ANALYSIS OF CRITICAL DISCOURSE OF CHILD MAGAZINE

WHICH ARE PRODUCED

BETWEEN 1980-2012

DENİZ BERKER

YEDITEPE UNIVERSITY

FEBRUARY, 2018

ANALYSIS OF CRITICAL DISCOURSE OF CHILD MAGAZINE

WHICH ARE PRODUCED

BETWEEN 1980-2012

BY

Deniz BERKER
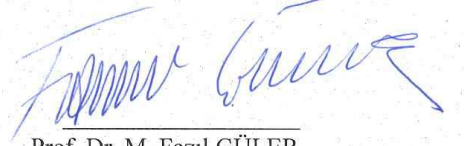
PHD.

MEDIA STUDIES

SUPERVISOR

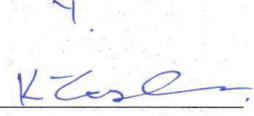**Prof. Dr. DEFNE ÖZONUR**

YEDITEPE UNIVERSITY

FEBRUARY, 2018

Approval of the Institute of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. M. Fazıl GÜLER
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

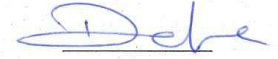Asst. Prof. Özge ERBEK KARA
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

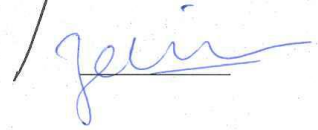Prof. Dr. Defne Özonur
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Prof. Dr. Defne Özonur- Yeditepe University
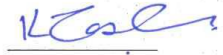
Prof. Dr. Billur Ülger- Yeditepe University
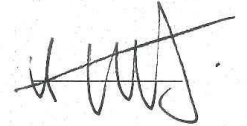
Assoc. Prof . Zeliha Hepkon- İstanbul Ticaret University

Asst. Prof. Kaan Taşbaşı - Yeditepe University

Asst. Prof. Aylin Dağsalgüler – İstanbul Bilgi University

PLAGIARISM

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Date : 14/02/ 2018

Ad/Soyad : Deniz BERKER

Signature :

ABSTRACT

In conjunction with modernism, childhood became to be perceived as a separate category. Childhood was regarded as a separate category but also children were seen as the "citizens of future" and consequently, children became a "political subject." With the support of mass media along with education, a childhood compatible with the dominant ideology is being fictionalized. This study aims at finding answers to questions like how the prominent ideologies along with neoliberal policies were reflected on children's magazines published between the years of 1980-2012 and what were the concepts and ideologies on which the childhood phenomenon wanted to be built in this period. Revealing the dominant ideology that was transferred via children's magazines gives information regarding what kind of a childhood was designed in this period and has importance with regard to understanding political, economic, and cultural changes that Turkey underwent. Therefore the "Critical Discourse Analysis" method was used when reviewing children's magazines in parallel with social, economic and political changes that Turkey underwent in the study as this method enables the researchers to examine the issue from a complete perspective.

ÖZET

Modernizm ile birlikte çocukluk ayrı bir kategori olarak algılanmaya başlanmıştır. Ayrı bir kategori olarak görülen çocukluğa aynı zamanda "geleceğin yurttaşları" olarak bakılmaya başlanmış bu durumda çocuğu "politik bir özne" konumuna getirmiştir. Eğitimin yanı sıra kitle iletişim araçlarınında desteği ile egemen ideoloji ile uyumlu bir çocukluk kurgulanmaktadır. Bu çalışma, 1980-2012 yılları arasında yayımlanan çocuk dergilerinde neoliberal politikalarla birlikte öne çıkan ideolojilerin nasıl yansıdığı ve bu dönemde inşa edilmek istenen çocukluk olgusunun hangi kavramlar ve ideolojiler üzerinden oluşturulduğu sorularına cevap bulmayı amaçlamaktadır. Çocuk dergileri aracılığıyla aktarılan egemen ideolojinin ortaya çıkarılması, hem dönemsel olarak nasıl bir çocukluk tasarlandığı konusunda bilgi verirken hem de Türkiye'nin geçirdiği siyasal, ekonomik ve kültürel değişimleri anlamak açısıdan önem teşkil etmektedir. Bu nedenle, çalışmada, çocuk dergileri incelenirken, Türkiye'nin geçirdiği sosyal, ekonomik ve siyasi değişikliklere paralel olarak ve bütünlüklü bir bakış açısıyla inceleme yapılmasına olanak tanıyan "Eleştirel Söylem Analizi" yöntemi kullanılmştır.

DEDICATION

To my lovely mother....

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to my dearest adviser, Prof. Defne Özonur who opened up my horizon in this dissertation study, enabled me to produce and never refrained to support me patiently and debonairly, to Assoc. Prof. Zeliha Hepkon and Assist. Prof. Kaan Taşbaşı for the ideas they provided and their well-meant approach and support they gave me to complete my dissertation and last but not the least, I would like to express my endless thanks to my broad and beautiful family for their support I have deeply felt at every phase of this process.

Finally, I would like to thank my dear friend Dr. Nezahat İşbilir Yüceışık who is always supported me with her smile and friendliness.

CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

Problem

Childhood appears before us as a historic, economic, political and cultural category. Perception of childhood had many breaking points in history and new understandings of "childhood" emerged in every period with its idiosyncratic developments. As Postman (1995:8) stated, the idea of childhood is one of the greatest inventions of Renaissance as a fiction. Childhood has been supported by science, nation-state and religious freedom as a social structure and psychological condition from 15th century till today. As of the Renaissance period, children have been regarded as a key to the future of the state and the principal goal of education is determined as raising religionist, disciplined and obedient future citizens (Cunningham, 1993:6). In 17th century factors like separating the rooms of children, paying attention to their needs, placing importance on their needs and reduction in child deaths became prominent. As Öztan (2009:13) stated, spending money for children almost became a middle-class virtue in 17th century.

The new opinions founded by philosophers like Locke and Rousseau contributed a great deal to the adoption of childhood as a separate category. Locke stated that children can be shaped as desired in his work titled "Some Thoughts Concerning Education" which was published in the later 17th century and this assumption was activated in the 18th century to a large extent. Locke described the mind of a child as a "tabula rasa" and stated that the family, teachers, and state are responsible for processing the minds of children (Öztan, 2011:24). Rousseau, on the other hand, rejected the belief that children are inherently sinners and suggested that children are

neither good nor bad by birth (İnal, 2014:85). Locke and Rousseau's views have influenced art and literature as well and children began to be portrayed to symbolize innocence and simplicity (Cunningham, 1993:72).

One of the philosophers who was preoccupied with childhood is Aries. By looking at the works of art of the period, Aries argued that the concept of childhood was not considered in the Middle Ages but some others like Shahar and Heywood objected Aries. Shahar (1992:1) stated that the children have been appreciated even before modern society, but it was not possible to idealize the lives of children as the structure of the society was not convenient. Heywood (2003:19) on the other hand argued that portraying the children as an artistic object and using it to evidence the emerging idea of childhood have some problematical aspects. According to Heywood, the fact that the child was not apparent in the art of Middle Ages merely proves that childhood was not in use as a meaningful symbol in social discourse at the time (Akbaş and Topçuoğlu, 2009:96).

Aries also affirmed many points with regard to the process emerged in conjunction with modernism such as widespread schooling, extended childhood period, becoming a source of psychological saturation and children's ceasing to be an economic labor (Aries, 1973:61). But as it will be mentioned later in the study in detail, some elements in child education came from past to present without never changing. The unchanged elements in child education are as follows; First of all, children are subject to a unilateral learning process. They are expected to accept the information provided to them as absolutely good and accurate (İnal, 2014:32). Secondly, children are considered as an adult planning and designing in modern/postmodern societies. And finally, while the children of middle and upper classes have been benefiting from the blessings of schooling in a way that suits their

age and not dealing with the difficulties and shames of adult life throughout history, the rate of schooling among the children of working class is rather low (Elkind, 1999: 37).

