the cult of defense as the masculine protector, and were asked to heroically sacrifice their lives in the name of defending their families, nation, land, and state.

In the textbooks of the late 1920s, compulsory military service was legitimized first and foremost through the discourse of defense, and presented as a requirement of citizenship and modernity. Warring for the viability of the homeland, nation, and state was demanded from men by recourse to the primacy of war and the necessity of defense. As defense was equated to warring, in a world where wars were regarded inevitable, defense of the homeland and the nation through the use of coercive practices, armed struggle, and/or fighting became crucial and imperative. Attempts were also made to institute affinity and love for soldiering. As already underlined with respect to the analyses of the ideology of nationalism and modernization, women's relationship to military service consisted of the indirect fulfillment of this citizenship duty, and it was defined along the lines of bearing soldier sons, making sacrifices, unifying the nation-state, serving the soldiers; a role which made them into second class citizens.

The textbooks published after the official introduction of the Turkish History Thesis presented warriorship as the prime attribute of the national character, and introduced the imaginings of the national self as a military one. These textbooks signified the warrior as the main actor spreading the civilization. The narratives of the wars of the ancestors added a historical continuity to the warrior identity of Turks, and signified it as an ethno-cultural characteristic. The warrior spirit was presented as the source of the soldierly virtues of Turks, while military service was regarded as the natural outgrowth of this spirit and virtues. References to the military service as a civic duty existed in the textbooks side by side references to the military service as a cultural practice. As now argued in the textbooks, every Turk was a "born" soldier, and soldiering was the first and foremost accomplishment of Turks throughout history. Soldiering was set in the textbooks of the mid-1930s and the following years as the basic ethno-cultural characteristic of the nation. The discourse on warriorship and the

ethno-cultural soldierly virtues made the situation of women more problematic; through such discourses women were denied real membership to the nation.

In the textbooks of the mid 1930s, sacrificing lives in the protection of the homeland became a highlighted theme with recourse to the primordial ancestors. Besides warrior virtues, martyrdom was also glorified, and presented as the highest eternal status one can ever reach. Blood and shedding of blood became frequently used imageries. The discourse of military-nation became a hegemonic one in the textbooks of the mid-1930s mainly because of the widely used discourses on ethno-cultural soldierly virtues, enemies and the necessity of defense, as well as the glorification of war-making, and dying and killing in the name of the homeland and nation.

In the textbooks of the late-1940s and the following years, references to raids and Turkish warriors, as the main element of nation's history and glory, existed side by side the arguments on democracy and peace. The discourse of military-nation continued to be a hegemonic one, along with the extolling of dying and killing in the name of the homeland and nation. The imagined military national identity was reinforced with the Turkish-Islamic Synthesis of the 1970s, and continued to be highlighted thereafter. The synthesis emphasized the continuity of warrior virtues and warrior spirit through history, and also coupled it with the Islamic cultural motifs. In the textbooks of the late 1970s and thereafter, Turks were presented as the soldiers of the Islamic civilization, protecting and diffusing the civilization through raids, wars. This new ideology placed more emphasis on raids and wars, and paid only lip service to the notion of civilization. Especially with respect to the parts on Ottoman history, wars came to define the political.

In the 1980s, the stress on enemy discourse steadily increased as "threat" was introduced as a subject matter to be studied into the textbooks. The militarization of education escalated through the discourse of threat. The discourse was restructured in the mid 1990s as "internal and external threats;" these threats were not openly defined but their existence was linked to the geopolitics and the general discourse on enemies, i.e., Turks and Turkey having enemies throughout history.

As seen above, this analysis of the textbooks used in Turkey from 1928 to 2000 provides insights into the specifics of the ideology of nationalism and the modernization discourses that have been presented through the textbooks, and points to the intricate linkages between them. The analysis uncovers the particulars of the imaginings of the national self as being simultaneously civic and ethnic, delimited along constructed

'others' and enemies, civilized (referring to middle-class based), and constrained by gratefulness-obedience-sacrifice. When coupled with the analysis of the textbooks from the perspective of militarism, the research highlights the militarized dimension of the nation-building process, as well as the imagined militarized component of the national self, and underlines the gendered nature of the national order. In sum, the analysis highlights the dependencies between the discourses of nationalism, modernization, and militarism in the imaginings of the national self, and the limitations brought upon the individuals by them in Turkey.

The focuses of this study, as well as the range of its findings is much broader and varied than most of the other studies conducted on textbooks in Turkey. On the other hand, some of its findings are similar and back the findings of other studies. Nevertheless, not all of the findings concur with previous studies. Although the findings of this dissertation signifies the emphasis on the notion of territory, as different from Antoniou and Soysal's study on the history textbooks used in the lower secondary school education in Greece and Turkey, this analysis also points to various other emphases besides territory (e.g., Republican morality, duties, national character, ethnic origins, primordial ancestors, culture, internal and external others, 'civility', warriorship, soldiering, and enemies) as defining the imaginings of the Turkish national self. Thus the constructions of national identity in the textbooks are not necessarily only political as they have argued, but are at the same time ethnic, with differing emphases depending the time period under consideration.

Copeaux's study on the official Turkish historiography as presented in the history textbooks used in Turkey in the primary and secondary schools between the years 1931 and 1993 has shown that the Turkish-Islamic synthesis became the dominant discourse of the textbooks in the mid 1980s. Copeaux has argued that this synthesis did not totally refute the Kemalist historiography, and embraced its ethnic emphasis. Depending on the findings of this study, I also argue that the synthesis indeed embraced the ethnic emphasis of the Kemalist historiography. However, complementing this argument, depending on the analysis presented here, I further argue that the synthesis added a new emphasis to the ethnic elements. The findings of this dissertation have also shown that the synthesis lessened the emphasis on Western modernity (which was a part of Kemalist historiography), and became the source of escalating militarization as well as the increasing ethnic emphasis in the textbooks from the late 1970s onwards. This new discourse placed much more emphasis on raids and wars, and emphasized the continuity

of warrior virtues and warrior spirit through history, inextricably merging them with the Islamic cultural motifs, which, in turn, reinforced the imagined military national identity.

Üstel, in her study on the civic textbooks used in the primary and secondary schools in Turkey, has argued that the citizen was re-invented with both an emphasis on sacrificing lives for the homeland, and a focus on ethnic/cultural factors in the aftermath of the Balkan Wars (1912-1913). These changes were carried into the early Republican times, and were included in the textbooks until the 1950s. The positive changes that occurred in the 1950s were reversed in the 1980s, and citizenship was again defined as a statist militant citizenship. However, the findings of this dissertation show that there were also civic factors that define the national self in the textbooks all these years. Ethno-cultural factors came to dominate the discourse of the textbooks only in the mid 1930s, with the official introduction of the Turkish History Thesis to the textbooks. The findings of this analysis also show that sacrificing lives for the homeland was presented as "an ethno-cultural characteristic" with the textbooks of the mid-1930s, and continued to be treated so thereafter. There was a reduced emphasis on the ethno-cultural axis of national identity from the late-1940s onwards; however, the ethnic emphasis started to increase once again in the 1970, reaching its highest point in the 1990s. As it is seen in this analysis, not only until the 1950s but throughout all the periods under consideration, people were treated primarily as nationals rather than individuals who were supposed to internalize gratefulness, obedience, and sacrifice towards greater goods (defined as family, nation, homeland, and state).

With respect to Helvacıoğlu's study on gender discrimination in the primary and secondary school textbooks used in Turkey between 1928 and 1995, the results of this dissertation indeed largely refutes her arguments about gender roles and gender equality in the early Republican era. The findings presented here show that from the early years of the Republic onwards, while men were defined in the textbooks primarily as enlightened and economically productive fathers, as the head of the family, and empowered as the primary citizens of the new nation-state, women were both empowered and restricted through the practice of domesticity, put in a subordinate position vis-à-vis men, and were characterized as civilized subjects as long as they became scientifically-oriented and skilled mother-housewives. As domesticity was coupled with the pre-eminence of the nation and family as its micro-cosmos, women became even further subordinated. Furthermore, dominance of the ethnic axis of the

imaginings of the national self, and the concomitant conceptualization of the nation as a military nation denied woman real membership in the nation. What changed increasingly beginning in the late- 1940s were mainly the appearances of women, their fashionable middle-class looks, rather than their "free" status. Helvacıoğlu's point about women being presented as limited to the private sphere, and constrained by the family from the 1950s onwards is indeed refuted by the findings of this study. However, it can be argued that beginning in 1970s, despite the increasing presentations of women in the public sphere, and the acknowledgement of women with professions and jobs in textbooks, both women and men were increasingly placed under great pressure, mainly due to the escalating ethnic and militarist emphases.

Altınay, in her study on military service and militarism in Turkey, has argued that military service from the 1930s onwards was constructed as a cultural practice. However, as seen here, the references to military service as a duty of citizenship - a duty set in relation to the state, together with references to military service as a cultural practice, continued to be appear in textbooks in the 1930s and thereafter. The shift that Altınay underlines in the discourse of the 1998 national security textbook (resulting in an emphasis on Atatürk's principles, and strategic analysis of national, regional, and world politics) can be observed in the primary school textbooks published subsequent to the revision, with the reintroduction of the "subjects pertaining to Atatürkism" to the curriculum and textbooks in 1995. In fact, this analysis has shown that, in the 1980s, all the primary school textbooks were introduced with "Atatürkism and its elements." With the revision, and reintroduction of these the subjects in 1995, appropriate behavior that the children should display was presented in detail. The students were now expected to "think," "talk," "act," and "feel" in the ways presented. Another element of this 1998 shift, the idea of "games being played on Turkey," was also available in the primary school textbooks since the mid-1980s. This argument was in fact the explanation given to the existence of threat, a subject matter introduced to the textbooks in these years. It was tied to the geopolitical significance of Turkey and to the argument that no country in the world (especially the neighboring countries) wants Turkey to be a strong country. Although the elements that resulted in the discursive shift of the 1998 national security textbook were available in the primary school textbooks analyzed here, unlike this national security textbook, neither the primary school textbooks of the 1980s nor the textbooks of the following years undertook a discussion and analysis of national, regional and world politics. The parallelisms between the discourses of the national

security textbooks and the primary school textbooks indeed require detailed attention, since they point to an extended militarization of the educational discourses and sites.

This dissertation provides a background for understanding the present. The last several years in Turkey have been subject to attempts at textbook reform, democratization, and the European Union integration processes. Yet the country has faced challenges in realizing these processes due to various reasons such as the strong state tradition which undermines the individual, the formation of national identity with persisting ethnic dimensions that is highly apprehensive of difference and pluralism, and the radical rise of a banal nationalism. This reserach is important due to these contextual factors. It uncovers the interlinked usage of the discourses of nationalism, modernization and militarism in the imaginings of the national self through their reflections in the textbooks, and it gives insights with respect to the (re)constructions of identities. To be able to ensure the future, the past needs to be addressed. This study provides not only a critique of modern education in Turkey, but a critique of the political and social order. Future research may help to undo these dependencies, as well as to bring about the necessary changes in the area of education that will give priority to the individual. Moreover, it might help to reduce the discord existing at the national and transnational levels, to situate the national identity within a transnational context, and to demilitarize the national self, the site of education and everyday lives.

Recently, there have been some liberal changes in the area of education and in the structure and discourses of the textbooks (excluding the national security studies textbooks). Although these changes have not necessarily been sweeping, they do, nevertheless, seem to prioritize the individual rather than the state. Yet the dynamics of these changes need to be analyzed in more detail, not only for the improvement of these changes but also to ensure that they are not simply transitional but rather long lasting. Research focusing on the primary school textbooks published between 2000-2008 with respect to the discourses of nationalism, modernization and militarism, as a continuation of this research on the textbooks used between 1928 and 2000 can highlight the changes in the definition and presentation of the national self that has been continually (re)imagined, and inculcated through education in Turkey. Analysis of the secondary school textbooks with respect to the discourses of nationalism, modernization and militarism can provide further insights on the specificities and the boundaries of the national self that has been continually (re)imagined, and inculcated through education in

Turkey; it will uncover the continuities between these imaginings at the higher levels of education.

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APPENDIX

Selected Texts from Primary School Textbooks

Excerpt from Emre, *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Üçüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitaphanesi, 1929), 3-4.

— 4 —
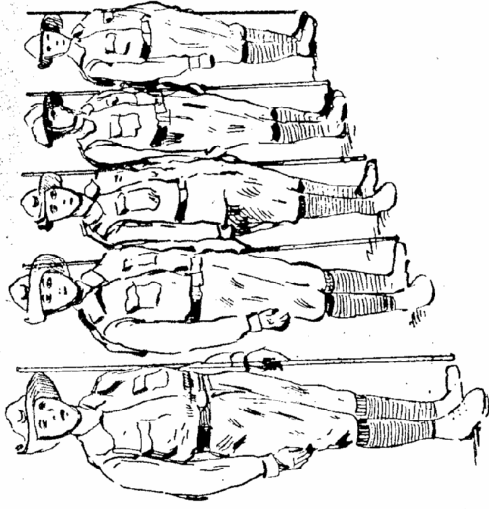
Lâkin on yıl geçsin hele,
Belki ondan önce bile,
Bu küçücük tabur gider,
Vatana can feda eder.
Tırap, turap!.. tabur gider,
Bu ses ne hoş da akseder!

Ali Ekrem
Şiir demeti

MEKTEP TABURU

Minimini mektepliler
Sıra sıra dizilmişler.
En önde var ulu bayrak,
Sağa sola sallanarak,
Parıl, parıl parlar uçar,
Gözlere nur, şefak saçar.
Tırap, turap!.. tabur gider,
Bu ses ne hoş da akseder!
Şimdi mektepli taburu,
Ne tüfek var ne de boru,

Excerpt from Emre, "A Brave Child [*Cesur Bir Çocuk*]", *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Üçüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitaphanesi, 1929), 35-36.

CESUR BİR ÇOCUK

Edirne muhasarasından

Son balkan muharebesinde bulgarlar Edirneyi muhasara etmişler , fakat askerimizden kahramanca bir müdafaa görmüşlerdi. Bu muhasara esnasında yalnız askerlerimiz değil , kadınlarımız bile büyük cesaret ve metanet misalleri göstermişlerdi.

O müthiş bombardımanlarda şehrin büyük kısmı bulgar gülleleri altında kalıyor, hain mermiler camii şeriflerin kubbelerine de isabet ediyordu . Bu hengâmede sokağa çıkmak da evin içinde kalmak da tehlikeli idi . Fakat kimse obüsler patlarken bile telaş etmiyordu .

Bir gün on, on bir yaşlarında küçük bir çocuk hasta yatan hemşiresine süt almak için sokağa çıkar ; süt satanlar bir çeyrek saat mesafede, bir mahallede oturuyorlar-

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dı; bu mahalle ise düşman gülleleri altına düşen en tehlikeli mıntaka dahilinde idi.

Çocuk elinde bakracı ilerliyordu. Sütçünün evine yirmi adım kadar bir yer kalmıştı; birden sokağın ortasına bir gülle düşerek patlar! dehşetten orada bulunanların hepsi yere kapandı, çocuk da düştü, ve bakracı elinden iki üç arşın öteye fırladı.

Obüsün sarsıntısı geçtikten sonra çocuk ayağa kalktı, bakracını, fesini yerden topladı, birkaç adım ötedeki sütçünün evine giderek hasta hemşiresinin sütünü aradı.

Sütçü ile karısı kapının önüne çıkmışlar, küçük çocuğu atlatmış olduğu tehlikeyi görmüşlerdi.

«Aliciğim, Allaha şükür, ucuz kurtuldun» dediler.

O da ciddiyetle şöyle cevap verdi:

«Bereket versin ki obüs ben sütü almadan patladı; yoksa hemşirem büğün sütsüz kalacaktı.»

Çocuk, elinde bakracı ilerliyordu.

Excerpt from Emre, "The Voice of Homeland [*Vatanın Sesi*]", *Cumhuriyet Çocuklarına Türkçe Kıraat, Beşinci Sınıf* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitaphanesi, 1928), 86-87.

Vatanın sesi

Asırlardan beri inleyerek feryat eden, fakat müstebitlerin, muğfillerin,

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cahillerin vücuda getirdikleri mania-larla canhıraş sedasını milletin kula-ğına isma edemeyen zavallı vatan bu gün diyor ki: « bütün can kulağınızı, harap olmuş sinesinde en derin izti-rapları duymuş validenizin samimî hitabına daima açık bulundurunuz·

Efendiler, Asyada, Avrupada, Afri-kada hükümran olmak kudret ve kabili-yetini göstermiş olan ecdadımız, vaktin-de bu sadayı işitmekten men edilmemiş olsalardı türk camiasının ve türk mef-küresinin, türk menfeatının mahfuz ve feyizdar olacağı ana vatana bu günkü şekili harabisinde mi tevarüs ederdik?

Çocuklar, artık vatan imar istiyor, zenginlik ve refah istiyor.. İlim ve ma-rifet, yüksek medeniyet, hür fikir ve hür zihniyet istiyor

İstiklal, hakiki varlık vatanın bu taleplerini tamamen ve salimen yerine

kardeşim! Beklediğin günler geldi. Gördüğün rüya_ nın bir hakıkat olacağı saatlar çalmağa başladı. Bak, bütün başları altınlı, elleri kanlı zalim hükümdarlar gibi senin kızıl sultanlarının da taç vetahtları yerlere geçti; bak, senin de vucudunu kanla kırmızı, ateşle kırmızı yapan cehennemlerin yıkıldı. Bak, senin de memleketinin divarlarının üstünden, bütün hüriyet diyarları gibi bir, hukukubeşer beyannamesi okundu; eski kanlı, saltanatın enkazı üzerine senin de bir yeni hükûmetin, halk hükûmetin, (Cumhuriyet hükû_ metin), senin de hükûmetin kuruldu.

Ey aziz kardeş, ben senin bu hükûmetinde taç ve tahtları, gurur ve hırsları ilâhî asalariyle yıkmak için dünyaya gelen peygamberlerin istedikleri bir hü- kûmetin ruhunu görüyorum; zira, bu da o eski fir'a- vunların putperestlik devrini ortadan kaldırıyor. Kanlı sarayların, kanlı zindanların yerine hak ve adaletin, aşk ve hüriyetin mukaddes ruhlarını saçmak istiyor. Esire necat, sefile saadet, atsıza şeref, cahile nuru irfan verecek bir yeni deviri tarihî açıyor! Hakır köylüyü milletinin hür, müsavi, kardeş bir hemşehrisi yapıyor ve ona toprağının sahibi ve memleketinin efendisisin, kendi kendinin hükümdarısın!» diyor.