Another point is that with modernism, children have become an area of interest in science. In particular, developmental psychology assisted the state to create "ideal citizens" of future (Şirin, 1999: 156). Therefore, it is just an optimistic approach to confirm the argument that children gained a value by themselves in conjunction with modern capitalist periods. Instead of being liberated, children began to be exploited more. When the modernist construction of childhood is viewed specific to Turkey, it is observed that there had been some changes in the concept of childhood together with the foundation of the Republic. The category of childhood has been nationalized and paternalist policies have been used to create the "ideal Turkish child". The nature of the "ideal Turkish child" had been frequently expressed by the administrators in their statements. The most basic features of this ideal type are; respect and love for state and nation and attachment to values of the Republic for dear life.

When we look at the period between the years of 1980-2012 included in the study, it is seen that the fact of childhood had been affected by all of the experienced economic, political and social changes. With neoliberalism, a belief was formed as to the market should be the mechanism that would shape all economic, social and political decisions, concepts like the benefit of society and social state were harmed and the meanings of concepts like citizenship and social life were changed (Giroux, 2007:15). This phase of capitalism created a mobilization towards consumption as an economic, social and cultural process. A popular description of this period was "consumption society". Consumption culture forces the individuals to buy lifestyles based on consumption and continuously creates fake needs. In particular,

advertisements have exploited this situation to the full extent and have associated various ordinary consumer goods with imagery such as romantic love, the desire of exoticism, beauty, satisfaction, scientific progress and the good life (Featherstone, 1996: 39).

Childhood has also been influenced by all these economic, political and social changes. Along with the adoption of neoliberal policies in 1980's, it was attempted to impose on the children that consumption is the source of pleasure and happiness. While children are abstracted from social facts via consumption, characteristics of children is increasingly harmonized with the capitalist system. In 1990's however, Turkish economy was fully liberalized in terms of goods and capital movements. Competitive power has become the only criterion for success (Kazgan, 2004: 155). Children have also begun to be trained to become "the most equipped and most successful" individuals in the labor (employment) market.

As mentioned above, together with neoliberalism it is seen that the children became victims of the market economy and one and only target audience of production and marketing companies. Such that, even the free times of children are surrounded by Multinational Companies (MNC). Children's magazines that will be addressed in the review section of the study also aspire "free times" of children. The "free time" of children remaining from education/school is being controlled and disciplined through children's magazines (Terkan, 2009: 46).

Children's magazines and education have always been within the other throughout the history. When it comes to child magazines, in the first children's magazines published in the world and in Turkey and in many children's magazines published thereafter, education has always had a significant place. Therefore, when analyzing children's magazines, they also should be regarded as complements of "child

education" in their free time after school. All beliefs and values wanted to be implanted in children's minds by way of education are in compliance with the contents of children's magazines. The reason for this rapport is media's being a product of a capitalist structuring same as education. Same as education, media also plays the role of the conveyor of dominant ideologies that it generates in economic and political power patterns at all times (Tutar, 2014). As will be seen in the review section of the study, popular children's magazines have been benefited from in numerous fields from the construction of national identity to focusing on consumption and spreading religious beliefs.

It is clearly seen that media functions on a basis where the hegemonic discourse is reproduced and legitimized in daily life. Therefore, in parallel with the education system, children's magazines hide class differences by minimizing the differences between the rulers and the ruled in children's minds (Köker, 1998: 74) and thus naturalize class positions. While children are being taught all virtues of entrepreneurship in conformity with neoliberal policies, those who are not considered capable of being an entrepreneur are blamed with individual incompetence and deep inequalities originating from capitalism itself are camouflaged. Thus, poverty is associated with fate and the fate of the poor is left to the hands of "charitable individuals/state".

Conservatism, nationalism, and consumption showed an increase as of 1980's, the starting point of the study and this development deeply affected the social structure in Turkey. And these effects had been also involved in children's magazines (Arıkan, 2004:13). The rising conservative nationalism dissolved the identities of individuals and independent groups in the "nation". And this kind of a nationalism had been mostly developed along with militarism. In child education during this period,

military glory and conquest were presented as the biggest proof of the greatness of the nation. When it comes to "glory", "integrity" or "interest" of the nation, lives, difficulties, ethnic origins of citizens including children are not considered important. At the same time, while fatalism was imposed in children's magazines, on one hand, fearless development of children's identity was linked to the consumption power, skill and priority on the other. Toys, cartoon characters, clothing, accessories and similar goods included in children's magazines invite children to describe life as consumption-oriented. And while children consume mass entertainment products, they become the arena of the dominant one (Şeçkim, 2009:15).

In this context, the basic problem of the study is how the ideologies that became prominent along with neoliberal policies which affected Turkey between the years of 1980-2012 reflected on the children's magazines and which concepts and ideologies had constituted the base of the childhood phenomenon that was wanted to be built in this period.

To this end, the concepts of ideology and dominant ideology and reflections of neoliberal ideology on media are addressed in the second part of the study.

In the third section, the relationship between modernism and childhood and also the changes caused by neoliberalism on childhood phenomenon were addressed. At the same time neoliberal education policies, children's rights, and child labor have been mentioned.

In the fourth section, historic events that shaped the media in Turkey were reviewed both in general and specific to children's magazines.

In the fifth and last section, children's magazines published between the years of

1980-2012 were reviewed under the light of all concepts addressed in the previous sections. The conclusion involves recommendations based on the whole conceptual frame of the study and findings obtained upon review of children's magazines.

Purpose of the Study

Purpose of the study is investigating the reflections of neoliberal ideology and other prominent ideologies on children's magazines in parallel with the political/economic/cultural changes occurred between the years of 1980-2012 and based on this, provide an insight regarding the childhood phenomenon that was wanted to be created in the same period. Therefore, children's magazines of the period have been reviewed in detail. Children's magazines are the first publications prepared dedicatedly for children and constitute the first written sources specific to them and the conveying tools of the dominant ideology of the period like the media. Therefore, revealing the dominant ideology transferred via children's magazines provides information about what kind of a childhood was designed during this period and has importance to comprehend the political, economic and cultural changes that Turkey underwent. In this context, the questions that are intended to be answered in general are as follows;

- When did the phenomenon of modern childhood come into existence? Did this phenomenon liberalize the children as promised?
- What were the historic phases of children's magazines?
- What is the contribution of children's magazines to the education of children as a mass media? Which time interval does it aspire to children's lives?

- How the periodic events and facts experienced in Turkey were reflected on the reviewed magazines? What kind of an attitude towards these events and facts was intended to be developed by children?

- What are the values intended to be gained by children in the reviewed magazines? And what is the relation of all these values with the dominant ideology?

Periodicals are regarded as the most important written source that can reflect the events of a certain time, thought and approach along with basic problems and ideals of the said period (Şimşek: 2002:2). Therefore, it is possible to shed light on the periods that Turkey had and also the childhood phenomenon of those periods by finding answers to above questions.

Importance of the Study

There are studies on children's magazines conducted in previous years. But these studies have dealt with only one single children's magazine or on the single historic era. For example, Mustafa Doğdu was focused on a single era and made a research regarding "consciousness of citizenship" in his postgraduate thesis titled "Forming Consciousness of Citizenship in Children's Magazines Published in One Party Period, between 1930-1950" written in 2007. In the postgraduate thesis titled "The Values Intended to be Gained to Children in Doğan Kardeş Magazine and the Emerging Childhood Model" prepared by Gönül Günaydın in 2005, only the year of 1950 and Doğan Kardeş magazine have been reviewed. And finally, Güven Gürkan Öztan (2009) addresses the differences and similarities of the transition phase from Ottoman to Republic and reveals how the child was reconstructed as a "political

subject" during the process of the formation of nation-state in his doctoral thesis titled "Political Construction of Childhood in Turkey" and the characteristics attributed to "ideal child". Öztan has reviewed the literary texts, popular publications, textbooks aimed at children and works taken as guidebooks in child rearing in his study.

The one-party period and year of 1950 have been addressed in the above-mentioned studies. Therefore, it is important to review different children's magazines in line with the perception of a complete historic process to extrapolate more extensive conclusions. At this point, it is considered that this study would contribute to finding answers to questions like what kind of values have been transferred to children via children's magazines depending on the social/political and economic processes that Turkey underwent between the years of 1980 and 2012 and how these values have been made to be adopted as a lifestyle.

Method

When reviewing children's magazines, the "Critical Discourse Analysis" method was used in the study in parallel with social, economic and political changes that Turkey underwent, as this method enables the researchers to examine the issue from a complete perspective. Even though it will be addressed in detail later in the study, it would be better to briefly mention the reason for preferring the critical discourse analysis at this point.

According to Van Dijk (1991), it is necessary to look at the strategies and structures of discourse in order to understand the role of mass media and messages. According to him the power is mobilized and reconstructed within and by discourse and thus, it is not possible to implement power within a society without

communication - text, and conversation. Critical discourse analysis is a scientific method to examine meaningful acts such as language and has an important place in investigating social problems and political issues (Mora; 2006; 328). At the same time, it is possible to exhibit and disclose the legitimization mechanisms by critically reviewing the texts that legitimize, reconstruct and normalize social injustice and imbalance between powers (Yağcıoğlu, 2002: 3-4).

The reasons to prefer the critical discourse analysis in the study would briefly be sorted as follows;

1. Revealing the information with respect to the motives behind a text or the selection of the research method to interpret a text.

2. One of the strongest meaning concepts in critical discourse analysis is implications. Words, sentences and other textual descriptions imply the concepts or propositions of the information in the news/text. The implication is very important in terms of ideological impact.

3. Social and ideological impacts are revealed by telling the same text with different words and converting it into text. With critical discourse analysis meanings, ideas and ideologies are revealed (Mora: 2008:22-23).

In the light of aforementioned information, it is aimed to reach to implicit ideological structures of the texts from their explicit linguistic structures by using critical discourse analysis in the study. As the method of the study, a literature review was made **within** the frame of concepts and theories and a critical discourse analysis was conducted later on to see how the dominant culture and ideology are reconstructed through children's magazines.

While the reviewed children's magazines are analyzed with the method of critical discourse analysis, the topic titles which can be qualified as the sub-titles of the main questions for which the answers are sought in the study are determined. The attention was paid for these sub-titles to form a completeness with the topic title and the magazines are reviewed under these titles with critical discourse analysis method.

In the light of the conceptual frame of the study, reflections of capitalism and neoliberal policies on childhood were looked at. These reflections reveal that the determinant parameters have been the militarist and nationalist discourses for "ideal Turkish child", religious discourses for "construction of Muslim child", presentation of charity and "gratitude", evolving of saving child into consumer child and successful child phenomenon. Selection of these titles is important as it reveals the social structure between the years of 1980-2012 examined in the study and traces of this structure on children's magazines.

As mentioned above, it is understood that when the factors (dominant ideology, capitalism, modernization, neoliberalism) included in the study are associated with characters and stories involved in children's magazines between the years of 1980-2012, the factors underlying the "childhood" in this period have also been shaped by these concepts.

Conceptual Framework

First of all, it is necessary to state that critical political economy approach was adopted to better explain the conceptual framework of the study. According to critical political economy approach, contents of media and meanings of the messages are essentially determined by the economic structures of the organizations which produce them (Curran, 1990: 238). The media, which is based on private ownership and

connected to general economy regards it very important to side with the continuation of status quo in terms of its own interests (Schiller, 1993: 3). For this reason, it is necessary to go after "implicit meanings" beyond the appearance of discourses in media, in order to decipher the relationship between media-economy-politics triangle. In this context, the relationships of all economic, political and cultural appearances of social world with history and each other are taken into consideration in the study.

At this point, it is necessary to briefly mention the parts that will form the basis of the analysis part of the study. With modernization, children have been seen as "citizens of the future" and have become the target of dominant ideologies. For this reason, the concept of dominant ideology is of importance in the study. Therefore, concepts of ideology and dominant ideology were included in the study. The concept of ideology is plainly defined in the study as a concept that prevents the power relations in the society to be clearly seen, covers and hides them (Keat, Urry, 1994, 214-215). Because ideology is a false consciousness that helps to legitimize the political power and integrate the individual into the system in the capitalist order (Kazancı, 2006: 71; Sholle, 2005: 263).

Owners and managers of media industry produce and reproduce the ideas they favor more easily than other social segments. Therefore, ideologies are carried and conveyed via children's magazines which are the subject of the study. For this reason, other concepts mentioned in the ideology section of the study are Althusser's discrimination of "ideological apparatus of the state" and "oppression apparatus of the state" and Gramsci's concepts of "hegemony" and "common sense".

According to Althusser, the ruling class sustains its power not only with direct oppression but also with the oppression of ideological devices (Özbek, 2003: 170). Gramsci also regards hegemony as the role of non-governmental levels and

sets social hegemony apart from coerciveness as the primary tool of preserving "social order" in capitalist societies (Marshall 1999: 299-300). The concept of hegemony is the ideal representation of the interests of ruling class as universal interests. In brief, hegemony is manufacturing the consent (Gramsci, 1997). Another concept by Gramsci is "common sense". In order for hegemony to operate, opinions of the dominant class should be adopted by other segments of the society (Aytaç, 2004:115-118). In such a case, the major strategy in the creation of hegemony is the constitution of "common sense" (Karaduman, 2009:19). It is also possible to see the effort to create common values and beliefs in the discourses of child magazines reviewed in the study. Dominant ideologies of different periods are legitimized by the ruling class in line with their own area of interest in children's magazines and transferred to children who are regarded as "future citizens". The ruling class keeps hold of all channels through which it can transfer ideologies (children's magazines to be analyzed in the study are an example of these channels). As Marx and Engels (2010:70) pointed out;

> thoughts of ruling class are dominant thoughts in all ages. In other words, the class that is the dominant financial power of society is also the dominant mental power. The class that keeps hold of material production tools also has the mental production tools under its command.

The ruling powers use discourse to serve their own goals (Dursun, 2001:49). In order to achieve this goal, they develop a framework to formulate a cause célèbre discourse in a way to be supported by broader social segments, gain new members, mobilize the fans and have access to resources (Seo and Creed, 2002). They use media to achieve their goal. Accordingly, media is a product of the existing dominant

discourses that reproduce the dominant ideology (Tokgöz, 2003:183). Media prevents people to have an awareness about their own reality through monotype thoughts that it "ensures to be internalized". In other words, media produces "false consciousness" (Marcuse, 1994:79). One of the five myths introduced by Schiller (2005:19-40) and used to constitute a packed consciousness, the "myth of unchanging human nature" is very important for this study and these myths will be addressed later on in the study. Discourses regarding unchangeability of human nature and the world can also be found in children's magazines.

The dominant ideology during the years involved in the study was neoliberalism. Therefore, the concept of neoliberalism has great importance for the study. When the rise of neoliberal ideology is considered, it is seen that its effectiveness had increased a great deal all over the world during the last quarter of the twentieth century. It wrapped not only the economic development dynamics but also all fields as a political and social organization style. Acceptance and spreading of neoliberal policies accelerated due to the economic and social impact of 1974 crisis in western societies (Ördek, 2008:744). As Gambetti (2009:146) stated, neoliberalism became an entirety of ideas and practices as of 1980's involved in the study, that overcomes the bottleneck in front of capital accumulation, destroys all obstacles like welfare state one-by-one and imposes itself upon the world through international organizations and nation states. Therefore, the interaction between capitalism and children is addressed in the study and in this context, the concept of modern childhood, the fact of free time, neoliberal education policies and rights of children are mentioned.