Evet, kardeş, artık padişah yok, millet var; saray yok, vatan var! Keyif yok, kanun var; zulüm ve esaret yok, hak ve hüriyet var. Artık bu memlekette zayıfın vucudu kuvvetlilerin ayakları altında ezilmiyecek; boş isimler, boş unvanlar kardeşleri kalın duvarlar gibi

birbirinden ayırmıyacak; siyah eller kollara ve ruhlara zincir vurmıyacak. Artık bu memlekette hiç bir kimse hıçkırıklarla, gözyaşlariyle ticaret edemi_yecek, kanlarla, kemiklerle ziyafet vermiyecek, bir günlük zevk için bir millet ağlatılmıyacak; artık her yerde adaletin mukaddes ekmeği herkese dağıtılacak. Vatanın bütün bal ve çiçeklerinden bütün evlatlari paylarını alacak; herkes sapaniyle saadetinin töhumlarını ekebilecek; çekiciyle taliini dövebilecek, kalemiyle en korkunç hakikatları yazabilecek; dudaklariyle en yüksek hüriyetleri haykırabilecek. Kılıç ve süngüye gelince: bunlar da vatan ve millet tehlike ve muhatarada olduğu vakıt eline alacak; herzaman olduğu gibi düşmanlarına bir yıldırım yapacak...

Hür bir cemiyette hür bir fert; umumun saadetinin yanında ferdi bir saadet; yeni ve iyi teşkil edilmiş bir millet içinde hür ve mes'ut bir hemşehrî: işte ey aziz kardeş, senin yeni hükûmetinin gayesi !...

Mehmet Emin

(Halk hükûmeti risalesinden)

Excerpt from İçsel and İçsel, "Faik's Pants [Faik'in Pantalonu.]", *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, İlk Mektep İkinci Sınıf* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitaphanesi, 1928; reprint, 1934), 86-87.

...rağın beslediği bir saksağan kuşunun bu taşları gagasına alarak duvarın deliğine taşıdığını gördü. O vakit zavallı çırağa acıdı, onu tekrar yanına aldı. Bundan sonra eyice anlamadan kimsenin hakkında fena fikirde bulunmadı.

Faikın pantalonu

Bu sabah Faik sevinçle yatağından kalktı. Arkasına esvabını giyeceği vakit annesi odadan içeri girdi. Elinde küçük ve siyah bir pantalonla beyaz bir gömlek vardı.

— Yavrum, bu gün dört yaşına girdin. Bak sana ne güzel bir hediye getirdim.

dedi. O güne kadar bir kız çocuğu gibi uzun bir gömlekle gezen Faik sevinçle yeni esvabını giydi, hemen babasının odasına koştu. Babası onu pek beğendi. Faik sekiz yaşındaki kardeşinin yanına da gitti. Kardeşi onun bu halde görünce omuzlarını kaldırarak:

— O kadar sevinecek ne var! Her gün giydiğin esvap sana pantalondan iyi yakışıyordu.

Dedi. Bu sözler Faikın keyfini kaçırmadı. O herkese erkek kıyafetile görünmek istiyordu. Evlerinden beş on adım ilerdeki bir evde oturan büyük annesine gitmek için sokağa çıktı. Sokaktan geçenler göya kendisine bakıyorlarmış gibi gururlanıyordu.

Köşe başında bir yalaktan su içen bir köpek gözüne ilişti. Kendisinin artık bir erkek olduğunu ve kediden köpekten korkma zamanının geçtiğini göstermek için hayvanın yanına yaklaştı. Bacağına bir taş attı.

Excerpt from İçsel and İçsel, "At the School Garden [Mektep Bahçesinde]", *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, İlk Mektep Dördüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitaphanesi, 1929), 44-45.

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sıhhî faydalarını anlatmağa başladı. Dedi ki: "vücudunuzu kuvvetlendirmek ve haricî tesirlere mukavemet etmek için küçük yaştan itibaren muhtelif hareketlerle idman yapmak ve bunu itiyat haline koymak şarttır. Bir adam hiç bir iş yapmamak üzre bir ay evinde otursa, sonra kuyudan birkaç kova su çekmek istese, kollarında kuvvet bulamaz; bilâkis bir ay kollarını ve bacaklarını ve bütün vücudunu hareket ettirse her zahmete katlanır, istediği kadar yürür, koşar, kolay kolay yorulmaz.

Bütün hayatınızda yapacağınız işlerin güçlüğüne tehammül etmek ancak dinç ve kavi olmanıza mütevakkıftır; ailesini geçindirecek bir pederde, evine ve evlâdına hizmet edecek bir valideye, vatanı için çalışacak bir gence sağlam bünye lâzımdır. Öyle bir millet ölü gibidir. Öy-

İdmansız bir millet efradı kuvvetsiz ve mu-

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gibi keskin bir hışırtı husule getiriyordu; vücutlerinin muntazam hareketi hafif bir musiki ahengi çıkarıyordu.

Hepsi çevik, sağlam ve neşeli idi; çehreleri askın, gözleri bir noktaya dikilmişti. Muallimin kumandası üzerine her sırayı teşkil eden idmancılar birdenbire muhtelif istikametlerde iki üç sıra oluyorlar, alçalıp yükseliyorlar; kollarıyla, ayaklarıyla, başlarıyla ve bütün vücutleriyle bir makinanın parçaları gibi işliyorlardı.

Talebenin şu kısa ve muhtelif hareketleri teneffüs devranlarını tesvi ve adalelerini terbiye ediyordu. Bu manzarayı heycanla bakarken kendiken dime: "İşte hayat mücadelelerine atılmağa hazırlanan yeni nesil." Dedim, sevindim ve titredim.

İdman nihayet bulduktan sonra çocuklar bir aile fertleri gibi muallimlerinin etrafında toplandılar; Muallim hanım onlara idmanın lüzumunu ve

Excerpt from İçsel and İçsel, "Two Sisters [İki Kız Kardeş]", *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, İlk Mektep Dördüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitaphanesi, 1929), 90-93.

Leylâ çlıssada iyi iş yapamaz. yaptığı iş hoşa gitmeyince soratını asar, yahut ağlar; işte şimdi de ağlmağa başladı. Aanesi: « Peki gel, sen de çalış. » Demeğe mecbur oldu.

İşe başlanıldı: Ferda köşe yastıklarını, cigara iskemlelerini ve diğer ufak tefek şeyleri birerbirer odadan dışarı çıkarmağa başladı; Leylâ da süpürge ile faraşı getirmeğe gitti; faraşın sapındaki ipi baş parmağına takmış, bunu havadaçevirerek eğlene eğlene geliyordu. Merdiven başında faraş elinden kurtuldu; taşlıkta tüfek gibi patladı. Leylâ tekrar aşa indi, annesi onu bekliyor, boş yere vakit geçiriyordu. faraşla süpürgeyi aldığı vakit ona toz bezini verdi.

—Şu iskemlelerle cigara iskemlelerinin ayaklarını güzelce sil, hiç bir tarafında toz kalmasın.

Dedi. Leylâ her iskemlenin dört ayağını sıra ile silip tozlarını aldıktan

sonra diğerlerine geçeceği yerde kimisinin bir, kimisinin iki ayağına bezi sürüyor, o sırada havada uçuşan sinekleri seyrederek vakit geçiriyordu.

Annesi bunların ayaklarını gözden geçirdi, üzerlerinde toz bulunduğunu görünce elinden bezi alıp Ferdaya verdi.
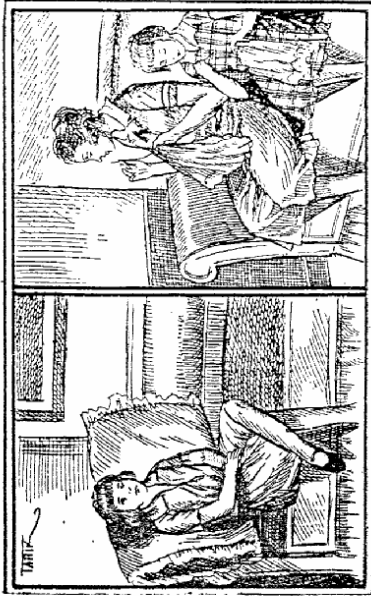
—Haydi kızım, bunları sen temizle.

Dedi. Ferda el çabukluğuyle ve dikkatle silerken, annesi havaya hiç toz kaldırmaksızın odayı süpürdü, perdelerin tozlarını aldı. Kanepelerin ayaklarını, konsolun mermer taşını aynayı, kornişleri, her tarafı temizledi. her şeyi yerliyerine koyduktan sonra diğer odalara geçti. Ferda annesinin etrafında pervane gibi dönüyor, onu hiç üzmeden iş görüyordu. Leylâ ise sıkılmış, bahçeye kaçmıştı.

Akşam yaklaştı; ana kız işlerini

bitiremediler; annesi her tarafı temizleyip, bitirmek istiyordu; işin çokluğuna ve yorgunluğuna bakmadı, durmayıp çalıştı, nihayet işlerini tamamladı; akşam yemeğini de hazırladı .

Ana kız ellerini ve yüzlerini yıka-

dılar, temiz esvap giydiler; odalarında rahat etmeğe başladılar. Ferda böyle her tarafı temiz ve toplu bir odadada keyiflendi, o vakit annesi ona:

— Şimdi senin gibi benim de yü-

reğim rahat etti; bu rahat çalışmamızın mükâfatıdır.

Dedi. gece yenekten sonra peder gazetesini okumağa valide çamaşırlarını tamir etmeğe başladı. Ferda ipliği iğneye geçiriyor, annesine veriyor, ona yardım ediyordu.

Sepetin içinde bir çok çamaşır vardı. Bunların bir kısmı sökük ve düğmesi kopuk, bir kısmı yırtık, bir kısmı da bazı yerlerinden aşınmıştı. Ferdanın yardımıyla annesi bunları takım takım ayırdı ; tamirleri uzun vakta muhtaç olanları geri bırakarak işleri en hafif olanları ortadan kaldırmağa çalışıyordu. Böyle yapmayıp da rasgele dikecek ve öreçek olsa canı sıkılarak yorulacak, belki de yarım bırakacaktı.

Ferda annesinin yanında çalışırken Leylâ da kedi gibi bir taraf çekilmiş düşünüyordu,

Excerpt from İçsel and İçsel, "Little Soldier [*Küçük Asker*]", *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, İlk Mektep Dördüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitaphanesi, 1929), 205-207.

Küçük asker

Harp senelerinde aydınlı bir çocuk her gün muharebe bavadisi işide işide kalbinde asker olmak arzusu uyanmıştı. İhtiyar kadınlara varıncıya kadar büyük küçük herkesin millî orduya hizmetini gördükçe arzusu bir kat daha artıyordu. Kendikendine: "Vatan bütün evlâdından hizmet beklerken ben evimde nasıl rahat oturabilirim!" Diyordu. Bir gün önünden bir tabur asker geçiyordu, taburu görünce dayanamadı, yanına katıldı. Bu çocuğun uzak mesafelere kadar taburla beraber gittiğine dikkat eden yüzbaşı ona sordu:

— Oğlum, sen nereye gidiyorsun?

Çocuk hiç düşünmeden şu cevabı verdi:

— Sizin gittiğiniz yere.

— Biz düşmanla harbe gidiyoruz.

— Benim de istediğim odur. Müsaade ediniz ben de sizinle birlikte gideyim, belki vatanıma ufak bir hizmette bulunurum.

Yüzbaşı çocuğun ısrarına karşı duramadı. Ona asker esvabı verdi. Bu esvap çocuğa bol geldi, fakat o, bunu sevinerek arkasına giydi.

Tabur, gece gündüz yürüyordu. dağları ovaları aşarak gitti. Küçük asker büyük bir adam gibi yorulmadı. Tabii insanda kalp olunca kuvvet te olur. Bir gece harp mevkiine yakın biryerde tabur efradı uyuyordu. Yüzbaşı askeri uyandırdı. Onlara «Düşman karagâhına doğru gidip vaziyeti bize haber verecek cesur bir nefere ihtiyacım var. Bu hizmeti han-

giniz yapabilir?» diye sordu, küçük asker yüz başının karşısına çıktı, selâm verdikten sonra:

— Müsaade ederseniz ben gideyim yüzbaşım, büyük değilim, fakat manialrı daha kolay geçerim.

dedi. Askerden bir çokları bu vazifeyi üzerine almak istedi, fakat zabit küçük askeri tercih etti

Küçük asker yolda bir düşman neferini gafil avladı, onu yere serdi; lâkin avdetinde bir obüsün açmış olduğu çukura düşerek,kolu kırıldı.cephenin gerisindeki hastaneye gönderildi.

Küçük asker vazifesini yapmış, vatanına hizmette bulunmuştu.

Neslin ıslahı

Valideden kızına mektup

......

Geçenlerde dostlarımdan bir hanımefendiyi ziyarete gitmiştim. Senin gibi genç, neşeli ve mes'ut birkaç kız bir odada toplanmışlar... konuşarak gülüşerek hoş vakit geçiriyorlardı. Kendi kendime sordum: " Bu şen ve şatır kızlar hayatlarının ne kadar kıymetli olduğunu biliyorlar mı?," Bu suali onlara sormuş olsaydım bana, "Bankada paramız, yahut bir yerde iradımız yok ki kıymetimiz olsun.," gibi manasız bir cevap verirlerdi. Kıymetlerinin servet ve emlâkte değil varlıklarında olduğunu hiç düşünmezler.

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Gördüğüm bir kitapta genç bir erkeğin pek ziyade ehemmiyeti olduğunu, zekâsıyla, kuvvetile ve namuskârane mesaisile içtimaî heyete büyük bir tesir icra edeceğini bir an evel düşünmesi lüzumundan bahsediliyordu.

Genç erkekler için bu bir hakikat ise genç kızlar için de ayni derecede hakikat olmamasına bir sebep yoktur; genç erkekler insaniyete faydalı birer uzuv olurlarsa genç kızlar niçin olamasınlar! hayatınızın kıymet ve ehemmiyeti ihtiyarlık zamanınız da değil, ahlâkınızın sebat ve metanet temellerini attığınız şu genç yaşınızdadır.

Amerikada 14 ilâ 27 yaşlar arasında 12 milyon genç erkek vardır. Bu miktar nüfus, yer altından lüzumu kadar demir madeni çıkarmağa, bunları eritip çubuk haline koymağa ve üç günde iki kilometre tulunde,yirmibeş

metre arzında cesim bir asma köprüyü kurmağa yahut beş günde o muazzam seddiçini yapmağa kâfi bir kuvvettir. Bu gençlerin her biri sekizer metre irtifaında birer ev yapsa, sonra bu evler ikişer sıra dizilse Cemahir müttahideyi atlantikten bahri muhiti kebire kadar yarıp geçen Sekiz yol teşekkül eder. Bu gençlerin umumiyetle bir günlük hastalığı içlerinden otuz bininin bir senelik hastalğına muadildir.

Amerikada 12 milyon genç erkek bulunursa o kadar da genç kızın mevcudiyeti tahmin edilebilir. Bu 12 milyon genç kızın maddî kuvveti kolaylıkla hesap edilemez; bununlaberaber umumunun bir günlük hastalığı içlerinden yalnız birinin otuz senelik hastalığına muadil olmasına göre, bu hususata bir fikir hasıl edilebilir.

Tarih gösteriyor ki bir millette yalnız erkeklerin vücutlarını terbiye et-

mekle kuvvetli ve cesur asker kazanılamaz.

Bir ırkın ıslahı için evvel emirde genç kızların vücutlarını terbiye etmek lâzımdır. Genç kızların sıhhati mensup oldukları milletler için pek ziyade ehemmiyeti haizdir. Zira gelecek nesillerin mukavemet kuvvetleri vasi mikyasta halihazır kızlarının mukavemet kuvvetlerine tabidir.

İngiliz tabiplerinden Bük diyor ki: İçtinabı, kabil hastalıklardan senede yüz bin kişi vefat etmekte, yüz elli bin kişi mütemadiyen hastalıkla ömür geçirmektedir. Amerikada amelenin içtinabı kabil hastalıkları senede yüz milyon dolar (beş yüz milyon frank) zayıata mal olur. Amerikada olduğu gibi dünyanın her yerinde eşhasın mensup oldukları milletler için büyük kıymetleri vardır. bir adam günde elli kuruş kazanmış olsa o adamın yalnız kendisi ve

hizmetini gördüğü kimse için elli kuruş kıymeti olmakla kalmayıp mensup olduğu millet için dahi o nisbette bir değeri vardır. Eğer o şahıs hastalık münasebetile bir günlük kazancını kaybederse millet dahi o kadar ziyan görür.

Genç kızlar fikren ve ahlâkan tekemmül ettikçe erkeklerin vücude getirdikleri binaları sıhhat ve şataratle, rahat ve saadetle dolu birer yuvaya tahvil ederler. Bir evde mes'ut bir aile yaşatmak, o evi ve o aileyi ilim ve fazilet kuvvetile idare etmek içtimaî heyete nafi bir hizmette bulunmak demektir.

Maddî kuvvetle vucude getirilen şeyler kolaylıkla göze çarpar. Şimendiferler, cesim köprüler, yüksek binalar ve sair medenî ve sınaî eserler hayretle temaşa edilir. fakat manevî ve ahlâkî kuvvetlerle vücude getirilen şeyler pek o kadar dikkati

celbetmez. İçtimaî hayatta kadınların eserleri ancak erkek ve kadın yetiştirmeğe masruf olan manevî kuvvetlerinde tecelli eder. Bu hakikat genç kızların kıymet ve ehemmiyetini göstermeğe kifayet eder. Genç kızların evvelâ aile hayatında kıymetleri vardır.

Bunun büyüklerine faydalı hizmetlerde bulunmakla ispat ederler. Saniyen mensup oldukları cemiyet nazarında kıymetleri vardır. Bu sebebe mebni dir ki, hükûmetler onların talim ve terbiyeleri hususunda hesapsız masarif ihtiyarile mektepler açar, muallimler kullanır, sonra onlar da insaniyete hizmet ederler.

Elli veya yüz sene sonraki âlemin ahvalini kendilerinin hazırladıklarını ve valide oldukları vakit sıhhatlerile veya hastalıklarıyla nesli ati için kuvvet, sıhhat veya maraz membaı olduk-

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larını anlamağa başlamazdan evel bu hakikate vakıf olamazlr.

İsterim ki yavrum, senin gibi genç kızlarımız şahıslarının kıymetini ta- nısınlar, aileleri için insaniyet için pek ziyade ehemmiyetleri olduğunu anlıyabilsinler.

İnsaniyet

Sizden hiç bir zaman icrası müm- kün olmıyan bir şey beklenilmez. yal- nız sizdes sonra gelecek olanlara iyi ve faydalı bir eser bırakmanız talep edilir. «Vefatından evel bir ağaç diken kimse dünyada faydasız yaşamamıştır» şu güzel Hint darbi meseli insaniyete nafi bir eser bırakmamız lûzumunu bildiriyor. Bu gün dikilen bir ağacın yarınki nesle meyva ve ya gülge ve- reçeğini hatırlatıyor.