The concept of modernism is also important as childhood is seen as a separate period and key for the future of the state. In this period, children also became an issue of concern for science. Scientific studies concentrated on children have provided

peerless opportunities for the state to create "ideal citizens" (Şirin, 1999: 156). The state has begun to train children in line with its ideological principles, particularly through educational institutions. Education became a very intensive and effective tool as a social and political control mechanism with the modern state (Çetin, 2001: 207). The principles of sovereignty, creating a nation and powerful central government envisaged by modern state regarded education as the field to realize these principles. Therefore, it is obvious from the perspective of the study that

it is an optimistic approach to confirm that children had gained a value by themselves in the modern capitalist period. Because let alone becoming a subject, children are exploited more mercilessly to the contrary of all liberalization promises in modernism (Akbaş and Topçuoğlu, 2009:100).

So much so that their free times are not "free" anymore. During their time after school, children are tried to be integrated with the dominant system (Terkan, 2009:46). As mentioned above the subject of this study, children's magazines are the free time event for children. For this reason, the concept of "free time" is also included in the study. The goal of capitalism capturing the free time where all sorts of consumption politics are actualized, opening it to intentional use and create a new free time ethic. As a hegemonic tool of power, capitalism makes a great effort to make the ideology that would sustain its position to be adopted by the mass via different channels. In other words, it works really hard to colonize free time (Aytaç, 2004: 116). Children live in a consumption frenzy during their free times based on their so-called freedom and artificial right to choose and they serve to the capitalist system at times needed to be used for their development. Consumption gradually becomes a lifestyle for children and a consumer consciousness running after brands and symbols

is being built.

Under the title of "child and democracy", the rights granted to children by modernism are addressed. Rights granted to children with modernism are artificial and cannot get the bottom of problems. Organizations like ILO and UNICEF cannot confront with the nature of capitalist relations of production with regard to children's rights (Fuat, 2008) and cannot provide a permanent improvement in this respect. Children are being subjected to a series of laws that they didn't participate in the phase of making, exclude them and executed by paternalist policies. Social reality doesn't match with the forms idealized under the title of children's rights. As long as the resources are not distributed equally, it doesn't seem possible to talk about a common childhood that has equal living conditions (Fraklin, 1993:37). Therefore, the aids granted to children cannot go beyond "fake magnanimity" (Freire, 1998) and glorify fatalism and sense of being thankful. This point is important for the review section of the study. This policy is reflected on children's magazines and senses of "cooperation" and "fatalism" are reinforced with children's magazines.

Another issue to be addressed in 1980's is the change in media. For this reason, historic events that shape the media have been investigated in detail and the processes that children's magazine publication in Turkey were mentioned. Due to the domination of neoliberal policies in 1980's, regulatory rules based on public service and public interest in many fields of media, ownership being in the first place, have been almost removed. Media capital gained momentum in the direction of monopolization and internationalization (Adaklı, 2010:68). Besides this, media serves to approval and liberalization of neoliberal ideology with its ability to reach broad masses, persuasiveness and glittering attractiveness (Lull, 2001: 22). Privately owned mass media are used by capitalists as tools of class domination and media contents are

constituted by considering the relationship based on mutual interests between the big media-owning groups and other capital groups (Yaylagül, 2006:81). In this context, as Chomsky (2006:76) also stated, when media of the media-capital-state triangle is affected by the political environment of the society also affects the messages it conveys. It's also possible to see the effects of this in children's magazines. Because it is seen that the political environment in the society at that time reflects on children's magazine either directly or indirectly (via stories).

Assumptions and Hypothesis

Basic assumptions of the study are as follows:

1. In conjunction with modernism, childhood began to be seen as the "guarantee of state's future". For this reason, child education and upbringing gained importance. This transformation in the concept of "childhood" contained a broad area from literature to the theater, from clothing to places and tools of the game in time.

2. In conjunction with the establishment of modern schools, the idea to equip children with "ideal" roles and behaviors complying with political will and the order established by it became widespread.

3. Children's magazines are an effective mass media for the education of children.

The hypothesis derived from these assumptions can be verbalized as follows: The ideology of nationalism, conservatism, and consumption that becomes prominent as a result of neoliberal policies are transferred to children via children's magazines and

the "childhood" construct in children's magazines is built in harmony with the dominant ideology.

Scope and Limitations

A series of difficulties were experienced to access to the magazines published between the years of 1980-2012. Publications to be reviewed are distributed among various libraries in Turkey. In order to review the whole collection of a magazine, it is necessary to visit many libraries. Even so, it is not possible to review the complete collections of some magazines. Although some of the magazines seem as available in library records, they cannot be found in their relevant places and some of them are not given to researchers on the grounds that they are worn-out. The above-mentioned difficulties limited the study in terms of accessing to complete collections of children's magazines published in the period concerning the study.

Only five issues of each selected magazine have been reviewed due to excess number of magazines and limited time. Due to time limitation again, the time interval to conduct the study was also restricted. The starting point of the study was determined as the year of 1980, where there were significant economic and social changes in Turkey and the endpoint was determined as the year of 2012 with intention of including the first decade of AKP   which came to power in 2002.

Data Collection Technique

In order to reveal the concept of "childhood" that was wanted to be built in children's magazines published between the years of 1980-2012 and probe the relationship of this "childhood" with dominant discourse, a broad literature review

was conducted within the concepts and theories included in the study as a priority. When the literature was reviewed, local/foreign books, articles and articles, and dissertations posted on Internet have been taken advantage of.

At the end of the literature review, the theoretical framework of the study was set up and various libraries have been visited to access to the magazines for the review section of the study. Some magazines have been accessed online or via bibliopoles. The following libraries were visited to access the children's magazines: Library of Istanbul University, Beyazıt State Library, Atatürk Library and National Library.

Children's magazines reviewed after accessing them via libraries, bibliopoles and online are below;

- ✓ Can Kardeş (Brother Can)
- ✓ Türkiye Çocuk (Turkey Child)
- ✓ Başak Çocuk (Spica Child)
- ✓ TRT Çocuk (TRT Child)
- ✓ National Kids
- ✓ Piggy Bank Kids
- ✓ Milliyet Kardeş (Milliyet Sibling)
- ✓ Öncü Çocuk

CHAPTER 2
CONCEPT OF IDEOLOGY AND RELATION BETWEEN DOMINANT IDEOLOGY AND MEDIA

2.1 Ideology

Ideology had been defined in numerous different ways including antipodal meanings during the historical process. Eagleton (1996:18) points out various definitions and usages of ideology. These can be enumerated as meaning in social life, production process of indicators and values, cluster of thoughts by a specific social group or class, misconceptions used to legitimize the dominant political power, something which provides a specific position to subject, ways of thinking motivated by social interests, total status of discourse and power, inevitable environment where relations of individuals with social structure are experienced and the process during which social life turns into natural reality.

Basing on the definitions of state, Laclau (1998:73) defines ideology as "an order which provides and maintains the unity and solidarity of social formation, sustains and regenerates social conditions of the system and tends towards the same goals with the state". The factor underlying the pursuit of ideological legitimacy is the will and belief needed by political power for the acceptance of its decisiveness to ensure absolute obedience of and govern the society. As Sigmund (1967:96) stated in this context, we confront with another instrumentalism of ideologies and it is offering a world of behavioral norms to provide obedience of society to political power.

Political power gains the power to create a world of holistic and total meanings and actions via ideologies. Ideologies, like religions they replaced,

necessitate a very strong faith and depict the worlds out of their own as hell and the world they promise as heaven (Parsons, 1951:349).

The source of ideologies is the social life itself. In the narrowest sense, ideology can be defined as a concept which prevents explicit visibility of the relations of political power in society, covers and hides them (Keat, Urry, 1994, 214-215). Ideology is a deceptive order which ensures the continuation of a repressive political power (Eagleton, 2005:25). Composed of idea clusters regarding control and struggle within a social structure, ideology takes shape from values, concepts, thoughts and symbol systems and reminds how dominant structures which legitimize current order work (Erdoğan and Alemdar 2002: 277). Therefore ideology is stated as a cluster of misconceptions helping legitimization of political power and integration of individuals with capitalist system (Kazancı, 2006: 71). It is the appearance of deceptive ideas regarding financial conditions, products, activities and relations which don't comply with the economic realities that mankind envisages.

It is beneficial to mention opinions of Karl Marx, Antonio Gramsci and Louis Althusser to better comprehend discussions on the concept of ideology and opinions repeated within the scope of criticism.

According to Marx what makes the ideas ideological is concealing the real nature of social and economic relations and in this way, legitimizing unequal distribution of economic and social resources in a society. Therefore not all ideas but only those helping to hide social contradictions are ideological. Therefore even if all classes, including working class generate ideologies, ideology merely serves the interests of ruling classes (McLellan, 1999:27). At this point Marx suggests that the concept of ideology is a distorted argument and a false consciousness which mystifies

real relations to defend class interests[1] and thus, he separates ideological thought from others (Üşür, 1997:26).

Defined as the illusory knowledge of material/objective structure and social practice within the context of false consciousness theory, the concept of ideology began to be comprehended as a type of consciousness which covers the contradictions created by capitalism and by making them invisible, creates an understanding of life in the conscious of people which is in tune with financially dominant powers with contributions from Marx Frames of mind in a certain period are legitimized by the ruling class in terms of their fields of interest and imposed on the community. Thoughts of people emerge as opinions and ideas that the ruling class wants the people to adopt (Sungur, 2007:127).

When it is approached within the context of this argument, ruling classes who also supervise the ideological control tools have the power to ideologically bind other classes to themselves (Çelik, 2005:97). This is to say that the production type determines lifestyle and lifestyle determines the opinions of people and the social and political structure in which the people live. As Marx and Engels (2010:44) stated, "*Generation of ideas, understandings and consciousness is directly dependent on the financial activities of people, their mutual financial relations and the language of real life before anything else.*"

Ideologies have not risen from earth to sky as they have not dropped from sky to earth (Marx and Engels, 2010:45). As expressed above ideas and ideology are contingent upon economic conditions and class relations in production and they are generated by them. Hence ideology is a system of ideas verbalizing the interest of

---

[1] Ideology is defined as "bending the truth". Marx named this bending as "mystification". Mystification refers to turning a reality, a social reality into an imaginary world (Vergin, 1980:120)

ruling class which deceptively represents class relations (Alemdar and Erdoğan, 1994: 89). At the same time, Ideological structures are regarded as natural (naturalization) and logical consequences of a historical development (historicization). Thus when a there is a state of nature or when a state of nature is reached, things will remain as they are according to ideology (eternalization). In this respect ideology naturalizes, historicizes and eternalizes (Erdoğan and Alemdar,2002:207).

Louis Althusser (1989) suggests that ideology is a nascensy which automatically affects social life differently at all times and at every phase. Social practice and ideology are one within the other. It is spread over the whole system and gained ground in all forms of social existence.

Altusser doesn't find the separation of "state apparatus" and "state power" by Marx to develop the state theory sufficient. He stated that in reality, there are "Ideological Apparatus of State" along with the (Repressive) Apparatus of State but these two concepts should not be confused with each other. While government, administration, army, police, courts and prisons constitute the "Repressive Apparatus of State" in Marxist theory, schools, political parties, unions, communication tools etc. are among the Ideological Apparatus of State according to Althusser (Althusser, 1989:28). Ideological apparatus of the state are always in unity under the "dominant ideology", the ideology of ruling class, regardless of their diversity. And as the ruling class possesses the state power and accordingly the repressive tool of the state, it is necessary to accept that the ruling class is also influential on the Ideological Apparatus of State. Hence according to Althusser, ruling class sustains its power not only via direct repression but also via pressure of ideological apparatus. While the Repressive Apparatus of State operate by force, Ideological Apparatus of State operate by making the people adopt the ideology. According to Althusser the ruling

class in capitalism and in Pre-Capitalism social formations had sustained its power not only with direct repression but together with the oppression of ideological apparatus which are also based on ideology (Özbek, 2003:170). While relations and contradictions between economic, political, legal and social levels recreate capitalism as a social system, ideology shapes the knowledge needed to reproduce the system as mental formations of the subjects in this process (Karaduman, 2009:16). So according to Athusser no group can hold and sustain state power without dominating ideological apparatus of the state.

Ideological Apparatus of State cause people to have misconceptions about the world and society they live in. As stated by Karaduman (2009:16); ideologies refer to people as subjects and by doing so, they naturalize and legitimize social inequalities. As a reflection of social formation, ideology captures individuals and binds them as carriers of dominant ideology (Üşür, 1997:43). And instead of emphasizing the force-based power of the capitalist state, it points out various types of power which would make this force invisible and even unnecessary in time. This kind of a power is only possible with mediation (?) of ideology and it becomes abstract within the concept of "hegemony" (Üşür, 1997:28). There are two phases for the capitalist bourgeoisie to establish dominance over the proletariat. First one is economic dominance and the second one is keeping ideas and ideologies of workers under control. Gramsci calls keeping the ideas which manipulate the social consciousness under control as "hegemony" (Woodfin, Zarate, 2004:121). By looking at Marx's ideas, Gramsci suggests that two grand layers of superstructures are "civil society" and "state". According to Gramsci, the concept of state is composed of civil society and political society (Su, 2006:64). State is a field of power based on force, repression and political sovereignty. Civil society is a field of "hegemony" out of state and production but

based on them. It cannot be said that these two separate fields are implicitly separated. Because capitalist system is the whole of repression and approval (Duman, 2006:171). Even though hegemony dialectically contradicts with dominance, actually force and consent and dominance and hegemony adjoin. Because state keeps enforcement apparatus to use in the future to ensure and preserve hegemonic system again or repress those who resist when needed (Gramsci, 1997: 278).

Gramsci's opinion which emphasizes that ideologies stem from the financial relations in a society shows parallelism with Marx's view on the issue. The statement of Marx that people comprehend the structural conflicts in the field of ideology is the source of Gramsci's discussion of the concept of ideology. Source of ideologies is material and it is in association with hegemonization of social formation (Özbek, 2011:126-127).

In short capitalism is not administered only by way of violence and political and economic force but also by way of the dominant culture which ideologically makes the values of bourgeois the common opinion of society. Thus a reconciliation culture develops and working class identifies with the welfare of bourgeois for the sake of its own welfare and far from opposing and revolting, it almost helps the existing order to sustain (Çoban, 2012:5).

Relations of hegemony generally base on internalization of the values of ruling class by other social layers and turning them into general truths (Aytaç, 2004:115-118). The major strategy in the creation of hegemony is the establishment of "common sense". When common sense prevails, ideologies become natural and get automatized (Karaduman, 2009:19). Establishment of common sense means that ideology functions as some kind of a "plaster/mortar" to unify/combine. In this way ideology becomes the cement of social establishment and ensures the sustainment of

ideological integrity of ruling social bloc (Özbek, 1991:81-82). For example the consideration that criminals are not the result of an unfair society but they become criminals due to their own mistakes and sins satisfies individual worlds and also defines dominant ideology (Fiske, 1996: 225-226). Accordingly it is possible to find the effort to "create a common belief" in the texts in children magazines reviewed during the study.