Birağaç, bir çatı, bir ilâç, göz önüne konulan bir hakikat, ilmî bir keşif, bir kitap, bir heykel, bir tablo ve ha- keza iyi bir eser herkesin müşte- rek hazineye ilâve edeceği şeylerdir.

Aklı başında hiç bir adam yoktur ki dünyadan çekilip giden veya he- nüz yaşıyan yahut sonradan gelecek olan insanlarla temas ve rabıtası ol- duğunu hissetmesin...

Biz ölelenlerin varisi, yaşıyanların şeriki, sanradan geleceklerin de ha- misiyiz.

Elimizdeki şeyleri bize tedricen hazırlıyan sabık nesillere karşı şük- ranımızı ispata borçluyuz. Hayatta bi- ze lâzım olan her şeyi hazırlamak için çalışan yüz binlerce insanın mevcut eserlerini daha güzel ve faydalı bir surette gelecek nesle devr ve teslim etmekle onlara karşı şükran vazife- mizi yapmış oluruz. Bizden evel ge- lenlere nazaran biz daha mes'uduz. Evlâd ve ahafadımızın bizden daha mes'ut yaşamalarını temin etmekle

Kıraat Kitabı. S: 5 – F: 4

Excerpt from İçsel and İçsel, "The Child of Homeland [*Bir Vatan Yavrusu*]", *Kız ve Erkek Çocuklara Kıraat Kitabı, İlk Mektep Beşinci Sınıf* (İstanbul: Hilmi Kitaphanesi, 1929), 210-213.

210

ve fen sahasındaki seviyelerile, ah-
lâklarile ve harslerile, hulâsa bütün
manevî ve maddî kudret ve fazilet-
lerile ve türlü vasıtalarile çarpıştığı
bir imtihan sahasıdır.

Büyük Gazinin nutkundan.

Bir vatan yavrusu

İzmirde bir köy ahalisi düşman
askerinin memleketlerine yaklaştığı-
nı işiderek hicret etmişlerdi. Küçük
bir evin penceresinde asılı kalan san-
cağımız hafif hafif dalgalanıyordu.
Bu evin kapısı önünde oniki yaşında
bir çocuk çakısıyla bir değnek par-
çasını yontuyordu. O esnada bir za-
bitle bir onbaşı ve bir miktar nefer
den mürekkep küçük bir müfreze-
miz köye girdi. Çocuk bunları gö-
rünce selâma durdu; zabit ona sordu:
— Oğlum sen burada neden yal-
nız başına kaldın?

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Çocuk boynunu büktü:
— Benim kimsem yok ki... Dedi.
— Burya düşman askeri geldi mi?
— Hayır.
Zabit eve ve evin önündeki yük-
sek ceviz ağacına göz gezdirdikten
sonra:
— Oğlum, dedi, şu ağaca çıkıp
etrafta göreceğin şeyleri bana haber
verebilir misiniz?
— Emredersiniz.
Çocuk ayaklarındaki çorapsız kun-
duraları çimenlerin üstüne atıp he-
men ağaca tırmandı, bir dalın sık
yaprakları arasına girdi, etrafa göz-
lerini dikti. Bir dakika sonra seslendi:
— Tahminen bin adım ilerde düş-
manın iki suvari neferi duruyor. Sağda
ağaçların arasında silâh gibi birşey-
ler parıldıyor.
Çocuk daha söyliyeceklerini ta-
mamlamadan beş on adım yakının-
dan birbirini müteakip iki kurşun

geçti; fakat o, kalın bir dalı kendine siper ederek etrafı iyice keşfile faz-la malûmat vermek istiyordu.

Zabit acele ile :

— Çabuk in aşağı! Dedi.

Çocuk ağaçtan aşağı inerken üçün-cü bir kurşun göğsüne isabet etti. Arka-yere yuvarlandı, sırtüstü yattı. Arka-sındaki gömleğe göğsünden kan fışkırıyordu .

Zabit onun göğsündeki yarayı mendilile tıkamağa çalışırken bu cesur fedai gözlerini samaya dikti güzel bir manzara temaşa ediyormuş gibi daldı. Sonra biruh kaldı.

Zabit pencerede asılı duran bayrağı bu kahraman yavrunun üstüne ört-tü onbaşı da onun kunduralarını, ça-kısını, değneğini topladı, yanı başına bıraktı; zabit onun alnından öptü ; onbaşıya hitaben:

— Hilâliahmer heyetine haber ver; askerce ölen şu fedakâr yetimi

şehit askerlere mahsus ihtiram me - rasimile defnetsinler.

Takım yoluna devam etti. Şu fa - kir çocuk hakikaten vatan için canı-nı feda etmişti.

Akşamlıyın güneş batarken düş - mana doğru yürüyen bir tabur asker tenha ve sakin bir köyün yeşil çimen-leri üstünde kanlı gömleğine ve şanlı sancağına bürünerek yatan yavru - nun cesedine tesadüf etti; bütün as-ker onu kılıçlarıyla selâmladı; tabu - run zabiti göğsündeki madalyayı o-nun üstüne koydu.

Hayatında kimseden bir iltifat gör-memiş olan şu masum, şimdi nail olduğu ihtiramdan memnun oluyor-muş gibi yüzünde tebessümler gös - teriyordu.

Excerpt from Ertaylan, *Kıraat Dersleri, Sınıf 1* (İstanbul: Türk Kitapçılığı Limitet Şirketi, 1934-1935), 100-101.

100

Asker şarkısı

Bir kahraman neferim,
Talimlere giderim;
Gece nöbet beklerim,
Şimdi ben de askerim!.

Tabur koşar: rap, rap, rap !
Gece gündüz talim yap..
Bir; iki üç sağa sap!
Şimdi ben de askerim!

Sırma şerit takarım,
Çadırda yan yatarım;
Güzel nişan atarım,
Şimdi ben de askerim!

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İlk kumanda sağ soldur.
Talimimiz pek boldur.
Dağ taş bize düz yoldur.
Şimdi ben de askerim!..

Bir kahraman neferim,
Vatan için giderim;
Düşmanla harbederim.
Asker oğlu askerim!..

I. Hikmet

Excerpt from Ertaylan, "Turkishness [*Türklük*]", *Kıraat Dersleri, Sınıf 4* (İstanbul: Türk Kitapçılığı Limitet Şirketi, 1933-1934), 94-96.

Mızrağımız düşmanın ta bağrına dikildi.
Bayrağımız en yüce kalelere çekildi.
Mağrur başlı krallar kolumuza yenildi.
Bize dağlardan akan. setler yıkan Türk derler.

Türklük

Sorun bizi tarihten. sorun bizi neler der!
Yeryüzünde ne büyük bir milletiz biz erler.
Uğradıkça. saldıkça vakit vakit ve yer yer
İnlemiştir şu gökler, titremiştir bu yerler.
Bize demir bilekli, tunç yürekli Türk derler!

Bilen bilir biz kimiz: beş bin yıllık milletiz.
Adımız Gök. Yıldırım. Demir. Kaya. Dağ. Deniz.
Hinde. Çine. İrana. her yana at salan biz.
Gökten işaret alıp şarktan garba geçmişiz.
Bize göğün yoldaşı. ayın eşi Türk derler!
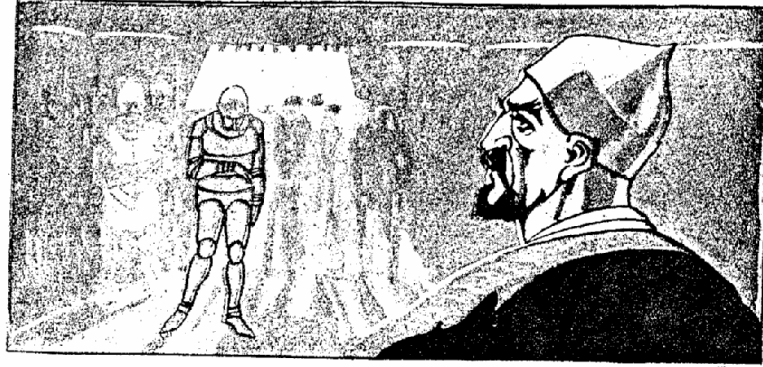
Sesimiz var göklerde, izimiz var cihanda.
Medeniyet tacını giyen biziz Turfanda.
Nuh idik yer yüzünde köpüren her tufanda.
Kanımızdan ateş var bugün bile her kanda.
Bize soylar ırmağı, şan kaynağı Türk derler!

Feyzullah Sacit

Manzume ezberlettirilecek.

Excerpt from Çığıraçan, *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 1*, 6th ed. (İstanbul: Türk Kitapçılığı Limitet Şirketi, 1934-1935), 72-73.

Bayrağa Selâm !
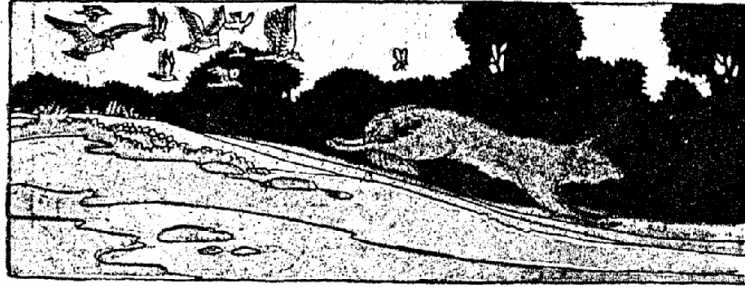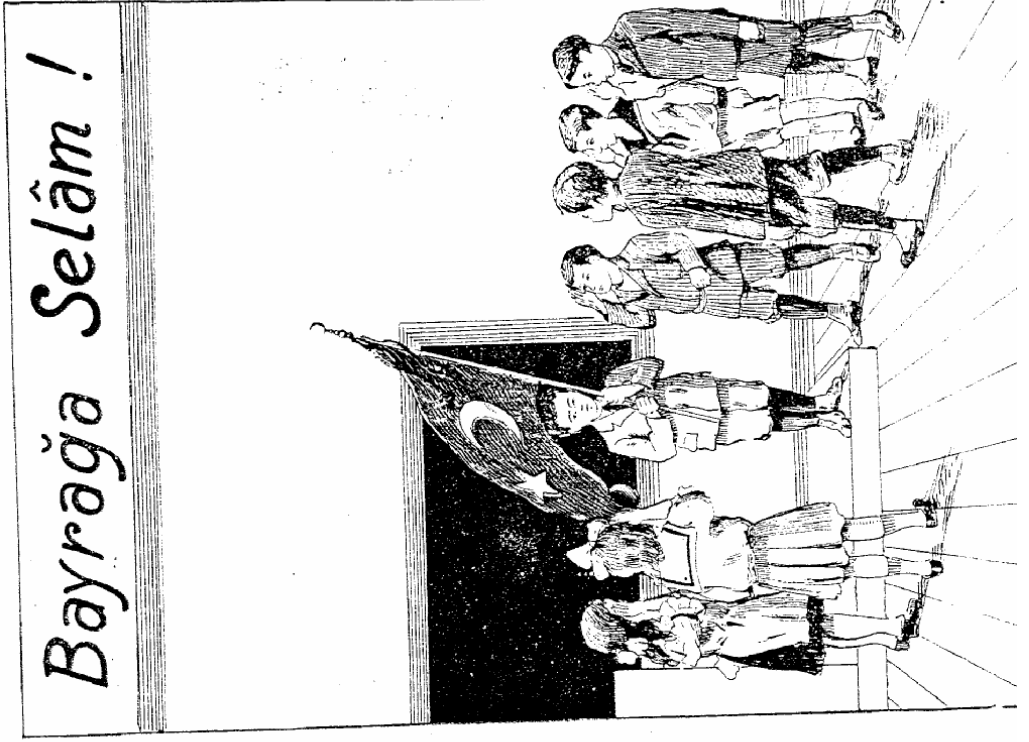
BAYRAĞİ SELÂMLARKEN

Yurdum için :

Başımı veririm,
Elimi veririm,
Kalbimi veririm.

Kendim için :

Yalnız bir Allah, bir vatan,
bir bayrak isterim.

Yazı temrini :

Allahtan korkarım,
Vatanımda yaşarım.
Bayrağın yüceliği için can
veririm.

Excerpt from Çığıraçan, "Ancient Turks [*Eski Türkler*]", *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 4* (İstanbul: Türk Kitapçılığı Limitet Şirketi, 1934-1935), 168-170.

İşte eski Türklerin yaşadığı yerler, böyle sert havalı bozkırlardır.

Eski Türkler: ata binmeyi, harp etmeyi seven, her türlü güçlük, sıkıntı ve zorluğa dayanmasını bilen.. istediğinden dönmez, kılıcından başka hiçbir şeye güvenmez bir budundu. Aldıkları yerleri kılıç hakkı, demir hakkı olarak aldıkları için, demire hürmet ederlerdi.

Türkler kahramanlığı, fedagârlığı.. zayıflara yardım, atalara hürmet eylemeyi pek büyüklük sayarlardı. Hileden, kötülükten hiç hazetmezler; doğruluklarile övünürlerdi.

Türkler misafir ağırlamayı pek severlerdi. Hattâ, kendi yiyeceklerini misafirlerine ikram ederek, aç kaldıkları bile olurdu. Kazandıkları zaferlerden dolayı hiç övünmezlerdi; kaybettikleri zaman da asla meyus olmazlar, bu yenilmenin acısını çıkarmak için muzaffer olmaya çalışırlardı.

Türkler, ne kadar cesaretli idiseler, o kadar da itaatli idiler.

Eski Türkler

Eski Türkler, Asyanın ortasında yaşarlardı. Türkler pek büyük bir millettir.

Eski Türklerin yaşadıkları memlekette, geniş bozkırlar, kızgın çöller ve sulak yerler vardır.

Bu, Türk memleketleri kışın soğuktur; dereler, göller donar, kar tipileri yolları kapar. Şimal rüzgârları bazen insanları uçuracak gibi şiddetle eser. Bahar: Orta Asyanın en iyi mevsimdir. Karlar erir, çayırlar yükselir. Büyük sürüler yer yer yayılır. Yaz: çok kuraktır.

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Harpte canlarını, kanlarını vererek ölmeyi isterler, hastalıktan ölmeyi ar sayarlardı. (Adam evde doğar, savaş alanında can verir) derlerdi.

Türkler, komşu milletler arasından birisini methetmek istedikleri zaman, (bir Türk gibi özü sözü doğru, derlerdi.

Eski Türkler yalan söylemekten korkarlardı. Başkalarının himayesi altında yaşamayı küçüklük sayarlardı. Bunun için Türkler daima müstakil yaşamışlar ve diğer milletlerin istiklâllerini de korurlardı.

Excerpt from Çığıraçan, "Ancient Turkish House and Life [*En Eski Türk Evi ve Hayatı*]", *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 4* (İstanbul: Türk Kitapçılığı Limitet Şirketi, 1934-1935), 215-218.

En Eski Türk Evi ve Hayatı

Eski Türklerin hayatı, oldukça sair eski kavımların yaşayışına benzer. Yalnız Türkler göçebe halinde yaşarlardı. Hayvan beslerler, avcılık ederler, deriden çadırlarda otururlardı.

Türkler yavaş yavaş kerpiçten, tahtadan da ev yapmaya başlamışlardı. Fakat Türklerin bu evi pek basit, pek adi idi.

Türklerin vatanı Orta Asyada denizle hiçbir ilişiği olmıyan, etrafı dağlarla kuşatılmış geniş bozkırlardan ibaretti.

Türkler dışarıda çalışır, komşularile daima harp halinde bulunurlar, evlerinde pek az otururlardı.

Türk evleri bir veya iki kat olmak üzere yapılırdı. Evler kerpiçten, özlü çamurdan ve taştan yapılırdı. Kapı ve pencereleri pek geniş olurdu. Birinci kattan ikinciye çıkmak için pek basit ve müteharrik bir merdiven koyarlardı. Evin döşemesi pek sade idi. Yer üstüne birkaç

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hayvan postu sermek, birkaç minder bulundurmak kâfi gelirdi. Duvarlara yalnız muharebe silâhları asılırdı. Evin alt katında hiç döşeme bulunmazdı. Çok evler, olduğu gibi toprak kalır, büyük bir ocak yapılır, kışın bu ocağa iri odunlar atarak yanan ateşin alevleri karşısında ısınırlardı.
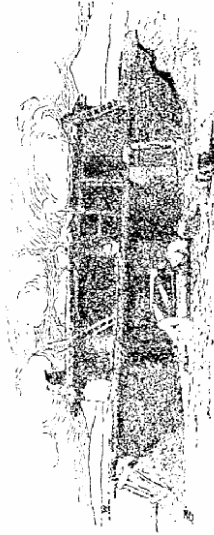
Orta Asyada en eski Türk evi

Eski Türkler dabbağlıktan anlarlar, yünden elbise dokurlardı.

Türkler binicilikte ve silâh kullanmada çok mahir idiler. Boynuzdan yaylar, keskin kılıçlar, ıslık gibi ses veren oklar kullanırlardı. Vücutlarına göğüslük korlar, kemerlerini kabartmalarla süslerler, bayraklarının ucuna altından bir kurt başı takarlardı.

Sert bir hayata göğüs gerdikleri için, ihtiyardan ziyade genç ve dinçlere mevki verirlerdi.

Birbirlerile mukavele yaptıkları zaman, mızrak ucu ile bir tahtaya işaret yaparak saklarlardı. Türkler reislerine vergi makamında davar verirlerdi. Reislerini seçecekleri zaman dokuz defa bir keç eüzerinde kaldırırlar, kendisine yemin ettirirlerdi. - Türklerin yazılmış kanunları ve muhakeme usulleri yoktu. Bütün muameleleri âdetlere göre yaparlardı. Fesat, karşı koymak, adam öldürmek kabahatlerini işliyenlerin cezası ölümdü. Dayağa ve yaralamağa karşı da aynı cezayı verirlerdi. Hırsızlar, çaldıkları] eşya ve hayvanların, kıymet veya miktarının on mislini ceza olarak verirlerdi.

Türkler muntazam bir cemiyet halinde yaşamanın yolunu bulmuşlardı.

Türkler muharebede ölmeyi şeref, evde ölmeyi ar sayarlardı. Türkler en ziyade hürmet ettikleri kimseye (Ağa - Aka) derlerdi.

Türklerin kullandıkları dil kısa, askerce bir dil idi.

Türkler biribirlerine çok bağlı idiler. Birlik olarak toplu yaşamayı çok severlerdi.

TÜRKİYE

Milletler de ayrı ayrı insanlara, fertlere benzer. Onların da iyisi kötüsü, kuvvetlisi zayıfı, çalışkanı tembeli vardır. Türk milletinin de kusurları olabilir. Fakat düşmanları bile teslim etmişlerdir ki, milletimizin çok parlak.. çok değerli bir çok meziyetleri vardır.

Biz mert, kahraman bir milletin evlâdıyız. Irkımız, binlerce senelerdenberi tarihlere geçen, ne büyük işler görmüş, ne büyük devletler kurmuştur.

Meselâ Oğuz Hanın kurduğu devlet Asya

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Excerpt from Çığıraçan, "The Debt of Soldiering [*Askerlik Borcu*]", *Hayat Bilgisine Göre Resimli İlk Kıraat, Sınıf 5* (İstanbul: Türk Kitapçılığı Limitet Şirketi, 1934-1935), 80-81.

siplin başka türlü olmaz. Bununla beraber onların hepsi şen, hepsi keyiflidir. Çağırılan yere hemen koşarlar, vazife uğruna rahat ve huzurlarını, ve icabında canlarını fedadan çekinmezler. Bu fedakârlık ne için, kimin için ? — Vatan için !

Savaş olduğu vakit vatanı müdafaa edebilmek için sulh zamanı disipline, askerî inzibata alışmış olmak lâzımdır. Ordu teşkilâtı her memlekette bir değildir. Bizde umumî mükellefiyet usulü vardır, yani her erkek vatandaş askerlik vazifesini yapmağa mecburdur. Bununla mükellef olmayan yalnız kadınlar, çocuklar, malûllerdir. Saltanat devrinde olduğu gibi : beyzadeler, paşazadeler, İstanbulda doğanlar müstesna olsun, Anadolunun öz evlâdı onlar için kanını, canını versin... şimdi öyle şey yok! Şimdi çocuklar bile mektep sıralarında askerliğe alışıyorlar. İzci teşkilâtı, askerî dersler, kamplar... Bütün bunlar askerliğe hazırlık değilse nedir ?

Bazı memleketlerde askerlik ücretli bir hizmettir. Para mukabilinde canını verecekler az olacağı için, böyle ücretli askerlerden pek istifade edilmeyeceğini tarih bize göstermektedir.

Bununla beraber, vatanın yüksek menfaatlerini takdire muvaffak olmuş medenî memleketlerde, vatanın müdafaa ve muhafazası mukaddes bir vazife olduğunu herkes takdir edebildiği için, İsviçre ve İngiltere gibi yerler bu usule riayet etmektedir.

6

Askerlik borcu

İşte bir tabur geçiyor, mızıkası adımlara bir şevk ve bir nizam veriyor. Hava sıcak, yol tozlu, güneş kızgın. Kim bilir bu tabur ne zamandanberi yol alıyor! Omuzlarında ağır bir tüfek, sırtlarında koca bir çanta, bellerinde kasatura. Böyle nereden gelip kim bilir nereye gidiyorlar!

— Nereye böyle, sevgili askerler, yeni bir memleket zaptetmeye mi ?

— Biz hiçbir zaman komşularımızın yerine göz dikmiş değiliz; fakat bizim aziz yurdumuza göz dikenleri tepelemeye gidiyoruz ! Arş ileri !

İki dakikalık bir moladan sonra hareket borusu çaldı, tabur yola çıktı. Onlar ne zorlu talimlere, ne yorucu manevralara göğüs verirler ! Onlar âmirlerinin, zabitlerinin emrile hareket ederler. Di-

Excerpt from T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, Beşinci Sınıf* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1935), 31.

YENGİ

Anneler, dindiriniz gönlünüzün yasını,
Düşman kanile sildik palamızın pasını...
Yeniden çizmek için vatan haritasını
Kandan ve kızıl ateşten bir sahneye çevirdik
Gökleri çatırdıyan bir vatan parçasını.

Anneler, ağlamayın dönmiyenlerinize;
Vatan kıyacılarını getirdik işte dize.
Dumlupınar üstünde yol ararken denize,
Çöktü saldırışımızdan düşmanla dolu dağlar:
Gökler genişliyerek Akdeniz geldi bize.

Biz, taze kanlarını özgenliğine katan
Bir nesliz; ülkemizde biziz biricik sultan;
Tanyeri nur alıyor gururlu alnımızdan
Karşımıza çıkmayın Akdeniz dalgaları,
Yolumuzu bekliyor, tek parça ana vatan...

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Excerpt from T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 4. Sınıf* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1936), 11-12.

Atatürk Onuncu Cumuriyet Bayramında «Ne mutlu Türküm diyene!» derken

Birinci Bölüm

I

BUGÜN VE DÜN

NE MUTLU TÜR-KÜM DİYENE!

"Ne mutlu Türküm diyene!„. Atatürkün böyle dediğini elbette duymuşsunuzdur. Bu söz bize ne anlatmak istiyor? Hiç düşündünüz mü? Çocuklar... Bugün "Türkiye„ adını taşıyan özyurdumuzda yaşıyoruz. Türkçe, özdilimizdir. Bize **Türk** derler. Yurdumuzun her yanında, her köşesinde yaşıyanlar öz kardeşlerimizdir. Onlar da evimizdeki anamız, babamız ve kardeşlerimiz kadar bize yakındır. Nasıl evimiz, ana ve babamızın kurduğu özyuvamız ise; güzel yurdumuz, vatanımız da atalarımızın kurduğu ve koruduğu büyük evimiz, ocağımızdır. Bir evdeki kardeşler nasıl sevişir, biribirlerini nasıl korur, bilirsiniz. İşte öztürk yurdunda yaşıyanlar da öylece sevişir, biribirlerini öylece korurlar. Çünkü bunların da ataları Türktür, bir türlü düşünürler, bir türlü duyarlar. Biribirlerine benzerler, düşmanlara karşı birlikte döğüşürler, birlikte ölürler. Öyle olunca bunlar da biribirinin kardeşi sayılmaz mı? İşte Türk Yurdu içinde yaşıyan ve kendini benliğini bilen, dostlarını, düşmanlarını tanıyan kardeşlere hep

birden *Türk Milleti* diyoruz. Bu millet dünyanın en eski ve en büyük bir milletidir. Bütün milletlere örnek olmuştur. Onun için Türk Milletinin birteki olmak ne iyi, sevgi, saygı, güven ile biribirine bağlı olan bu kardeşlerden biri sayılmak ne güzel, övünerek "Türküm" diyebilmek ne tatlıdır. Atatürkün *Ne mutlu Türküm diyene* demesi nekadar yerinde değil mi?

Fakat çok uzun onurlu bir geçmişi olan Türk Milleti yakın günlere kadar kendi adını bile kullanamıyordu. Çünkü başına geçmiş olan padişahlar, millete kendini ve parlak geçmişini hatırlatabilecek olan **Türk** adını unutturmağa çalışmışlardı.

Osmanoğulları adını taşıyan bu padişahlar, kendi adamları ve uşakları imiş gibi bütün millete "Osmanlı" adını veriyorlardı. Memlekete de yine padişahların özmalı imiş gibi Osmanlı Memleketi denmeğe başlamıştı.

Bereket versin Atatürkün gürsesi, Türk Milletini uyandırdı, ona benliğini ve özadını hatırlattı. İğreti ad atıldı. Dünkü iğretilikler içinde göçmeğe başlıyan iğreti Osmanlı Milleti yerine *Türk Milleti* yükseldi, kalkındı.

Bugünkü Türkiyenin ve Türk Milletinin küçük yavruları, yüzkızartan dünü bilmezler, kendilerini bileli alınları açık, başları dimdik, **"Türküm"** diye övünebiliyorlar. Fakat daha yaşlı olanlar, bir kimseye "Türk" demenin çirkin bir sövme gibi sayıldığı acı devri içleri sızlıyarak hatırlarlar.

HÜKÛMET VE DEVLET, BUGÜNKÜ ERGİN, TÜRKİYE CUMURİYETİ, DÜNKÜ OSMANLI DEVLETİ

Kendi evimizde annemiz, babamız ve kardeşlerimizle istediğimiz gibi yer içeriz. Dilediğimiz gibi çalışır ve eğleniriz. Annemiz, babamız da evimizin dirlik, düzenliğine kimsenin, incinmemesine bakarlar.

Yurdumuzun içindeki şehirler ve köylerde de yaşıyan milyonlarca Türk rahatça çalışıp geçinmek ister. Kimsenin başkasını incitmemesi gerek. İşte bunun içindirki polis, hâkim, ilçebay ve ilbay, ordu subayları gibi, bazı işyarlar seçilmiştir ki, bunlar da yurdun dirlik ve düzenliğini gözetirler. Bunlara birden hükûmet deriz. Hükûmet işyarlarından herbirinin belli bir işi gücü vardır: Meselâ polis, suç işlenmesini önler, suçluları yakalar. Hâkim suçluyu suçsuzu, haklıyı haksızı ayırdeder. İlçebay ve ilbay kendi sınırları içinde her işyarın işini iyi yapması-

Excerpt from T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 4. Sınıf* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1936), 67-69.

Anadoluda Etiler devrinden kalma bir duvar kabartması

V

BÜYÜK DEVRİMDEN ÖNCE TÜRK MİLLETİ VE YURDU

TÜRK MİLLETİ VE YURDU Büyük Devrim atılışının, Türk Milletinin yabancılara karşı erkinliği, kendi içinde de padişahlar boyunduruğundan kurtuluşu demek olduğunu gördük. Bu kadar büyük ve çabuk bir devrimin tarihte az görüldüğünü de biliyoruz.

Türk Milleti erkinliğini elde etmekle özyurdunu düşmanlardan temizlemişti. Bir adam nasıl kendi evine bağlı ve sahip ise, istemediği kimseleri içeri sokmazsa bir millet te öylece kendi yurdunun işlerine ne bahasına olursa olsun yabancıları karıştırmak istemez. Hele Türk Milletinin özyurdu gibi güzel bir vatan uğrunda neler göze aldırılmaz.

Güzel yurdumuzun iki önemli parçasının Anadolu ve Trakya olduğunu bilmiyen yoktur. Anadolu, dünya parçalarından Asyanın batıya doğru uzanan bir yarımadasıdır. Trakya ise Avrupanın güney doğusunda Anadolunun omu-

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zuna dayanmış ve onunla birleşmiş gibi duran bir bölgedir. Asya ile Avrupa ve Karadeniz ile Akdeniz arasında yer tutmuş olan Türk yurdunun ne güzel ve verimli olduğunu, içinde doğup büyüdüğümüz için pek iyi biliriz. Bilgimiz arttıkça yurdumuzun güzellik ve değerini elbette daha çok anlıyacağız. Lâkin' bu toprakların ne zamandanberi bizim olduğunu araştırmak ta gerek değil midir? Yurdun değeri biraz da onun eskiliğine göredir. Çünkü onun üzerinde daha çok yaşanmış, milletin kemikleri ve kanı ile daha çok yoğrulmuş, toprağı milletin alınterile daha çok işlenmiştir.

Bütün insanlar yer yuvarlağı üzerinde yaşamaktadır. Demek ki insanlığın büyük yurdu, yer yuvarlağıdır.

Fakat, insanların dillerine, âdetlerine göre milletlere ayrılmış bulunduğunu ve herbirisinin dünyanın bir parçasını kendi özyurdu saydığını biliyoruz. Demek oluyor ki Anadolu ve Trakya da Türk Milletinin payına düşmüş bir bölgedir. İşte bu bölgenin hangi zamanlardanberi Türke malolduğunu araştırıyoruz. Bir ev bir adama ya babasından, ya anasından kalır. Veya onu kendi parasile satınalır. Milletlere de yurtları atalarından kalmıştır. Fakat yurt satınalınmaz. Acaba Türk Yurdu, Türkün eline nasıl geçmiştir? Bu yurt acaba başka bir milletin elinde iken mi Türkler tarafından ele geçirilmiştir. Yoksa Türk Milleti bu yurda bomboş iken mi gelip konmuştur. Sonra merak edilecek başka şeyler de var: Bugün Türkün malı olan bu yurt herzaman Türkün elinde mi kalmıştır, yoksa bazı zamanlar yabancıların da buraya sokulduğu olmuş mudur? Bir zamanlar buraya yabancılar da gelmiş ise bunlar ne vakit koğulup dışarı atılmıştır?

Sırasile söyliyelim ki Anadolu ve Trakya en eski ve başı bilinmiyen karanlık zamanlardanberi Türkün elindedir. Türkler burayı sahipsiz bulmuşlar, doğu kapılarından girip yerleşerek ve ilk bayındırlık kazmasını vurarak şenlendirmişlerdir. Demek ki bu yurdu Türkten önce benimsemiş başka bir ulus yoktur. Fakat daha sonra göreceğimiz gibi Türkün bazı zayıf düştüğü, uykuda bulunduğu zamanlarda yabancılar bu güzel yurda gözdikmişler, bir zaman için onu da ele geçirmişlerdir. Lâkin ölümü olmıyan, tekleri öldükçe ve kırıldıkça kuvveti taze can bularak gelişen ve hiçbir zaman köleliğe boyun eğmiyen Türk Milleti ne yapıp yap-

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miştir. Destanını okuduğumuz bu son Kurtuluş Savaşında onun ne yaptığını pek iyi hatırlıyoruz. Çünkü bu savaşı bitirişimizden daha on beş yıl bile geçmemiştir.

TÜRKLERİN TARİHİ Nasıl bir adamın güçlü ve zayıf zamanları sevinçli ve acıklı günleri varsa öylece milletlerin de gürbüz ve gelişmiş veya cılız düşmüş çağları, dost veya düşmanı ağlatan veya güldüren günleri vardır. Bir adam çok defa dikkatsizlik ve bakımsızlıktan hasta olur, bir millet te çok defa başında bulunanların hainlik veya bilgisizliğinden yanlış yola gidebilir. Aldatmasından ve uyutmasından dolayı zayıf düşebilir. Fakat dinç ve doğruyu görebilen milletler, böylece sarsıntılara uğrasalar bile günün birinde silkinirler, suçluları araştırarak onlara cezalarını verirler. Tekrar yükselme ve ilerleme yoluna girerler. Her milletin tarihi böyle biribiri ardından gelen gerileme ve ilerleme vak'aları ile doludur. Bir milletin büyüklüğü çok defa tarihinin eskiliği ve bir de ilerleme ve yükselme atılışlarının hızı ve onuru ile ölçülür. Bu bakımdan Türk milleti ile boy ölçüşecek hiçbir millet yoktur diyebiliriz. Çünkü tarihi, insanlık kadar eskidir. Daha doğrusu Türkün tarihi, dünyada insanın belirmesile başlar. Daha sonra ilerleme ve yükselme yolunda yaptığı atılışlar, savaş alanında gösterdiği yenilikler, mertlikler, kazandığı zaferler, sözün kısası barış günlerinde kurduğu medeniyetler, döğüş günlerinde başardığı işler o kadar büyüktür ki bunların eşine başka milletlerin tarihinde rasgelinemez. Türk Milletinin yaptığı son büyük atılışın, *Kurtuluş Savaşı* ve *Büyük Devrim* olduğunu yukarlarda görmüştük. Demek ki Kurtuluş Savaşının başladığı gündenberi Türk Milleti yeniden bir ilerleme ve yükselme çağına girmiş bulunuyor. Bu Savaştan önceki karanlık ve uğursuz günlerin de korkunç bir gerileme çağının son günleri olduğunu hatırlıyoruz.

OSMANLI DEVLETİ ÇAĞI Türklerin en son gerileme çağı Kurtuluş Savaşile sonuna eren padişahlık ve sultanlığın son zamanıdır. İki yüz yıl kadar süren bu gerileme çağından önceki yüz yıllık bir zaman da bir duraklama çağı olmuştu. Ondan daha önceki üç yüz yıllık kadar bir zaman da bir ilerleme ve yükselme çağı idi. Demek ki Kurtuluş Savaşından önceki gerileme, duraklama

Excerpt from T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 5. Sınıf* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1937), 46-47.

önemlisidir. Bu imparatorluğun dağılması üzerine batıya doğru yayılan kabileler arasında Oğuzlar da, *Aral* Gölü ve *Hazar* Denizi yanlarına gelmişlerdi. Bunların ufak bir bölümünün kuzey yolundan Balkanlara kadar uzandıkları da yukarda görülmüştü. Oğuzların en büyük bölümü Samanoğullarının hüküm sürdükleri batı Türkelinde yerleştiler. Müslümanlığı kabul ettiler. Bu arada Samanoğulları, Karahanlılar ve Gazneliler arasındaki savaşlara da karışıyorlardı. Batı Türkelinde yerleşmiyen veya yeniliminin sonuçlarına katlanmak istemiyen bazı Oğuz aşiretleri ise durmıyarak batıya doğru gidiyorlar, Hazar Denizinin güneyinde *Azerbaycana* ve *Iraka* geliyorlardı. Bu yüzden Oğuzlar yavaş fakat sürekli bir akın halinde idiler. Bu akının en kuvvetli dalgası on birinci yüzyılın ortalarına raslar.

SELÇUK DEVLETİ-NİN KURULUŞU Batı Türkelinde kalmış olan Oğuzlar arasında Selçuk ailesi iyi bir ad kazanmıştı. Bu ailenin idaresinde bulunan Oğuzlar bir aralık Gaznelilerin boyunduruğuna dayanamıyarak ayaklandılar. Gaznelilerin kuvvetli ordusunu yendiler. Böylece ailenin başkanı olan *Tuğrul* Bey, etrafına toplanan aşiretlerle bir devlet kurdu. **1040** Bu devlet kısa bir zaman içinde çok genişledi. Bütün İran, batı Türkelinin önemli bir parçası ve Azerbaycan ele geçirildi. En sonra Irak ve Bağdat ta boyun eğdi. Tuğrul Bey, Abbasî halifesinin kızı ile evlendi; Emirülümera adı ile ordularına da komutan oldu. Bu suretle Tuğrul Bey yalnız Türklük içinde değil, müslümanlar arasında da en kuvvetli sözü geçer bir kimse olabildi. Öldüğü zaman Selçuk Devleti kuvvetli bir imparatorluk halini almıştı.

ANADOLUNUN KURTARILMASI Tuğrul Beyden sonra yerine geçen *Alp Aslan*, sonuçları bakımından çok büyük bir başarı elde edebildi. Oğuz boyları Anadoluyu yavaş yavaş kaplıyorlardı. *Bizans* İmparatoru bu Türk akınını durdurmak istedi. Büyük bir ordu ile doğu Anadolusuna geldi. *Malazkirt* ovasında Alp Aslanın kumandasındaki Türk Ordusu ile Bizans Ordusu arasında büyük bir savaş oldu. Alp Aslan karşısındaki Bizans İmparatorunu yenerek esir aldı. **1071**

Bundan sonra Türklerin Anadoluda yeniden yerleşmesini önliyecek hiçbir kuvvet kalmamıştı.