The power is trying to shape and supervise by using all amenities. It tries to make the society internalize the power by determining social consciousness and affecting the consciousness structures. As mentioned above, being a system living on crises and internal conflicts, capitalism has to hegemonize the society and generate consent. Political economy based Marxist approach aims to see the "big picture". This way, it reaches to deductions on the basis of media and economic political relations. The main objective of the approach is probing the close relations between those who have money and who have power in the world (Schudson, 1989:271). Children's magazines to be reviewed in this study will be evaluated in this respect.

2.2 Dominant Ideology; Neoliberalism

Being the tools for interpreting the world and offering designs of future state, economy, politics, society and people are also the entirety of thoughts, values and beliefs serving the legitimization of the stipulated order and they affect economic, social and political developments as well as they are affected by these developments. Ideologies might change in parallel with social changes and uplift new values and beliefs resulting from the changed class balances. The effectiveness of neoliberal ideology has increased in the world during the last quarter of the twentieth century.

Not only in terms of economic development dynamics but it also spread over all fields as a form of political and social organization.

The economic and social impact of 1974 crisis on Western societies facilitated expansion and acceptance of neoliberalism. It (Neoliberalism ??) had increased its effectiveness in a period when inflation and unemployment increased simultaneously, growth is staggered and confidence in the effectiveness of Keynesian economy politics (Ördek, 2008:744). Monetary and budgetary policies introduced by Margaret Thatcher government in England became the main target of international financial institutions in a short while due to increase in interest rates, decrease in income tax burden of high income segment, die down of unions' bargaining power, labor market flexibility, privatization of public establishments and supporting private enterprises. Reagan administration in the USA also adopted the policy of nonregularization, flexibilization and reduction of high taxes and increased the military expenditures (İnsel:2004:9).

Even though neoliberalism has a matchless impact on global economy, it also redefines politics and nature of society. Free market radicalism dominated economics and politics in a large part of the world instead of democratic idealism (Gıroux, 2007:14). Even though there are quite different efforts regarding the concept of neoliberalism, the content of these definitions in terms of economic policies can be summarized in a general sense as liberalizing economy, removing price controls, abolishing the regulations in capital and labor markets, minimizing the state and limiting its interventions in economy, privatizing public establishments, ensuring financial discipline, reducing public expenditures, closing budgetary deficits and narrowing money supply (Başkaya and Ördek, 2008:744). In short, neoliberal ideology is based on the idea of market dominance. In order for the economy to be

productive and beneficial, it claims that the markets should not be intervened (Bedirhanoğlu, 2006).

Along with these, the main difference of neoliberalism is that it circumscribes a global economic system and the emphasis is laid on the necessity of neoliberal state's serving not only the interests of national but also of international capital. As stated by Öngen in this context, main objectives of neoliberalism include its participation in decision making processes of global capital and transnational companies and removing national limitations they might come their way (2003:167). Thus domination of the governments of a handful of developed countries which are masters of the world, international financial and commercial institutions under them and global companies in developing countries is solidified (İnsel, 2004:15). For example the relation of countries in a debt spiral with IMF turned into a relation of guardianship in a sense, especially as of 1980's. Debtor countries became needy of IMF due to their requirements to restructure their debts, pay them and take on debt again and international dependency channels in World Bank's "structural adjustment programmes" became are rather deep (Chossudovsky, 1999:53).

Along with all these factors, neoliberalism also believes in that it needs to shape all economic, social and political decisions in the market and consequently, it attacks concepts such as democracy, benefit of society and social state and changes the meanings of concepts like citizenship and social life (Giroux, 2007:15). Concepts of "civil society" and "democracy" can be set as examples. The concept of civil society functions as the political, economic and ideological "Trojan Horse" of the new right due to meanings attributed to it and contrasts coded by these meanings and the dominant new right ideology is legitimized via this fetishized civil society. Perception of civil society is being positioned as the opposite of Hegelian-Marxist-Gramscist

thought. Hegel, let alone fetishizing the civil society, criticizes civil society and tries to reveal the relations of power in a civil society. He considers the arena of struggle as an area where the state ascends on and one projection of it and an area which has a mutual organic-dialectic relation with state (Özgüden, 2007:4). Another concept that neoliberal ideology frequently makes reference to is "democracy". The concept of democracy is being used as a means. The strategy to limit the intervention space of state basing on the concept of democracy aims trouble-free operation of neoliberalism (Adaklı, 2006:40).

Another concept frequently accentuated in neoliberalism is, freedom. Minimal state is asserted as a condition of freedom. This shows the paradox of the understanding of neoliberal freedom in itself. Because "freedom" is defined over an unfair and non-egalitarian social order. In other words freedom is being defended by ignoring the existing injustices and inequalities. (Şaylan, 2003: 131-141). Lack of ability or power to do [something] and interference in it is considered as an opposition to freedom and as social rights require interference of the state, it is accepted as an action which damages freedom in terms of neoliberal discourse (Özkazanç,1996: 1220).

It is attention-grabbing for an ideology which emphasizes freedom to this extent and asserts that it promises the chance to select and freedom to identify itself with the slogan of "there is no alternative". The thought of there is no other alternative is imposed on the minds and thus internalized and reproduced. Consequently, as stated by Monbiot (2017) the rich ignore their advantages such as education, inheritance and class position which contribute to ensure their wealth and convince themselves that they deserve to be rich and the poor lay the blame on themselves or their fate for being poor.

The artificial chance to select and freedoms presented show that they actually don't exist in all kinds of reactions against neoliberal ideology. (??) For example hundreds of protest movements against austerity policies imposed by IMF after 1980's have been repressed by state forces acting on behalf of "order and stability" and mostly by applying extreme violence (Harvey, 2008: 139). Contradicting itself, neoliberalism can be interfering under the name of maintaining the "order" when it is contrary to its interests. At this point definition of neoliberalism by Gambetti comes to mind:

> "Neoliberalism is the entirety of ideas and practices which overcomes the bottleneck that capital accumulation confronts, destroys barriers like welfare state one-by-one and imposes itself on the world via international institutions and national states" (Gambetti, 2009: 146).

> In an aggressive manner, neoliberalism creates the wildest conditions of capitalism to demolish all necessary public entities required to defend a functional democracy and break off the social change process from its historical context by virtue of its capacity (Derber, 2002).

2.2.1 Reflection of neoliberal ideology on media

1980's can be seen as the commencement of a period during which the struggle of working class was caused to go back due to the enormous domination created by neoliberal policies all around the world, the understanding of public service was gradually annihilated and the media was expanded in every sense as a "rising" industry (Adaklı, 2010:68).

The 1980's, when neoliberalism had emerged, witnessed the radical transformation of the media industry. Especially in the publishing field, ownership

being in the first place, many regulatory rules based on public service and public interest in had been almost annihilated in many fields. Media capital gained momentum in the direction of monopolization and internationalization (Adaklı, 2010:68).When the information industry and big capital got together today, it resulted in a new capital accumulation model and this model is fully integrated with the ideological, symbolic and political structuring of capitalism (Kaya, 2009:18).Neoliberal policies which came into use in 1980's led the categories of public interest, social justice and labor to be alienated from political, legal and social discourses. The issues of economic inequality and class discrepancy are solved by separation of economy and politics from each other and regulations which secure the political participation of citizens regarded as equal by law and the role of the public observer was given to media. By doing so, social problems have been dealt within the context of political participation and legal struggle in the absence of economic democracy and democratic constitutional state became the main principle of the bourgeois public realm (Avşar, Şen, 2012).

Along with the transformation in 1980's a myth of independence defined with qualifications such as "independent from the state", "impartial", "public watcher" under the capitalist production and it was used in a fairly functional way for the creation of active consent (Adaklı, 2009: 80-81). Media was used as the fourth force to observe for people and it was assigned the role to be the eyes and ears of people, represent the truth and rightful, audit and observe the political power. Media was approached outside of production relations in society and independent of decisiveness of these relations (Erdoğan, 1999). Public opinion was regarded basically as the sum of individual opinions and an agenda created by dominant media and media cleaned out the public by intertwining with political economy interests (Özbek, 2010: 31-35).