Alp Aslandan sonra *Melikşah* zamanında da Oğuzların yayılması sürüp gitmiştir. Kısa bir zaman içinde Anadolunun büyük bir parçası ile Suriye ele geçirildi. Türk orduları artık Marmaraya ve Akdenize kadar inmiş, Türkün de özyurdu, en eski sahibine dönmüştü. Selçuk İmparatorluğu batıda Akdenizden, doğuda *Pamir* Yaylâsına, kuzeyde *Kafkas* Dağlarından güneyde *Umman* Denizine kadar uzanıyordu. *(Kitabın sonundaki renkli hartaya bakınız.)*

İMPARATORLUĞUN PARÇALANMASI Melikşahtan sonra imparatorluk, uzun zaman birliğini koruyamadı; miras kavgaları yüzünden parçalandı. Doğuda, batı Türkelinde *Harzemşahlar* erginliklerini ilân ettiler. Geride kalan topraklar, İran, Irak, Suriye, Anadolu Selçukları gibi adlarla birkaç devlete ayrıldı. Bunlardan ençok süren Anadoludaki Selçuk Devletidir. Diğerleri birer birer parçalandı ortadan kalktı. Selçuk sultanlarının hizmetinde bulunmuş olan *Atabeyler* yeni küçük devletler kurdular. Bunların çoğu Haçlıların ordularına karşı koymakta büyük yararlıklar göstermişlerdir.

AKDENİZ KIYILARINDA YENİ TÜRK DEVLETLERİ Haçlılar savaşlarında ençok çarpışan devletler, bu orduların yolu üzerinde bulunmak dolayısile *Anadolu Selçukları* ile *Halep* ve *Musul* Atabeyleri idi. Bunlardan başka Musul Atabeyi Nurettinin hizmetinde yetişen *Salâhaddin* adlı bir kahraman da Mısırda *Eyyubî Türk İmparatorluğunu* kurmuş ve Haçlıları kesin olarak yenmiştir. Bu Türk kahramanları Avrupalılara Türk yiğitlik ve kahramanlığını tanıttılar. En sonra Salâhattin Kudüs şehrini hıristiyanların elinden geri aldı. Eyyubî Devletinin hizmetinde bulunan Türk Kölemenleri de, Eyyubilerden sonra *Türk Kölemenleri Devleti* adile Mısırdaki Türk eğemenliğini devam ettirdiler. Ve Haçlılarla çarpıştılar, durdular. Haçlı

Suriye ve Mısırda kurulan Eyyubî Türk Devletinin kurucusu Salâhattin
(Zamanında yapılmış bir resmi)

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Excerpt from T. C. Kültür Bakanlığı, *Tarih, 5. Sınıf* (İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi, 1937), 99.

Yeniçeri ocağı da bozulmuştu. Sözün kısası ordu işe yarar halden çıkmıştı.

Bu başsızlık ve idaresizlik altında halk çok sıkıntı çekmeğe başladı. Memleketin neresinde bir zorba çıkarsa, hayır umarak, onun etrafında toplanıyor, ayaklanıyordu. Fakat çok defa bu ayaklanmalar, halkın zararı ile bitiyordu.

BU DEVİRDE BAZI BAŞARILAR Memleket, çok fena idare edilmekle beraber Türk Milleti yine soyunun yararlığını kaybetmiyordu. Bunun içindir ki koca devlet kolay yıkılmıyordu. Hele az çok aklı eren birisi başına geçtiği gibi sıkıntı ve yoksulluk içinde bile başarılar elde ediyordu. Meselâ *Üçüncü Murat* zamanında başlıyan ve hayli uzayan bir savaşın sonunda *İran* yenildi. *Azerbaycan* bölgesi elegeçirilerek devletin sınırı *Hazar Denizine* kadar götürüldü. Yine bu devirde Avusturyaya karşı açılan savaş, iyi idare edilemediği ve çok uzadığı halde Türk Ordusu gene kahramanlığını göstermek fırsatını buldu, zararsız bir barış yapılabildi.

Lehistanla da iki defa çarpışıldı. İkincisinde bir miktar arazi bile alındı. *İbrahim* zamanında da Venediklilere karşı savaş açıldı.

Köprülü Fazıl Ahmet Paşa

Girit adasının elegeçirilmesine çalışıldı. Fakat ancak yirmi beş senede sonucu alınabildi. Bu başarılara karşı, deli *Birinci Mustafa* zamanında İranlılar fırsat bularak *Bağdadı* elegeçirdiler.

DEVLETİN HASTA-LIĞINA KARŞI ÇA-RE ARIYANLAR Devlet ve memleket işlerinin çok fena gittiğini görenlerden çare arıyanlar da olmuştur: Bunlardan biri *Dördüncü Murattır.* Dördüncü Murat, çocuk iken tahta geçmişti. Saray kadınlarının devlet işlerine karışmalarının ve asker ayaklanmalarının çirkinliklerini yakından görmüştü. Kuvvetli

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Excerpt from İrge, "Three Martys," *Hayat Bilgisi, Sınıf 3, Okuma Parçaları* (Ankara: Güney Matbaacılık ve Gazetecilik T. A. O., 1953), 22-23.

Ünite : 4

ÜÇ ŞEHİTLER

Kurtuluş Savaşından bir kahramanlık hikâyesi

1922 yılının 26 Ağustosunda sabah vakti, şafak sökerken, toplarımız gürlemeğe ve düşmanları yurdumuzdan kovmak zamanının geldiğini haber vermeğe başladılar. Artık ölüm kalım saatinin çaldığını herkes anladı. En cılız erler bile kükremiş arslanlara benzediler. Düşmanın üstüne atılmak emrini sabırsızlıkla beklediler.

Cephemizin sol tarafında düşmandan bir türlü alınamayan küçük bir tepe vardı ki, bütün ordumuzun hızını durdurabilecek bir tehlike idi. Başkomutanımız Gazi Mustafa Kemal'den bu tepenin en kısa zamanda alınmasını belirten bir buyruk geldi. Bin düşman eliyle tutulan bu tepeyi zaptedebilmek için elimizde ancak iyi yüz kişi vardı.

Tabancasını çeken yüzbaşımız bölüğün önüne atıldı. Onunla beraber hepimiz ok gibi siperlerimizden fırladık. Düşmanı süngü süngüye ve göğüs göğüse çarpışarak tepeden kovmağa muvaffak olduk. Fakat arası çok geçmeden, kuvvetli bir top ateşi ve daha büyük kuvvetlerle tekrar saldıran düşman, tepeyi yine bizden geri aldı. Eski siperlerimize çekilirken alnından vurulup şehit düşen yüzbaşımızı omuzlarımızda taşıyarak kaçırdık. Onu düşmana bırakmadık. Yüz kişi kalan bölüğümüzün önüne geçen teğmenimiz de tabancası elde bizi yine tepeye hücuma kaldırdı. "Allah Allah" diye haykırarak düşman siperlerine girdik. Bu sefer de düşman tepeyi bize bırakmak zorunda kaldı. Fakat bu tepe düşman için de çok önemli idi. Akşama doğru taze kuvvetlerle yeniden saldırdı. Kırıla kırıla ancak 40 kişi kalan kuvvetlerimizi tepenin eteğine çekmeğe mecbur bıraktı. Bu defa da şehit düşen teğmenimizi omuzlarımızda götürdük. Tepenin son durumunu öğrenmek için tek başına atını sürerek yanımıza gelen

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bir Türk generali, bölüğün komutanlığını eline alan asteğmen ve kalan 40 arslanla beraber tabancalar elde, süngüler çekilmiş yine tepeye saldırdık. Bu sefer de onu aldık. Fakat bu defa da asteğmenimizi şehit verdik. Tepenin üstüne şanlı al bayrağımızı dikerken ovaya kaçan düşmanı yaş dolu gözlerimizle seyrediyor; Başkomutandan aldığımız buyruğu yerine getirebildiğimiz için Allahımıza şükrediyorduk.

Sonra büyük Atamız, bu tepeye "Üç Şehitler Tepesi" adını taktı.

ARAŞTIRMALAR :

1 — Üç Şehitler Tepesi savaşını canlandıran bir resim yapınız! Sonra onu renkli kalemle boyayınız!

2 — İstiklâl Savaşına, Kore savaşına ait bildiğiniz duyduğunuz bir hikâyeyi yazınız.

3 — İstiklâl savaşını ne zaman yaptık? Niçin yaptık?

4 — Mondoros silâh bırakışmasının hangi maddesinden faydalanılarak yurdumuzu işgal ettiler? Bu devletler kimlerdir? Nerelerimizi işgal ettiler?

5 — O günlere ait bildiğimiz ve duyduğumuz hikâyeleri anlatın.

6 — İstiklâl Savaşı hazırlığımız ne zaman başlar?

İstiklâl Savaşında nerelerde savaştık?

7 — Bugünkü Türkiyeyi hangi barışla bütün dünya tanıyor? Bu barışı hangi tarihte ve kim imzaladı?

8 — Millî Bayramlarımızı sayın. O günlerde niçin bayram yaptığımızı söyleyin.

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Excerpt from T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Okuma Kitabı, Üçüncü Sınıf* (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1952), 35-36.

TÜRK

Türk, dünyanın en büyük, en iyi yürekli milletidir. Türklerin binlerce yıllık eski ve baştan başa yüceliklerle dolu tarihleri vardır. Asya ortalarından çıkmış, geçip oturdukları yerde çok yüksek medeniyet eserleri bırakmışlardır.

Türklerin güzel ahlâkları tarihlere geçmiştir. Onlar konukları severler, düşkünlere yardım ederler, yerine göre kötülüğü de bağışlarlar. Milletimizin ne kadar gözüpek olduğunu herkes bilir.

Batı milletleri bir adamın gözüpekliğini, kuvvetini göstermek için "Türk gibi kuvvetli!,, derler. Türkler çok keskin anlayışlıdır. Türkler için yurt sevgisi, toprak sevgisi her sevgiden önce gelir. Türk, topraklarına kötü gözle bakanları yoketmek için canını vermekten çekinmez. Kurtuluş savaşında ordularımızın gösterdiği yiğitlikler, fedakârlıklar Türklerin yurtlarına ne sağlam duygularla bağlı olduklarını anlatmıştır. Türk, büyüğünü sayar. Kendini seveni sever.

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TÜRK BAYRAĞI

Yiğitlerin ocağından uyandın,
Şehitlerin kanlariyle boyandın,
Nice düşman kalesine uzandın,
Sana selâm ey şanlı Türk bayrağı.

Çırpınarak dalgalanır kanadın,
Gökyüzüne çıkmak mıdır muradın?
Gölgende can vermek ister evlâdın,
Bir kalendir her bir Türkün kucağı.

Ey şerefin, büyüklüğün fermanı,
Ey kavgalar tarihinin destanı,
Seni ister su toprağın her yanı.
Sensiz tütmez milletimin ocağı.

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SINIRLAR

Bahçenin her yanı çitle çevrilmiş. Bahçe baştan başa ağaçlık. Çit, kötülük için yaklaşanlara sanki:

— Çekil buradan, bu güzel bahçe senin değil! diyor. Dinlemeyip de geçmek istiyenleri dikenlerine takıyor, içeri bırakmıyor.

Büyük ülkelerin de kendilerini korumak için böyle çitleri vardır. Onlara sınır derler. Bunlar, bahçelerdeki gibi çalılardan yapılmamıştır.

Sınırlarda k a l e l e r vardır. Bizim de sınırlarımız böyle çelik kalelerle, büyük toplarla çevrilmiştir.

En iyi, en sağlam kaleler, Türk askerlerinin göğüsleridir.

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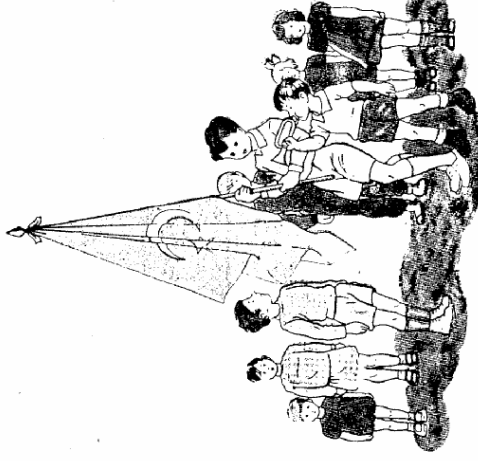
BAYRAK

Göklerin ay yıldızı
Senin göğsünde yanar.
Bu yurdun oğlu kızı
Seni saygıyla anar.

Hepimiz senin için
Veririz canımızı.
Sen solmıyasın diye,
Dökeriz kanımızı.

Yaşa, ey yüce sancak!
Değmesin sana keder.
Senin gölgende ancak
Gönlümüz rahat eder.
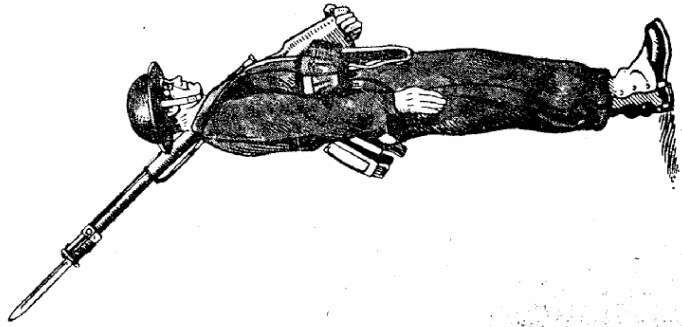
Excerpt from T. C. Maarif Vekaleti, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı, Dördüncü Sınıf*, 1st ed.
(İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi, 1956), 30-31.
Excerpt from T. C. Mili Eğitim Bakanlığı, *Yeni Okuma Kitabı, Dördüncü Sınıf*, 13th ed.
(İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1968), 30-31.

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A N N E M

Nihayet son imtihanımı verdim; tahsilimi bitirmiştim.

Kapısından çıkınca okuluma bir daha baktım. Sekiz yıl, içinde kimi neşeli, kimi üzüntülü geçen günlerim gözlerimin önüne geldi. Şimdi, sevincimden, koşar gibi yürüyordum. Acelemin farkına varmadığım için nefesim tıkanıyordu.

Eve yaklaştıkça heyecanım arttı. Kapının tokmağını hızlı vurmuşum; odada oturanların hepsi fırlamışlar:

— Kim o? diyen diyene.

Açtılar. Büyük bir adam tavriyle annemin yanına girdim, elini öptüm. Titrek bir sesle:

— Anne, dedim, yüzünü kara çıkarmadım, şimdi rahat ol...

Ayağa kalkmaya davrandı. Sinirleri gevşemişti. Gözleri damla damla yaşlarla dolu, beni yanına çağırdı. Eğildim, öptü. Annelerin o şefkatli bakışiyle süzerek:

— Aferin! diyebildi.

Bu, benim kazanabileceğim en büyük mükâfattı. Ama bundan daha da büyüğü varmış.

Akşam odama çekilmiştim. Biraz sonra uyumuşum.

— 30 —

İki üç saat geçmiş olmalı, uyandım. Saate bakmak için dışarıya çıktım: iki idi. Annemin odasında ışık vardı. Acaba ne yapıyor? yoksa hasta mı? Kapısını çaldım.

Ah, o yüce kalb! Sabahlara kadar secde ederek Allahın lûtfuna teşekkür ediyor. İleride yükselmem için yalvarıyor, hayır dua ediyor.

Ahmet RASİM

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giriştiler. O zaman Anadolu, Bizans İmparatorluğu'nun elinde idi. Türk akıncıları Bizans sınırlarını aşarak Doğu ve Güney Anadolu bölgelerini zaptetmiye başlamışlardı. Bizanslılar, Türk akınlarından korkuyorlar, onları hiçbir yerde durduramıyorlardı.

6 — MALAZGİRT SAVAŞI (26 Ağustos 1071):

Bu sırada Bizans İmparatorluğu'nun başına **Romen Diyojen** adında bir imparator geçmişti. Bu imparator Türkleri durduracağını, onları Anadolu'dan atacağını zannetti. 200,000 kişilik büyük bir ordu ile Doğu Anadolu'ya yürüdü. Alp Arslan, Bizans ordusunu karşılamak üzere yola çıktı. İki ordu Van gölünün kuzeyindeki **Malazgirt Ovası**'nda karşılaştılar. Türk ordusu ancak 50,000 kişi idi. Fakat Alp Arslan'ın cesareti ve iyi idaresi sayesinde Bizans ordusu büyük bir yenilgiye uğradı. İmparator esir düştü. Alp Arslan, imparatoru bir misafir gibi karşıladı. Bir müddet sonra kendisini affederek tekrar İstanbul'a gönderdi.

7 — MALAZGİRT ZAFERİNİN SONUÇLARI:

Bu zafer, Türklerin kazandıkları en büyük ve şanlı zaferlerden birisidir. Malazgirt Zaferi ile Türk Milleti kendisine yeni bir yurt kazanmış ve yeni bir Tarih Devri açmıştır. Bu zafer yalnız bizim tarihimizin değil, Cihan tarihinin de çok önemli bir olayı ve bir dönüm noktasıdır. Malazgirt Zaferinden sonra Türkler, Anadoluyu bir baştan o bir başa fethetmişler ve burayı bir Türk ülkesi hâline getirmişlerdir. Bundan sonra Türkler, Anadolu'ya yerleşerek burada yeni bir Türk Devleti daha kurmuşlardır. Bugüne kadar devam eden bu devletin adına **Türkiye Devleti** denir.

8 — ANADOLU'NUN FETHİ:

Alp Arslan, Malazgirt zaferinden sonra yanında bulunan Türk Beyleri'ne ve komutanlarına Anadolu'yu fethetmelerini emretti. Kendisi tekrar Türkistan'a döndü. Fakat orada isyan eden bir kale
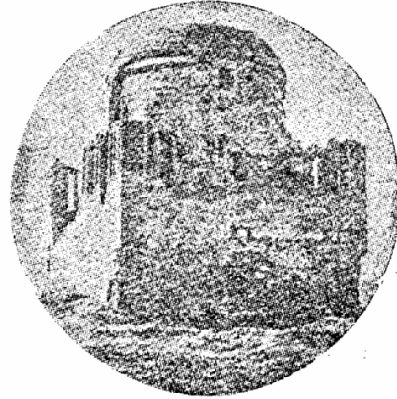
Resim: 59 — Selçuklu Hükümdarlarından Sultan Sencer'in Merv şehrinde bulunan türbesi.

okullar kurmuşlardı. Onların zamanında yaptırılmış olan camiler, kervansaraylar, hamamlar, köprüler ve türbeler ile hastanelerden çoğu, birer sanat eseri olarak hâlâ ayakta durmaktadır.
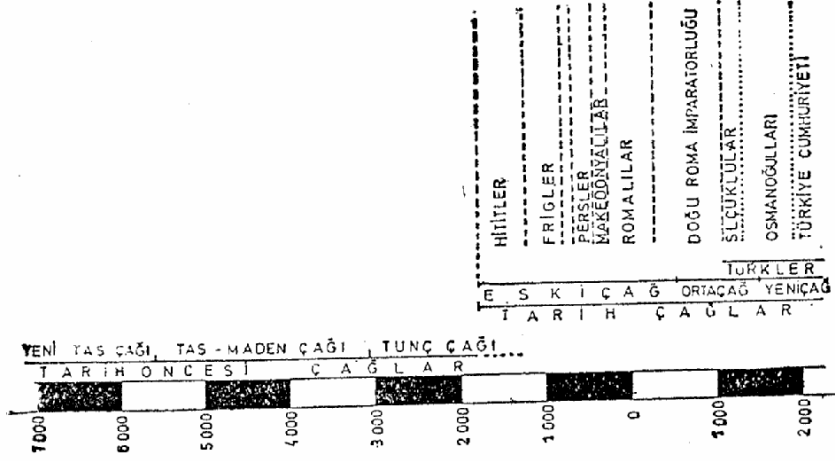
Tarihöncesinden zamanımıza kadar Anadolu.

* * *

SORU :

Anadolu Selçuklu Devleti, kurulamamış olsaydı, ne olurdu ve neler olmazdı?

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10. Bölüm

TÜRK MİLLETİ'NİN ÖZELLİKLERİ

Kimi ağacı, çok uzaklardan tanır, adını söyleriz; sözgelişi kavak, servi ve fıstık çamı, öbür ağaçlardan kolaylıkla ayrılır.

Aslanla kaplan, aynı soydan iki hayvandır; öyle iken hiç kimse, aslana kaplan ya da kaplana aslan demez.

İlk bakışta birbirinden ayrılamayan şeyleri de daha dikkatli olarak görmek ya da incelemekle birbirinden ayırabiliriz. Bu türlü ayırmalar, her şeyin benzerlerine uymayan yönleri olmasına dayanır. Sözgelişi, birbirine çok benzeyen ikiz kardeşleri, kimse birbirinden ayıramazken, ana ve babaları, onları kolaylıkla tanırlar.

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İşte bir canlının ya da eşyanın, benzerlerinden ayrılmasına yarayan yanlarına onun "özelliği" denir.

Milletlerin de birtakım özellikleri vardır; sözgelişi bir millet soğuk-kanlıdır; kolay heyecanlanmaz; zor güler ve güç ağlar. Onlar, her şeyi önceden iyi düşünüp hesapladıktan sonra en doğru kararı verir. Karar verip başladığı işi, sonuna kadar götürür. Başkalarını pek önemsemez. Kendi milletini, başka milletlerin üstünde görür; kibirlidir; sözlerinin herkesçe dinlenmesini ister. Bunun gibi, hemen her milletin kendine göre birtakım özellikleri vardır.

1. Türk Milleti'nin Özellikleri :

Bu özelliklerin neler olduğunu, hepiniz bilirsiniz. Bununla birlikte bir kez daha anmakta yarar vardır. Milletimizin başlıca özellikleri, aşağıda sıralanmıştır :

a) **Türk Milleti zekidir.** Gördüğünü kolay ve çabuk kavrar; çabuk öğrenir. Kendisinden beklenen işleri kestirir, uygunsa yapar. Okuduğunu ve söylenenleri tam ve doğru olarak anlaı.

b) **Türk çalışkandır;** topluma yararlı olmak, başlıca amacıdır. Türk, boş durmaktan hoşlanmaz; boş zamanlarını, yararlı işler yapmakla değerlendirir.

c) **Türk doğrudur; doğruluktan yanadır;** yalancılıktan, düzen kurup başkalarını aldatmaktan hoşlanmaz. Düşündüğünü çekinmeden söyler; gerçeği gizlemez. Sözüyle özü birdir; iki yüzlü değildir. Kimsenin malına el uzatmaz.

ç) **Türk, sözünün eridir.** "Söz namustur." der ve verdiği sözü, canı pahasına da olsa, yerine getirir.

d) **Türk cesurdur.** Atalarımızın söylediği gibi, "Türk, gözünü budaktan sakınmaz". Verdiği sözü yerine getiren, doğruluktan ayrılmayan, başkasının hakkına el uzatmayan, yalancılıktan ve düzencilikten hoşlanmayan kimsenin korkacak bir şeyi olmaz ve olamaz.

Türk, düşmanı ne kadar güçlü olursa olsun, kendisini korumaktan, karşı koymaktan ve savaşmaktan çekinmez. Vatanı, milleti, bayrağı ve hakkı için seve seve, gözünü kırpmaksızın ölmeyi bilir.

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e) **Türk, hoşgörür kişidir.** Gücendirici bir tutum karşısında olsa bile, onu hoş karşılar. Böyle istenmedik bir hareketin, bilmeyerek ve istemeyerek yapılmış olabileceğini düşünür, birdenbire kızıp kükremez. Başkalarının kendisinden ayrı düşünebileceğini, inançlarının ayrı olabileceğini bilir. Geçimsizlikten hoşlanmaz.

f) **Türk, başkalarına yardım yapmayı sever.** Kimsesizlere, yoksullara, ihtiyarlara, hastalara, düşkünlere, haksızlığa uğramış olanlara severek yardım eder. Atalarımız "Türk düşenin dostudur." demişler.

g) **Türk, konukseverdir.** "Konuk umduğunu değil, bulduğunu yer.", "Tanrı misafiri" der. Gelen konuğu güler yüzle karşılar. Nesi varsa, konuğuna sunmaktan çekinmez.

h) **Türk, temizdir.** Dedelerimiz, "Temizlik imandandır." demişler; her şehirde ve kasabada, hatta birçok köyde güzel hamamlar yaptırmışlardır. Giyeceklerini, evlerini ve ev eşyasını, eski de olsa, temiz tutmayı bilmişlerdir.

ı) **Türk, büyüğünü sayar, küçüğünü sever ve korur.** Sayanın sayılacağını, sevenin sevileceğini, koruyanın korunacağını bilir. Çocuklarının iyi kişiler olarak yetişmesi için elinden geleni yapar; onları kötü yoldan alıkor.

i) **Türk, bilgiyi ve güzel sanatları sever.** Bilginlere ve güzel sanat adamlarına saygı duyar.

j) **Türk, geleneklerine ve göreneklerine bağlıdır; fakat, yararlı gördüğü yenilikleri de benimser ve uygular.**

Bu özelliklerimizle öğünmek, kıvanmak, kendimize güvenmek ve Türk olmanın mutluluğunu duymak, hakkımızdır. Ancak, başarıya ulaşmanın, her alanda sürekli ve yorulmaksızın çalışmakla sağlanabileceğini de unutmamak ve Atatürk'ün "Türk, öğün, çalış, güven" öğüdüne uymak da en büyük görevlerimizden biri olmalıdır.

2. Türkleri Birbirine Bağlayan Güçlü Bağlar :

Bizi birbirimize bağlayan bağların en önemlileri aşağıda sıralanmıştır :

a) **Aynı topraklar üzerinde yaşıyoruz.** Hep birlikte yaşadığımız bu ülke **TÜRKİYE**'dir. Atalarımız, bu topraklara, kanlarını dökerek, can vererek sahip oldular. Hep birlikte, bu topraklardan geçiniyoruz. Bu vatanı, her şeyden çok severiz; onu canımız ve kanımız pahasına da olsa, korumak en büyük görevimizdir.

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b) **Ortak bir kültüre sahibiz.** Gelenek ve göreneklerimiz aynıdır. Evlerimizin dış görünüşü, iç eşyası ve düzeni, camilerimiz, yaşayışımız, duygularımız, türkülerimiz, sazlarımız, oyunlarımız birbirinin aynıdır ve başka milletlerinkinden ayrıdır.

c) **Ortak bir ülkünün arkasında birleşmiş bulunuyoruz.** Hepimiz, özgür ve bağımsız yaşamak isteğindeyiz. Kendimizi, en ileri milletler düzeyinde görmek amacındayız. Hep birlikte, varlıklı, mutlu, şerefli ve güvenlik içinde olmak en güçlü ereğimizdir. Hepimiz, Türkiye'yi dünyanın en bayındır ülkesi durumuna eriştirmek çabasındayız.

ç) **Ortak bir tarihimiz vardır.** Bu topraklara gelip yerleşmeden önce de atalarımız iyi ve kötü günleri, hep birlikte gördüler. Bu topraklar üzerinde de bin yıla yaklaşan süre boyunca, hep birlikte yaşadılar. Atalarımız ve ağabeylerimiz, varlığımızı ve onurumuzu korumak için omuz omuza döğüştüler, kanlarını döktüler, canlarını esirgemediler. Yüzyıllar boyunca, komşuluk, hemşerilik, silah arkadaşlığı yaptılar. Birlikte sevindiler; acılarını paylaştılar.
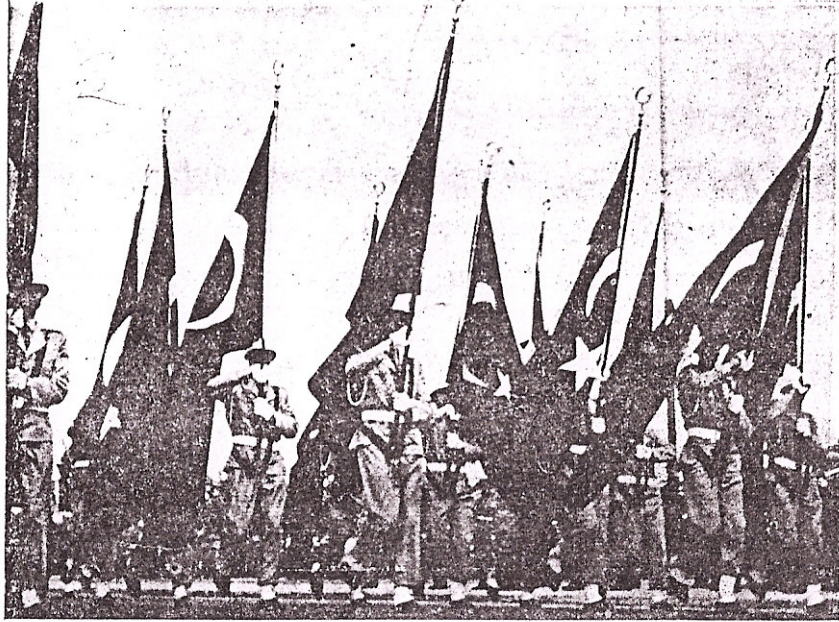
Türk Bayrağı.

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d) **Birliğimizin sembolü Bayrağımızdır.** Bayrak, bir milletin şerefi, birliğinin ve beraberliğinin işaretidir. Bayrağa saygı, vatanımıza, milletimize ve atalarımıza saygı demektir. Türk Milleti, tarihi boyunca, ayak bastığı her yerde, kutsal bayrağını şanla ve şerefle dalgalandırmıştır.

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Excerpt from T. C. Mili Eğitim Bakanlığı, "Homeland and Nation [*Vatan ve Millet*]," *İlkokular için Sosyal Bilgiler 4*, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1991), 238-241.

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için çok değerlidir. Vatan uğrunda feda edilemeyecek hiçbir şey yoktur. Türk milletini meydana getiren bizler, vatan için seve seve canımızı veririz.
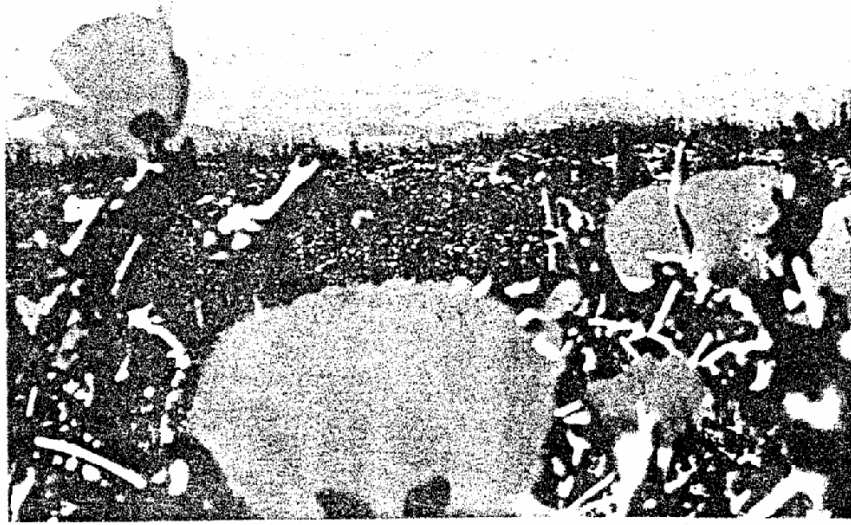
Resim 131 — Türkiye'de dört mevsim aynı anda yaşanır.

Üzerinde yaşadığımız toprakların Türk vatanı olması ve hep oyle kalması için atalarımız pek çok güçlüğe göğüs germiştir. Birçok milletle savaşmış, canlarını feda etmişlerdir. Vatanın her karış toprağında onu yüceltmek için kan ve alın teri dökenlerin anıları vardır.

Atatürk Çanakkale muharebelerinde, vatanı kurtarmak için askerlerine: **"Size ben taarruz emretmiyorum, ölmeyi emrediyorum."** demiştir. Çanakkale muharebelerinde olduğu gibi Türk vatanının her karış toprağı şehit kanı ile sulanmıştır. Kurtuluş savaşımızda; babalarımız, dedelerimiz şehit olmuş, ancak bize çok değerli bir emanet bırakmışlardır. O da vatanımızdır.

Bu kutsal emaneti, yani vatanımızı korumak, geliştirip güzelleştirmek hepimizin görevidir. Bu gurur verici görev, aynı zamanda önemli bir sorumluluktur. Vatanımızı daha zengin, daha güzel, daha güçlü bir hale getirmeli ve bizden sonra geleceklere öyle teslim etmeliyiz.

Her gün **"Varlığım Türk varlığına armağan olsun!"** diye ant içtiğimizi unutmayalım.

B — MİLLET

1. Millet Nedir?

İnsanlar, eskiden beri toplu halde yaşarlar. Çünkü insan, tek başına, yiyeceğini, giyeceğini ve barınağını sağlamada çok zorluk çeker. Kendisini koruması da kolay olmaz. Başka insanların yardımına ihtiyaç duyar. Toplu halde yaşayan insanlar, güçlükleri daha kolay yenebilirler.

Aile, insan toplumunun en küçük birimidir. Aileler bir araya gelince köyler kuruldu. Sonra şehirler meydana geldi. Toplu halde yaşayan insanların sayısı gittikçe arttı. İşte insanların bir arada yaşamasından, karışıp kaynaşmasından millet meydana geldi. Millet, büyük bir insan topluluğudur. Ancak, her insan topluluğu millet olarak adlandırılamaz. Bir insan topluluğunun millet olabilmesi için bazı özelliklerinin olması gerekir. Bu özelliklerin başlıcalarını şöyle sıralayabiliriz: Dil birliği, tarih birliği, yurt birliği, kültür birliği ve ülkü birliği.

Türk vatanı üzerinde yaşayan insanlarda bu özellikler vardır. Bu insanlar, Türk milletini meydana getirir.

Görüldüğü gibi, aralarında dil, kültür ve duygu birliği olan insan topluluğuna millet adı verilir.

Türkiye Cumhuriyetini kuran Türk halkına Türk milleti denir.

2. Milleti Oluşturan Unsurlar :

a. Dil Birliği:

Bir milleti oluşturan öğelerin başında dil birliği gelir. İnsanlar; sevinçlerini, üzüntülerini, duygu ve düşüncelerini birbirlerine dille anlatırlar. Dil, insanların anlaşıp kaynaşmasını sağlayan en önemli bir unsurdur.

Türk milletinin dili Türkçe'dir. Türkler tarih boyunca dillerini geliştirmişler, zenginleştirmişler ve en güzel eserlerini vermişlerdir. Onun için Türk dili, dünyanın en güzel ve zengin dillerinden biridir.

Her Türk, dilini çok sever, onu geliştirmek için çalışır. Türk dili, Türk milleti için kutsal bir hazinedir. Çünkü, bu güne kadar, tarihini, anılarını, geleneklerini, kültürünü dili sayesinde korumuştur. Atatürk bunu: **"Türk dili, Türk milleti için kutsal bir hazinedir. Türk dili, Türk milletinin kalbidir, zihnidir."** diyerek belirtmiştir.

b. Tarih Birliği:

İnsanların geçmişlerinin ortak olması, onları birbirine yaklaştırır.

Birlikte sevinmiş, birlikte üzülmüş olmak insanları kaynaştırır. Bu beraberlik, yani ortak geçmiş, tarih birliğini oluşturur.

Türk milleti olarak bizim çok eski ve şerefli bir tarihimiz vardır. Atalarımız, birlikte zaferler kazanıp devletler kurdukları gibi, bazen de acı ve üzücü günler yaşamışlardır. Geçmişimizin, yani tarihimizin aynı olması, bizim güçlü bir millet olduğumuzu gösterdiği gibi geleceğimizin de güven kaynağıdır. Tarihimiz bize gurur verir, gücümüze güç katar.

Tarih birliği, insanları birleştiren, kaynaştıran öğelerden biridir.

c. Yurt Birliği :

Bir insan topluluğunun millet olabilmesi için aynı topraklar üzerinde yaşaması gerekir. Bir milletin üzerinde yaşadığı, sınırları belirli toprak parçasına yurt adı verilir.

Bu gün, yurdumuzda, bizler yaşıyoruz. Bizden önce dedelerimiz, onlardan önce de onların dedeleri yaşamışlardı. Bizden sonra gene bizim yakınlarımız yaşayacaklar. Üzerinde yaşadığımız topraklar vatanımızdır. Vatanımız olarak kalması için onu korumalıyız. Vatan sevgisi ile dolu olmak bizim en güçlü ortak yanımızdır.

ç. Kültür Birliği :

Bir insan topluluğunun millet sayılabilmesi için kültür birliğinin de olması gerekir.

İnsanlar, aynı türkülerle coşup aynı olaylara üzülüyorsa; çocuklarını aynı ninnilerle uyutup onlara aynı eğitimi veriyorsa bu kültür birliğinin sonucudur.

Ayrıca geleneklerimiz, alışkanlıklarımız da inançlarımız gibi kültürümüzü oluşturan öğelerdendir. Dinin de kültür içinde önemli bir yeri vardır. İnançlarımız, ibadetlerimiz, bayramlarımız kültürümüzü renklendirir, zenginleştirir.

Diğer yandan, evimize gelen konuğumuza karşı davranışlarımız, oyunlarımız, bilmecelerimiz, hemen hemen aynıdır. İşte bütün bunlar kültür birliğimizi gösterir.

Bizim, millet olarak varlığımızı sürdürmemizde kültür birliği önemli bir etkendir.

d. Ülkü Birliği :

Hepimizin bir amacı vardır. Kendimize, ailemize, vatanımıza, milletimize yararlı bir insan olmak isteriz. Bunun için çalışırız. Gelecekte mutlu bir hayatımız olsun isteriz.