As Adaklı pointed out, the most important factual reality masked in liberal narrative is the activities of mainstream media with a profit motive as an economic business. Aprofit oriented institution contradicts with the concept of "public interest" (Adaklı, 2009: 80-81).

Media capital showed a trend for monopolization and internationalization, structure of working relations is changed and deunionization policies gained dominance. In this process, a new class composed of media executives was created and these symbolic elites brought a new dimension to media's ideological functions. Social forces that could oppose neoliberal policies in the new media order have been economically, politically and ideologically pushed out of this realm (Şen and Avşar, 2012: 43). Although the concentration and diversification process that took place in media witnessed a blast on content platform, the diversification actually consists of similar products (Adaklı, 2010:69).

Therefore media became a device that reproduces capital accumulation and ideology. With its rebuilt reality and the way of transfer, it is possible to artificially rebuild the reality of media.

2.3 Media and Reproduction of Dominant Ideology

It is obvious that mass media has an important role in the dominance of capitalist ideology. The so-called dominant ideology is typically an ideology of a dominant social bloc composed of classes and sub-groups whose interests are not always the same and the agreements and separations reflect on the ideology as are. However the sovereigns (dominants) don't always recreate a new ideology. Instead an

ideological disguise of an existing idea might be created sometimes. As Eagleton stated (2005:75);

> What turns an idea into an ideology is not its origin. It cannot be asserted that all ideas originating from dominant class are necessarily ideological. On the contrary, the ruling class might take over the ideas sprouted somewhere else and use them to serve their own purpose.

The power uses discourse only to serve its purpose (Dursun, 2001: 49). It aims to formulate the discourse to gain the support of broader social segments, gain new members, activate the supporters and reach to resources to be able to develop a frame which would create an impression (Seo and Creed, 2002). And this goal is being actualized by virtue of media. Media keeps reproducing and emerges as a product of existing dominant discourses (Tokgöz, 2003: 183). Ensuring the approval of dominant discourse, media generated a discourse in direction that dominant system wants and by featuring some ideologies via mass media, it legitimizes them and handling them in detail, it distributes them to a broad audience in a persuasive and attractive way (Lull, 2001: 22). Consequently, even though the public opinion is fictionalized as a realm free of power, it actually enables the ideology of power to be transferred to masses in a normalized and naturalized way. Media is accepted as the voice of public opinion but in reality, it functions as the voice of the class owning media production means and it is being positioned as an ideological apparatus mediatedly defending interests of the capitalist minority instead of the interests of the oppressed class within the context of class struggle (http://www.academia.edu/610117). And in this sense it serves the reproduction of dominant ideology in the social realm. Adorno and Horkheimer suggest that media is an industry where the relations of power are

established, protected and distributed by augmenting, in short it is an industry which affirms the power and feeds on the power (Adorno, 2007; 74). Hence when society affirms the assertion reflected by media that it is the voice of public opinion, they begin to internalize the voice of power and adopt the opinions and behaviors which they consider their own, even if they are not. This process enables a monophonic and authoritarian power which prevents hearing of all voices other than its own voice to gain social power (Neumann, 1998: 173).

Horkheimer and Adorno mentioned "big cultural agencies" and stated that they are monopolized by dominant class and power groups and act like big industrial factories functioning as tools to sustain the capitalist production style (Kızılçelik 225-226). When evaluated in this context, capitalism is a system which produces goods before anything else. Therefore one of the main goals is ensuring the produced goods to appear natural. On the other hand the ongoing process of reification from social relations to artistic production[2] underlies commodification. In this respect, one of the main goals is the disappearance of class consciousness and creation of human communities acting automatically, not thinking much, focusing on mass entertainment and spending time with these (Adorno, 2007: 101).

Cultural industry[3] functions to perpetuate its general-partial rapport within the holism of the system. This function is in the form of preventing the alienation of

---

[2] Human beings become the prisoners of the industrial products they produce or actually, prisoners of "things". Reification is one of the most significant features of today's socio-cultural environment. Products of media industry are subjects of a similar reification (Kara, 2014:53).

[3] For Adorno et al., mass culture and cultural industry underlie the modern totalitarianism. This theory of them has reached to its extreme point with Herbert Marcuse's *work titled One-Dimensional Man*. In this book Marcuse depicts the ordinary experiences of a human in a modern society as a domain where working in a communal world "becomes a consuming, confusing and inhumane slavery" which is dominated by "fake needs" sustaining "struggle, aggression, misery and injustice" (Swingewood, 1996: 40).

individuals to the system with the exception of workplace where they rented out their labor, mind and existence in order to sustain their existence. Thus the actions outside of the workplace become an extension of the life at workplace even though they are regulated by different methods and tools used in the workplace (Swingewood, 1996). During the period of late capitalism entertainment, an extension of work, is merely a break to perform the work better at a later time. As free time of workers and entertainment merchandise to be used then are systematically determined, entertainment gained an appearance which would never go beyond the work process (Dellaoğlu, 2003:25). In this way the modern subjects mostly surrender when they are having fun but not only when they work.

When the impact of industrialization of culture on production and consumption process in capitalist societies is examined, it is observed that media, which has communed with communication technologies in time, commodified and organized in such a way to reproduce the dominant structure, ideologically and economically serves the global expansion of capitalism (Golding and Murdock, 1997:54). As with all business areas in capitalist societies communication, media and culture also became the fields where capitalist laws are being organized.

According to Marcuse (1994:79), critical reflexes of the society where standardizing and mass producing are regarded as customers are demolished and masses become strictly adhered to dominant ideology as slaves submitting to the wishes of the dominant class. The "monotype" thoughts internalized by public opinion prevents it to create an awareness regarding its reality. In other words, they create a "false consciousness". Schiller (2005:19-40) stated that there are five myths are used in the creation of "packaged consciousness". These are the myths of

"Individualism and Personal Choice", "Neutrality", "Media Pluralism", "Unchanging Human Nature" and "Absence of Social Conflict". Especially the myth of "Unchanging Human Nature" is important for the analysis part of the study. Because according to manipulators of mind, neither human nature nor the world changes. Future activities of individuals will be the same in essence even if they change in appearance. It is also stated in some children's magazines that "human nature will not change and believing otherwise is a vain hope".

In this context the social goal of media is regarded as imposing economic, social and political agendas of privileged groups dominating society and state on people and defend them (Chomsky, Herman, 1998:100). Media products standardize individuals and consequently society and so, facilitate the dominant power to expand its domination realm more effectively (Marcuse, 1997: 97). Media is a "consent" generating a tool that powers cannot dispense with as it ensures the emergence of mental meaning maps which would direct individuals to "common sense" via the language and discourse it uses. As Oskay stated;

> Communication defines objects and people in our daily life, teaches the lifestyle of the society composed of various social roles assigned to individuals due to the division of labor to those who undertake these roles while they act accordingly, generates affirmation and suggests the necessary assessment types for their reproduction. Ensures continuation of the social system and enables it to reproduce itself (1992:8).

Due to these reasons, in the research section of the study, dominant ideologies transferred to children via children's magazines will be analysed and the power of political interests of political power owners who play an effective role over media

institutions, economic interests of media owners and media to reproduce the social

system will be taken into consideration.