Bir insanın olduğu gibi, bir milletin de geleceği vardır. Milleti oluşturan insanların da ortak amaçları ve ortak istekleri olur. İşte bir milleti meydana getiren insanların gelecekle ilgili amaçlarının aynı olmasına ülkü birliği denir.

Bizim ülkümüz, bağımsız yaşamak, yükselmek ve ileri gitmektir. Herkese huzurlu yaşama imkânı sağlamak ve millî kültürümüzü çağdaş uygarlık düzeyinin üzerine çıkarmak başlıca hedefimizdir.

Ülkü birliği, milleti meydana getiren önemli bir öğedir.

C — TÜRK MİLLETİNİN ÖZELLİKLERİ

İlk bakışta insanlar birbirine çok benzer. Fakat onları yakından tanıdığımızda, konuşup dinlediğimizde, bazı farklılıklarının olduğunu anlarız.

İnsanların olaylar karşısındaki davranışları farklı olabilir. Bir olay; birinin üzülmesine yol açarken, diğerini o kadar etkilemeyebilir. Birini çok güldüren bir fıkra, diğerinde aynı etkiyi meydana getirmeyebilir. Birisi çok yardımseverdir, diğeri umursamaz olabilir. Bu farklılıklar, insanlar arasında olduğu gibi milletler arasında da vardır. Milletler arasında görülen farklılıklar, bir milletin tarihi, kültürü ve yaşadığı coğrafi bölge ile ilgilidir. Bu farklılıklar, milletlerin özelliklerini meydana getirir.

Milletimizin özelliklerini şöyle sıralayabiliriz:

1. Doğruluk:

Her gün derse, "Türküm, doğruyum..." diye ant içip başlıyoruz. Bizler, Türk milletinin birer üyesiyiz. Türkler yalan söylemenin yanlış bir davranış olduğunu kabul ederler. Yalanın, başkalarını aldatmanın kötülüğünü anlatan ata sözlerimiz vardır. Bizler, doğru sözlü olmalıyız. Türkler; doğru olmanın, doğru söylemenin, doğru davranmanın gereğine inanmışlardır.
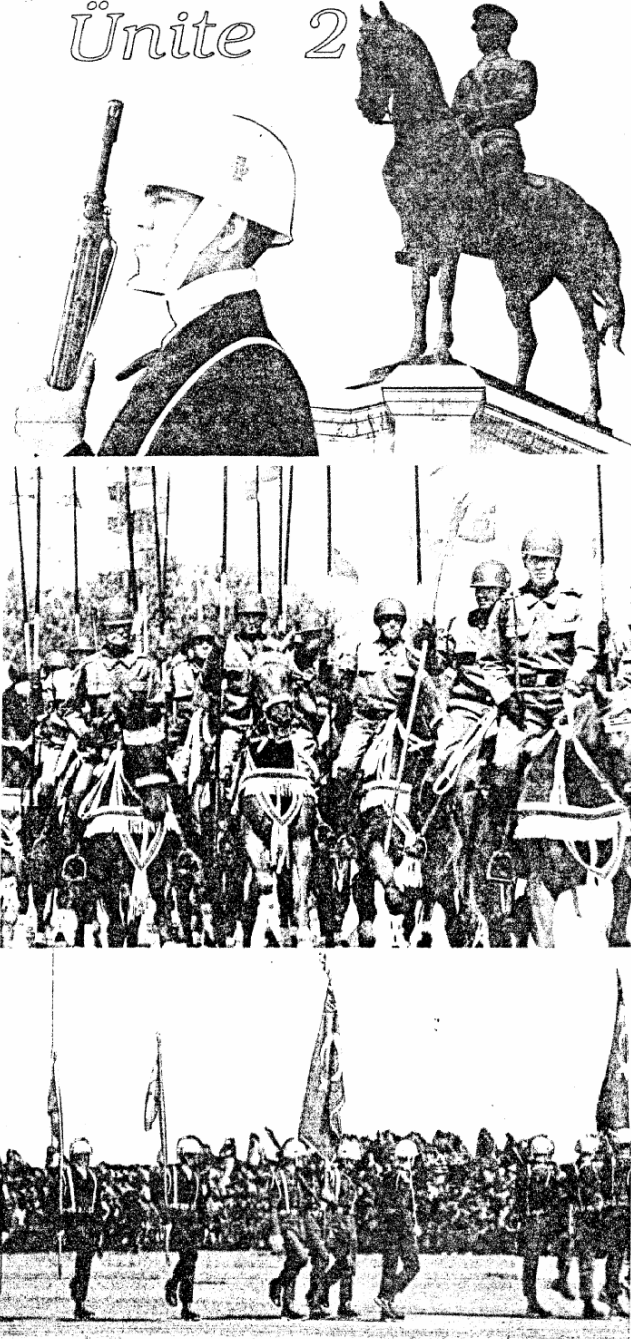
Düşüncelerimizi başkalarının hoşuna gidecek şekilde değil, doğru bildiğimiz şekilde ifade etmeliyiz. Davranışlarımız, bizim kişiliğimizi ortaya koyar.

2. Çalışkanlık :

Kendimize, ailemize, milletimize ve insanlığa yararlı olmak başlıca amacımızdır. Bu amacımıza ulaşabilmemiz için bir meslek sahibi olmamız, bir iş yapmamız gerekir. Çalışmadan iş ve meslek sahibi olunamaz.

Excerpt from T. C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, "Unit 2", *Hayat Bilgisi İlkokul 3* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1991), 50, 53, 71.

Ünite 2

CUMHURİYET BAYRAMI VE ATATÜRK

OSMANLI DEVLETİ

Şimdiki devletimizin adı **Türkiye Cumhuriyeti**'dir. Bundan önceki devletimizin adı **Osmanlı Devleti** idi. Atalarımız, bundan başka birçok devlet kurmuşlardır. Ama bunların içinde en uzun ömürlü olanı Osmanlı Devleti oldu. Bu devletimiz, 624 yıl yaşadı ve 1923 yılında yıkıldı.

Osmanlı Devleti önceleri küçük bir devletti. Zamanla çok güçlü bir devlet oldu. Osmanlı topraklarında Araplar, Yunanlılar, Bulgarlar ve Macarlar gibi çeşitli insanlar, bir arada yaşadı. Bunlar, eşit haklara sahipti, dinî inançlarında ve ticaretlerinde serbestti. Mutlu ve rahat bir hayat sürdüler.

Dünya'nın bu güçlü devleti zamanla zayıfladı. Avrupa ülkeleri, dinî düşüncelerle Haçlı Seferleri yaptılar. Osmanlı Devleti'ni yıkmak için her çareye başvurdular. Rusya, İngiltere, Avusturya, Fransa gibi devletler Osmanlı topraklarına saldırdı. Hatta, topraklarımızda yaşayan Yunanlıları, Bulgarları, Sırpları isyana teşvik ettiler. Bütün bu isyanlar ve savaşlar Osmanlı Devleti'ni zor durumda bıraktı.

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ATATÜRK'ÜN KİŞİSEL ÖZELLİKLERİ VE ÇEŞİTLİ YÖNLERİ

Ölçülü davanışı: Atatürk, asker ve sivil olarak milletimize hizmetler etti. Devletimizin kuruluşunda ve yönetiminde büyük kararlar verdi. Bu kararlarında daima ölçülüydü. Kararlarında ordumuzun ve milletimizin sonsuz gücünü dikkate aldı. Çünkü O, ordumuzun ve milletimizin neleri yapacağını çok iyi biliyordu. Verdiği kararların uygulanmasında daima en uygun ortamı seçiyordu.

Yersiz acıma duygusunu kontrol : Atatürk, dış görünüşü bakımından sert ve otoriterdi. Emirleri kesindi. Emirlerinin yerine getirilmesini isterdi. Bu sert görünümünün altında şefkatli bir kalbi vardı. Zayıflara, fakirlere, kimsesizlere acır ve yardımcı olurdu. Fakat acıma duygusunu kontrol etmesini bilmiştir. Milletin menfaatini daima ön plânda tutmuştur. Kendisini öldürmek isteyenleri affetmiş, fakat, millete zarar verenleri affetmemiştir.

Mantıklılığı: Atatürk, ölçülü olduğu kadar da mantıklı idi. Yapacağı işleri önceden düşünür ve bir sıraya koyardı. Milletten ve ordudan yapabileceği ve onların gücünün yeteceği işleri yapmasını isterdi.

Savaşlarda daima düşmanın gücünü ve moralini gözetmiştir. Bunun sonucu olarak orduya verdiği mantıklı emirlerle zafere ulaşmıştır.

İnkılâplarında ve ilkelerinde güçlü bir mantık vardır. Çünkü O, Türk Milleti'nin çağdaş medeniyet seviyesinin de üstüne çıkmasını istiyordu. Kalkınmış bir Türkiye'nin gerçekleşmesi en büyük emeliydi.

Atatürk'ün başarasının en önemli sebeplerinden biri de mantıklı hareket etmesidir.

Gurura ve ümitsizliğe yer vermemesi: Atatürk, büyük bir devlet adamı ve askerdir. Büyük işler başarmıştır. Ancak, başarıları karşısında hiç gurura kapılmamıştır. Çanakkale'de, Sakarya'da ve, daha pek çok savaşta büyük zaferler kazanmıştır. Bir zaferden diğer bir zafere koşmuştur. Fakat hiçbir zaman gururlanmamış ve kibirlenmemiştir. Başarılarını ve gücünü milletten aldığını sık sık ifade etmiştir.

Atatürk, pek çok savaşta üstün sayıda düşmanla karşı karşıya gelmiştir. Bunların hiçbirinde ümitsizliğe kapılmamıştır. Askerlerini iyi idare etmiş, akıllı ve mantıklı plânlar yapmıştır. İstiklâl Savaşımız sırasında da millet yoksul, çaresiz, topsuz, tüfeksiz olduğu halde O, ümidini kaybetmemiştir. Bütün savaşlarda askerî dehasını kullanmıştır. Karşı karşıya kaldığı zorlukları yenecek çareleri mutlaka bulmuştur. Hiçbir zaman ümitsizliğe kapılmamıştır.

Gençliğe Hitabesi'nde bu duygu, inanç ve düşüncesini açıkça ortaya koymuştur.

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Excerpt from Şahin and Şahin, "Family Life [*Aile Hayatı*]", *İlköğretim Sosyal Bilgiler 4* (İstanbul: Salan Yayınları, 1995), 5-6.

Aile, her türlü zorluğu dayanışma ve yardımlaşma ile aşar. Kötü günlerinde birbirleriyle dayanışma içinde olmayan, birbirlerine yardım etmeyen aile düşünülemez. Dayanışma ve yardımlaşma yalnız kötü günlere özgü bir davranış değildir. Normal aile yaşantısının temelinde dayanışma ve yardımlaşma vardır. Her aile huzurlu ve mutlu bir yaşam için aralarında iş bölümü yapar (bk. Resim 4).

Resim 4 : Ailede iş bölümü

Babanın temel görevi ailesini bir arada tutmak, onlara barınacak bir yuva bulmaktır. Ailesinin giyim, beslenme, konut ve diğer sorunlarını çözmektir. Bütün bunları karşılamak için para kazanmak, dolayısıyla çalışmak zorundadır. Baba, ailesini her türlü kötülüklerden de korumalıdır. Bu bakımdan babanın görev ve sorumlulukları çok ağırdır. Kısacası baba, ailenin dağılmadan bir arada yaşama koşullarını sağlar.

Anne, babanın yardımcısı ve can yoldaşıdır. Çocukların yetişmesinde en fazla fedakârlık gösteren odur. Çocukların topluma yararlı birer birey olarak yetişmesi için, gecesini gündüzüne katar. Yemek, bulaşık, temizlik, kısacası bütün ev işleri annenin omuzlarındadır. Annemiz ev bütçesine katkıda bulunmak için iş hayatına da atılmıştır. Bu gün annelerimiz aklımıza gelen her meslek dalında çalışmaktadır. Bu işlerde de ev işleri kadar başarılı olmaktadırlar. Bu kadar zor işlerin üstesinden gelen annelerimize her fırsatta mutlaka yardımcı olmalıyız. Onların bu ağır yükünü biraz olsun hafifletmeliyiz.

Anne ve babanın en büyük sorumluluğu çocuklarına iyi bir eğitim ver-

mek, onları topluma karşı sorumluluklarını bilen iyi bir vatandaş olarak yetiştirmektir.

Ailede işlerin yürütülmesi için çocuklara da görev ve sorumluluklar düşmektedir. Bütün çocuklar kendilerine düşen görev ve sorumlulukları büyük bir istek ve zevkle yapmalıdır. Bütün çocukların en büyük sorumluluğu eğitim ve öğretimlerini en iyi şekilde tamamlamak; ailesine, ülkesine yararlı birer insan olarak yetişmektir. Bütün anne ve babalar, çocuklarının eğitim ve öğretimleri için her türlü zorluğa göğüs gererler. Tek istekleri; çocuklarını topluma yararlı, iyi insanlar olarak görmektir. Öyleyse çok sevdiğimiz anne ve babalarımızın bu isteklerini onlara çok görmemeliyiz. Bizden istedikleri bu güzel görevi en iyi şekilde yerine getirelim. Öğrenim hayatımızdan geri kalan boş zamanlarımızda, anne ve babamıza yardımcı olalım. Sabah kalkınca odamızı düzeltelim. pijamamızı katlayıp yerine koyalım. Bakkal, manav, pazar gibi yerlerden yapılan alış verişlerde annemize yardımcı olalım. Sofrayı kurup, kaldırırken yardım etmeyi unutmayalım. Çocukların bir büyük görevi de aile şerefini korumaktır. Ailesini toplum karşısında zor durumlara sokmamaktır. Ailesinin şeref ve haysiyetini koruyan çocuk, büyüyünce milletinin de şeref ve haysiyetini korur.

6. Türk Toplumunda Ailenin Yeri ve Önemi:

Türk toplumunda ailenin kutsal bir yeri vardır. Her genç kızın ve delikanlının amacı evlenmek ve mutlu bir yuva kurmaktır. Bütün anne ve babaların da en büyük arzusu, çocuklarının evlenip bir aile düzeni kurmasıdır. Dilimizde **"çocukların mürüvetini görmek."** diye bir söz vardır. Anlamı çocukların evlenip iyi bir aile düzeni kurmalarını görmektir. Bu söz bize, toplumumuzda ailenin ne kadar kutsal ve önemli bir yeri olduğunu gösterir.

Türk toplumunun temelini aile oluşturur. Aile, hem örf, âdet ve geleneklerimizle, hem de Türkiye Cumhuriyeti kanunlarıyla koruma altındadır. Ailenin dağılması Türk toplumunda hoş karşılanmaz. Ailenin birlik ve beraberliği esas alınmıştır.

Türk toplumunda kadının yeri yüksek ve şereflidir. Türk kadını her şeyden önce annedir. Anne, Türk toplumunda kutsal bir varlıktır. Dinimizde de annenin kutsallığı **"Cennet anaların ayağı altındadır."** sözüyle açıklanmıştır. Büyük Atatürk'ün **"Dünyada hiçbir milletin kadını, ben Anadolu kadını kadar çok çalıştım, milletimi kurtuluşa ve zafere götür-**

Excerpt from Şahin and Şahin, "Homeland and Nation [*Vatan ve Millet*]", *İlköğretim Sosyal Bilgiler 4* (İstanbul: Salan Yayınları, 1995), 226-228.

| DÖRDÜNCÜ BÖLÜM | VATAN VE MİLLET |

HAZIRLIK ÇALIŞMALARI

1. Sözlüklerinizden yararlanarak vatan, millet, ülkü ve kültür sözcüklerinin anlamlarını bulunuz.
2. Vatan sevgisi sözünden anladıklarınızı kompozisyon olarak yazınız.
3. Çeşitli kaynaklardan araştırarak Atatürk'ün vatan ve millet sevgisi ile ilgili sözlerini bulunuz. Bulduğunuz bu sözleri sınıfta arkadaşlarınıza okuyunuz.

A - VATAN

1. Vatan Nedir?

Vatan, bir insanın doğup, büyüdüğü yerdir. Bir ulusun, bağımsız ve egemen olarak üzerinde yaşadığı, sınırları belli toprak parçasıdır.

Her toprak parçası vatan değildir. Bir şairimizin dediği gibi "Toprak, eğer uğrunda ölen varsa vatandır." insanların kanı, canı pahasına koruduğu yerdir vatan. Aynı toprakları üzerinde yaşayan insanlar, farklı görüşlere sahip olabilir. Fakat vatan tehlikeye düştüğü zaman, bütün görüşler tek noktada birleşir. Vatan savunması!

Bizim vatanımız Türkiye'dir. Türk vatanı, Türk milletinin bölünmez bir parçasıdır. Türk insanı bu topraklar üzerinde doğar, büyür. Bu topraklar üzerinde geçimini sağlar. Gerekirse ekmeğini bölüşür. Acı tatlı olayları birlikte yaşar. Böylece tarih ve kültür birliğimiz ortaya çıkar. Vatanı için kanını, alın terini dökmeyen insan düşünülemez.

2. Vatan Sevgisi:

Vatansız bir insan, yuvasız bir kuşa benzer. Kuş, nasıl ki yuvasız ola-

mazsa; insan da vatansız olamaz. Vatan ayrı duygulara sahip insanların ya şadığı toprak parçasıdır. Onun için, vatan sevgisi her türlü sevginin üstün dedir.

Vatan, eğer sevgiyle yaşarsa büyür, gelişir. Vatan sevgisi dolu yürekle rin atışıyla korunur. Tutsaklığa aman vermez. İnsanlarıyla dev dağları yıkı verir, sinsi güçleri hisseder.

Bizi ayakta tutan vatan sevgisidir. Her Türk, vatanı için seve seve canı nı verir. Vatanı için ölen bir Türk, şehitlik mertebesine erişir. Bu sevgi, va tanı için ölme inancı içimizde var oldukça, sevgili vatanımızı her türlü tehli keye karşı koruyabiliriz. Atalarımız. Anadolu'yu bu inançla korumuşlardır. Bu inançtır Çanakkale Zaferini kazandıran. Kurtuluş Savaşı'nda, dedeleri mizin deyimiyle "Yedi Düvel'le" başa çıkmamızı sağlayan, vatan sevgisi mizdir.

B - MİLLET

1. Millet Nedir?

İlk insanlar yalnız başlarına güçlüklerin üstesinden gelemeyeceklerini çabuk anladılar. Bir araya gelerek topluluklar oluşturdular. Bu topluluklardan bazıları zaman içinde aynı dili konuşmaya başladı. Sevinçlerini ve üzüntülerini paylaştılar, ortak bir tarihe sahip oldular. Böylece toplumlar, millet olma aşamasına geldi. Bazı toplumlar ise bu ortak özellikleri gösteremedi, dağılıp gittiler.

Aralarında dil, tarih, kültür ve ülkü birliği oluşturan; yaşadıkları topraklar (vatan) üzerinde bağımsız ve egemen olan toplumlara millet denir.

2. Milleti Oluşturan Unsurlar:

a. Dil Birliği: İnsanlar, duygu ve düşüncelerini, sevinçlerini, üzüntülerini dilleriyle anlatmak zorundadır. Ortak bir konuşma ve yazma dili olmayan toplulukların anlaşması imkânsızdır. Bu yüzden milleti meydana getiren unsurların başında dil gelir.

Türklerin dili **Türkçe'dir.** Atalarımız binlerce yıldan beri Türkçe konuşmuş, onu geliştirmiştir. Bu gün çok zengin bir dile sahip olmamızı sağ-

lamışlardır. Canlı ve uyumlu bir dil olan Türkçe kolay öğrenilen, akıcı konuşmamızı sağlayan bir dildir.

Her Türk, dilini sever ve onu geliştirmeye çalışır. Çünkü biz kültürümüzü, anılarımızı, tarihimizi bu dille yazdık ve yazmaya devam edeceğiz.

b. Tarih Birliği: Türkler'in binlerce yıllık bir tarihi vardır. Bu tarih atalarımızın şan, şeref, cesaret ve kahramanlık destanlarıyla doludur.

Türkler Orta Asya'dan başlayarak, Anadolu'ya kadar pek çok devlet kurmuştur. Türkler'in, başkalarının esareti altında kaldıkları bir dönem yoktur. Çünkü Türk milleti, özgürlüğüne düşkün bir millettir. Kurdukları güçlü devletlerle beraber, önemli uygarlıklar da meydana getirmişlerdir. Bize düşen en önemli görev tarihimizi iyi bilmek ve şerefli tarihimize uygun yaşamaktır.

c. Yurt Birliği: Üzerinde doğup büyüdüğümüz, havasını, suyunu, toprağını kullandığımız, sevinç ve üzüntüleri paylaştığımız, hür ve bağımsız yaşadığımız yer bizim vatanımızdır. Geçimimizi, sınırları belli bu topraklar içinde sağlarız. Bizim yurdumuz Türkiye'dir. Biz yurdumuzda hür ve bağımsız yaşarız. Bağımsızlığımıza göz dikenlere karşı baş eğmeyiz. Yurt savunmasında canımızı seve seve veririz.
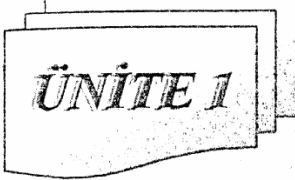
ç. Kültür Birliği: Binlerce yıl bir arada yaşayan insanlar, bu süre içinde bazı ortak değerler kazanırlar. **Geleneklerimiz, göreneklerimiz, düşüncelerimiz, ahlâkımız, türkülerimiz, masallarımız, düğünlerimiz, destanlarımız,** evlerimizin yapılışı ortak özellikler gösterir. İşte bu ortak değerlerimizin hepsine birden kültür denir. Türk milletinin binlerce yıl eskilere dayanan, çok önemli bir kültürü vardır. Bize düşen en önemli görev, başka milletlere Türk kültürünü tanıtmak ve sevdirmektir.

d. Ülkü Birliği: Her Türk'ün ülküsü hür ve bağımsız yaşamaktır. Çünkü Türk milleti binlerce yıldan beri esareti hiç kabul etmemiştir. Öte yandan, büyük Atatürk'ün hedef gösterdiği "Çağdaş **milletler düzeyine erişmek",** kimseye muhtaç olmadan yaşamamızı sağlamak da diğer bir ülkümüzdür. Milletimizin bu ülkü birliği, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ni daha da yüceltecektir.

C -TÜRK MİLLETİNİN ÖZELLİKLERİ

Günlük yaşamımızda insanlara baktığımız zaman, dış görünüş olarak hemen hemen hepsi birbirine benzer. Ama onları yakından tanıyınca herke-

Excerpt from Şenünver, et. al., *İlköğretim Okulu Sosyal Bilgiler 5*, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1999), 9-12.

ÜNİTE 1 — VATAN VE MİLLET

ÜNİTENİN BÖLÜMLERİ

A. VATAN VE VATAN SEVGİSİ

B. MİLLET VE MİLLET SEVGİSİ

1. Milleti Oluşturan Ögeler
2. Türk Milletinin Özellikleri

HAZIRLIK ÇALIŞMALARI

1. Vatanımızın bizim için değeri nedir? Aranızda tartışınız.
2. Atatürk'ün millet sevgisi ile ilgili sözlerinden örnekler bulunuz. Bunlardan birini sınıfınızda açıklayınız.
3. Hoşgörülü olmak ne demektir? Araştırınız.
4. Saygı ve sevginin yaşamımızdaki önemi nedir? Araştırınız.
5. Türk milletinin özellikleri nelerdir? Araştırınız.

Vatan nedir?

Vatan; bir milletin, üzerinde yaşadığı toprak parçasıdır. Türk milletinin vatanı, **Türkiye**'dir.

Türkiye, Türk milletinin sıcak yuvası, renk renk çiçeklerle dolu bahçesidir. Türkiye, yüce dağları, yeşil ovaları, coşkun ırmakları, taşkın dereleriyle çok güzel bir yurttur. Her köşesinde milletimizin simgesi olan şanlı **Türk bayrağı** dalgalanır.

Türk vatanı, Türk milletiyle ayrılmaz bir bütündür. Türk milletinin zaferlerle dolu tarihi bu vatan toprakları üzerinde geçmiştir. Yurdun, her köşesinin şanlı bir destanı ve anısı vardır. Her Türk; atalarından miras kalan bu güzel yurdunun, havasına suyuna, taşına toprağına engin bir sevgiyle bağlıdır.

9
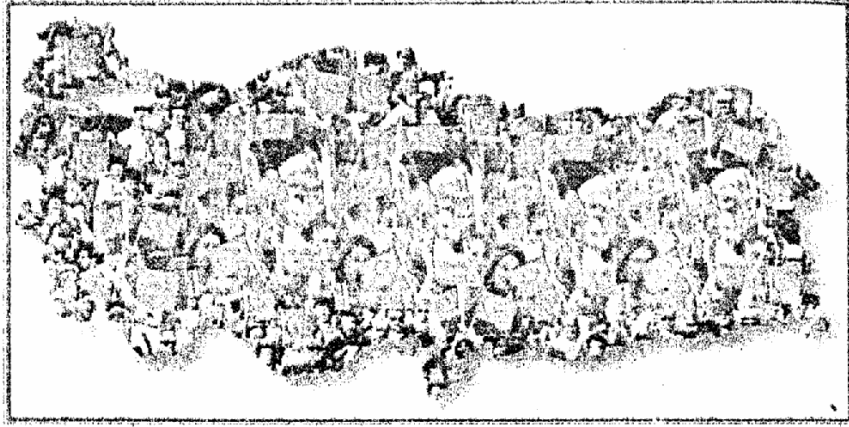
Resim 1 : Türkiye, ülkesi ve milletiyle bölünmez bir bütündür.

İnsanlar için sevgi, yüce bir duygudur. Vatan sevgisi, bu duyguların en önemlisidir. Onun için vatan sevgisi her şeyden önce gelir. İnsan, vatansız yaşayamaz. Bu nedenle, vatanın her karış toprağı bizim için çok değerlidir. Türk milleti olarak biz, vatan için seve seve canımızı veririz.

Türkler, vatan ve millet sevgisini her şeyin üstünde tutarlar. Millî amaçlar uğrunda fedakârlığa her zaman hazırdırlar. Vatanı tehlikeye düştüğü zaman, cephelere koşarlar. Kahramanca savaşırlar, gerektiği yerde, vatanları uğruna canlarını bile feda etmekten çe-

Resim 2 : Türkiye'den bir görünüm, Belek (Antalya)

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kinmezler.

Vatanını her şeyden çok seven Atatürk, "Yurt toprağı! Sana her şey feda olsun. Kutlu olan sensin. Hepimiz senin için fedaîyiz. Fakat sen Türk milletini sonsuza kadar yaşatmak için feyizli kalacaksın." demiştir.
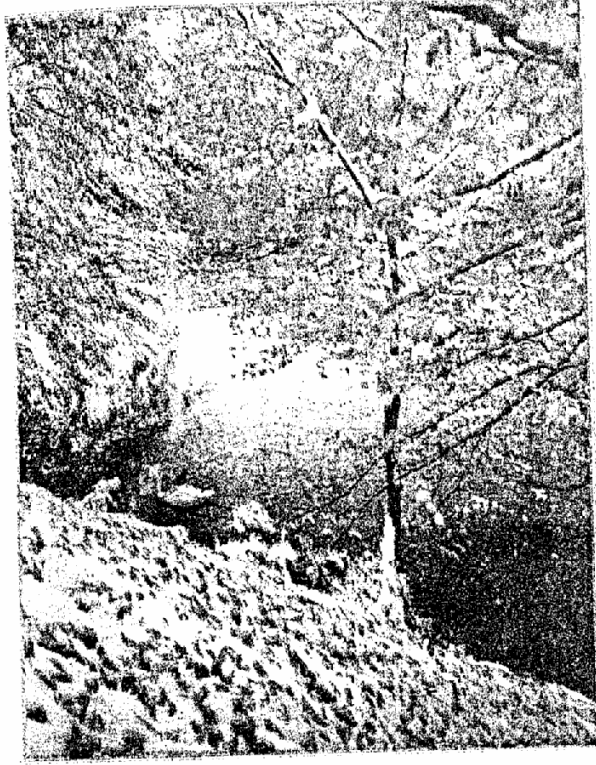
Resim 3 : Yurdumuzdan güzel bir görünüm

Kurtuluş Savaşı'mızda kadın erkek, genç ihtiyar, herkes kahramanca savaşmıştır. Türk vatanının her karış toprağı şehitlerimizin kanı ile sulanmıştır. Atalarımız bize çok değerli olan bir emanet bırakmışlardır. O da vatanımızdır.

Vatanımızı korumak, güzelleştirmek hepimizin görevidir. Bu gurur verici görev, aynı zamanda bize önemli bir sorumluluk da yükler. Vatanımızı daha zengin, daha güzel bir duruma getirmeliyiz. Bizden sonra geleceklere de öyle bırakmalıyız.

MİLLET VE MİLLET SEVGİSİ

∽ Millet nedir?

Millet dediğimiz zaman, ilk olarak aklımıza bir insan topluluğu gelir. Bu topluluk, büyük bir aileye benzer. Ailede olduğu gibi milletin bireyleri de sevinçlerini ve üzüntülerini paylaşırlar. Aile bireyleri, nasıl birbirine sevgiyle bağlı ise, milletin bireyleri de birbirlerine o denli bağlıdırlar. Bu bağlılıktan, bireyler arasında dayanışma; beraberlik ve birlik doğar. Bu beraberliği ve birliği kuramayan topluluklar ise millet hâlinde yaşayamaz; dağılır, yok olurlar

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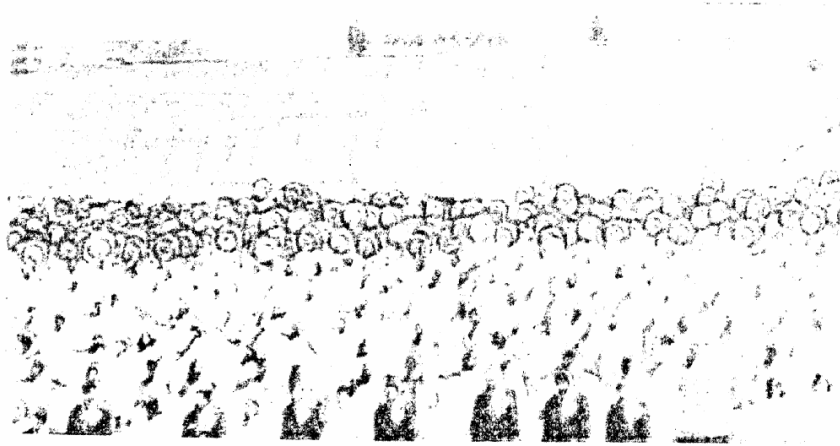
Resim 4 : Cumhuriyet Bayramı kutlamalarından bir görünüm

Millet, zengin bir kültür mirasına sahip, ortak yaşama arzu ve dileğinde olan insanların birleşmesiyle oluşur. Her millet; özel bir isimle anılır. Kendi adını verdiği, bir yurt içinde yaşar.

Büyük Atatürk'e göre de, *"Türkiye Cumhuriyetini kuran Türkiye halkına, Türk milleti"* denir.

Millet; vatan dediğimiz belli bir toprak üzerinde yaşayan, aynı dili konuşan, ortak tarihleri olan, duygu ve düşünceleri bir ve aynı ülküye bağlı bulunan insanların oluşturduğu bir topluluktur. Toplumları, millet olmaya yönelten bu tanımdaki tüm etmenler, Türk milletinde vardır. Türk milleti, dünyanın en eski ve büyük milletlerinden biridir. Böyle bir milletin bireyi olmakla ne kadar övünsek ve sevinsek yine azdır.

Okulumuzda her gün **"Varlığım Türk varlığına armağan olsun! Ne mutlu Türk'üm diyene!"** sözleriyle ant içtiğimizi unutmayalım.

★ Millet sevgisi

İnsanları mutlu kılmanın yolu, onları birbirine yaklaştırmak ve onlara birbirini sevdirmektir. Bu sevgide benimsenen ülkü ise; iyilik, güzellik ve doğruluktur.

İnsanlar arasındaki bağı, her şeyden önce millet sevgisi sağlar. Hiçbir sevgi uğruna, millet sevgisinden vazgeçilemez.

Milletini çok seven ve onun mutluluğu ve huzuru için çalışan Atatürk, *"Ben, gerektiği zaman, en büyük hediyem olmak üzere, Türk milletine canımı vereceğim."* demiştir. Yine ona göre; insan, kendi milletini sevmekle birlikte, diğer milletleri de sevmelidir. Onların millî, dinî duygularına, gelenek ve göreneklerine karşı saygı duymalıdır.

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Excerpt from Şahin and Şahin, *İlköğretim Sosyal Bilgiler 5* (İstanbul: Salan Yayınları, 1997), 84.

şan genç ve dinamik nüfusu, gelişmekte olan büyük ekonomik gücü saye-sinde, bölgenin en güçlü devletlerinden biri durumuna gelmiştir. Bu güce erişmemizde, Türk toplumunun hızlı kalkınma ve modernleşme isteği de etkili olmuştur.

Bütün bu özellikler, **yurdumuzun coğrafî konumundan** kaynaklan-maktadır. Bu yüzden ülkemiz için iyi emeller beslemeyen pek çok devlet vardır. Bazı komşularımız kendi topraklarını genişletmek ve deniz hâkimiyeti oluşturmak istemektedir. Bu amaçla Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Dev-leti'nin zayıflaması için çaba harcamaktadırlar. Bu devletler, genç ve dina-mik bir nüfusa sahip olan Türkiye'nin gelişip güçlenmesini istemezler. Çün-kü bu durumu kendileri için tehlike olarak görürler. Bu devletlerin sinsi plânlarına karşı **"Türk milleti"** olarak birlik ve beraberlik içinde olmalı, hain saldırılara karşı tek yumruk olarak durmalıyız. Güçlü bir Türkiye ya-ratarak, Atatürk'ün **"Yurtta Barış, Dünyada Barış"** ilkesinin tüm dünya-da uygulanmasına katkıda bulunabiliriz.

Excerpt from Şenünver, et. al., *İlköğretim Okulu Sosyal Bilgiler 5*, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1999), 89.

Yurdumuz, Dünya üzerinde çok önemli bir konuma sahiptir. Üç tarafı-nın denizlerle çevrili olmasının yanında, İstanbul ve Çanakkale boğazları gibi çok önemli su yollarına sahiptir. Bütün bunlar yurdumuzun önemini artıran unsurlardır. Çünkü Karadeniz ve Akdeniz arasındaki bağlantı ancak bu yollarla sağlanır. Karadeniz çevresindeki ülkelerin limanlarından kalkan gemiler, bu yollardan geçerek Akdeniz'e ve okyanuslara çıkabilirler.

Yurdumuz, ekonomik yapı bakımından dünyanın farklı bölgeleri ara-sında bulunur. Doğu ve güneydoğusunda zengin petrol yataklarına sahip Orta Doğu ülkeleri yer alır. Söz konusu ülkeler, sahip oldukları bu önemli yer altı kaynağına karşılık, sanayi alanında fazla gelişememişlerdir. Öte yandan, ku-zeybatımızda yer alan Orta ve Batı Avrupa ülkeleri ise sanayi bakımından ge-lişmiş ülkelerdir. Ekonomik yapıları böylesine farklı ve ürettikleri ürünler açı-sından birbirine muhtaç bu ülkeler arasındaki bağlantıyı sağlayan en kısa kara ve demir yolları yurdumuzdan geçmektedir. Ayrıca bu ülkelerle bağlantıyı sağ-layan, en kısa hava yolu da yurdumuz üzerinden geçmektedir. Bu konumuyla yurdumuz, doğu ile batı ülkeleri arasında bir köprü durumundadır. Bu da ülke-mizin Dünya'daki yerinin önemini artırmaktadır.

Yurdumuz ayrıca Asya Türk kültürü ile Avrupa kültürünün birleştiği bir alanda yer almaktadır.

Türkiye, doğal kaynaklarının çeşitliliği, elverişli iklimi, geniş tarım ola-nakları ile genç ve dinamik bir nüfusa sahip olması sayesinde hızla gelişen bir ülkedir. Ayrıca hızla gelişen sanayisi ve sağlık ile eğitim alanlarında olumlu yöndeki değişmeleriyle sürekli bir kalkınma ve modernleşme çabası içerisinde-dir. Bunların yanı sıra, bulunduğu bölgede en sık kara ve demir yolu ağına sa-hiptir. Orta Doğu ülkeleri arasında her alanda daha gelişmiş ve güçlü olması yönünden dikkatleri üstüne çeken bir ülkedir. Bu gelişmesinde, Atatürk ilke ve inkılâplarının çok büyük payı vardır.

Ancak Türk toplumunun bu hızlı kalkınma ve modernleşme isteği, bazı komşu ülkeler tarafından engellenmeye çalışılmaktadır. Bu ülkeler kendi top-raklarını genişletmek ve deniz hâkimiyeti oluşturmak amacıyla çaba harcamak-tadırlar. Burada bize düşen görev, ülkemize yönelik bu türlü yıkıcı ve bölücü tehditleri yok etmektir. Bunun için milletçe yılmadan çalışarak güçlü olmak zorundayız.