CHAPTER THREE

CAPITALISM AND CHILDREN

Childhood is a historical, economic, political and cultural category. Perception of childhood had many breaking points in history and due to the developments it had in every period (Ancient Period, Mediaeval and Renaissance Period, Enlightenment Period and development of capitalism after 19th Century), understanding of childhood kept changing. However, as can be seen clearly in this part of the study, a small minority of children today can make the most of "modernism" and live a life focused on the myth of success, while a great majority cannot have access to education and healthcare services, are obliged to work and cannot even meet their needs for shelter and nutrition. The main reason of this is the independency of children's problems from the unequal relations of the social system. Children's living under unequal circumstances is related to the class structure they belong to. Therefore it is necessary to consider the class society and unequal sharing of resources when childhood and childhood problems are examined. In this context title of this chapter is determined as "Capitalism and Children" by looking at the acceptance of childhood as a historical, economy political, social and cultural category. Children and childhood phenomenon within capitalist system are also addressed to clear up the research part of the study. In this chapter the changes experienced in childhood during history and whether these changes were for the benefit of children or not will be examined through variables like the definition of modern childhood, neoliberal policies, consumer child phenomenon, paternalist policies, children's rights, child labor and child poverty.

3.1 Concept of Modern Childhood

Even though children have been in existence throughout history, the concept of childhood doesn't go long way back. Towards the end of 17th-century childhood began to be regarded as a separate and specific period. This acceptance was followed by the consideration that children have a hidden potential and they are key to the future. While regarded as insufficient adults before, children were rediscovered so to speak and they became an economic, emotional and status object. Accordingly when it is accepted that childhood is formed in a continuous process of construction and reconstruction as a category, it seems impossible to comprehend the perception of childhood in recent history without evaluating historical perspective of the construction of childhood. Conceptualization of childhood had shown some changes within historical process due to factors like economic and political structures and intellectual trends.

The concept of childhood is not a single universal experience belonging to a certain period but a historically ever-changing cultural structure. Since childhood is related to power more than it is related to chronology, the term has a tendency to express a power relation rather than pointing out a certain age. The ages that children are legally regarded as small and considered old enough are arbitrary and inconsistent (Franklin, 1993:21-26).

When the history of childhood is examined, it is fairly difficult to talk about traces of children prior to 15th century. There are no writings about children and childhood in Medieval Europe (Heywood, 2003:24). Children are mostly depicted as "miniature adults" in medieval sculptures and wore the same attire with adults (Öztan, 2009). As Postman (1995:8) stated, the idea of childhood is fictionally one of greatest inventions

of Renaissance Science came until today both as a social structure and a psychological condition along with the concepts of nation-state and religious freedom by being supported as of 15th century. A new ideology about childhood had emerged in Western Europe and North America in the 15th century and discovery of childhood commenced. The idea of raising children in families and at schools underlies the middle class childhood ideology developed by bourgeois families (İnal, 2014:84). As of the Renaissance period, children have been regarded as the key to future and the principal goal of education is determined as raising the future citizens as religionist, disciplined and obedient people (Cunningham, 1993:6). As of 16th century, children were no more a burden for their families and they gained a special and privileged position in society. Naturally this privilege was valid for in big cities, for upper and middle classes and especially for boys (İnal, 2014:86). Financial conditions of bourgeois enabled families to separate children's rooms the and childcare made progress as of the 17th century. Medical developments in this period decreased child mortality (Kant, 2004:98). In the 17th century, spending money for children became an important middle class virtue so to speak (Öztan, 2009:13). In addition new rules of good manners and behaviors for bourgeois were emanated and the concept of "shame" emerged. For example it was considered inappropriate to talk about sexually explicit matters in front of children (Öztan, 2011:22).

Without any doubt, the impact of a new way of thinking founded by philosophers like Locke and Rousseau on the fictionalization of new childhood in the modern era is great. These philosophers rejected the thesis of innately sinful child and stated that children are neither good nor bad by birth (İnal, 2014:85). Locke published his work titled "Some Thoughts Concerning Education" towards the end of 17th century and claimed that children would be raised as desired. This thought was effective to a great

extent in the 18th century. Locke looked on the mind of a child as a "tabula rasa" and stated that family, teachers and state are responsible for processing a child's mind (Öztan, 2011:24). Locke regarded the modern child as a "potential citizen" (Kaplan, 2005:42) and demanded to treat children rationally. He stated that their curiosity should be encouraged. Rousseau, on the other hand, expressed in his work titled "Emile" that obligation and social institutions suppress the natural manners of children. He defended that children are close to animals and they should be allowed to live what their animalistic nature demands (Cunningam, 1993:65). Rousseau perceived education as a reduction process and said:

> One of the main mistakes of current upbringing style is always telling children about their duties and explaining their rights. Whenas acting this way means beginning reversely because teaching them their rights before their duties is more compliant with naturalness (2006:71).

Opinions of Locke and Rousseau had influenced arts and literature in 17th and 18th centuries and children are portrayed as symbols of innocence and purity. (Cunningham, 1993:72). Supporting this idea, Aries (1973:61) mentioned that there were no signs intrinsic to children in arts (no paintings of children) and in clothes of the time (children wearing same clothes with adults) before the 16th century and defended the argument that the concept of childhood was not present in middle ages. Shahar (1992:1) on the other hand objects to the argument regarding there was no childhood in middle ages. He stated that children have been valued before modern society but the life of children was not idealized in middle ages because the structure of society was not fitting to this. Shahar asserts that the thought of childhood was also

present in middle ages and families have been investing tangibly and intangibly in their children.

Child raising practices and educational methods cannot be determined by biological laws like parent-child relations only but can also be established culturally. These practices and methods should be examined in any specific society in terms of material culture and economic conditions, level of medical knowledge and hygiene standards, political and social structure, dominant belief and value systems (Shahar, 1992:1).

It is possible to assert that Aries didn't make an effort to prompt the political and ideological reasons except for some social explanations. One of the names who objects Aries at this point is Heywood. Aries primarily benefited from arts to confirm his argument regarding the history of childhood. Heywood (2003: 19), however stated that referring to the portrayal of children as an artistic object to prove the emerging idea of childhood has some problematical aspects and questioned to what extent it can confirm the argument that the idea of childhood did not exist in middle ages. In this context there might be only one point to assert by looking at arts: As the only groups to place an order with artists and buy artistic objects in middle ages were aristocracy, bourgeois and church and as they didn't want images of children in the artistic works they ordered, we can say that the childhood was not used as a meaningful symbol in social mainstream discourse. (Akbaş and Topçuoğlu, 2009: 96).

Aries also affirmed many points regarding the process of modernism such as schools becoming widespread, lengthening out of childhood period, becoming a psychological satisfaction source and cease of children's being an economic labor (Aries, 1973:61). However when looking back, it is possible to see that three

important points lasted unchanged from early ages until today in terms of schooling. The first one is seeing numerous factors regarding the education of children from traditional beliefs and values to modern knowledge and skills as absolutely good and necessary things to be received unilaterally by children. In addition the position of today's children is not quite different than their position in Athenians where they were regarded as commodities under their fathers' protection (İnal, 2014:32). Children are also seen as adult planning and projecting in modern/postmodern societies. Another unchanged point is with regard to school attendance.While children of middle and upper classes attend school without feeling the difficulties and shames of the life of adults and benefit from education, the rate of schooling among the children of working class is rather low. In short children who worked outside their homes as apprentices or farm workers during colonial times and especially those who come from immigrant and poor families were regarded as cheap factory workers in conjunction with the industrial revolution. Social reform movements during the following years merely managed to convert the image of children from cheap factory labor to apprentices working at factories (Elkind, 1999:37). When these points are taken into consideration, Aries' extremely affirmative attitude towards the "innovations" brought forth by modernism cannot correspond to real life events.

At the basis of modern childhood lies two important elements. One of them is bourgeoisie and the other is science. Bourgeois activism has been a reflection of the ongoing drive as of Enlightenment to logically restructure nature, world and life (İnal, 2014:69). While this role of the bourgeoisie in history made it the most progressive class in history on one hand, as the formation of bourgeoisie progressiveness could not change conditions of production due to its own nature, it made the same bourgeoisie the most retrogressive class in history on the other (Oskay, 2010: 177).

Even though bourgeoisie activism is one of the most progressive ones throughout history that created humanely opportunities, this irony stems from its motive to eliminate all dangers that would end its class sovereignty as of the point it began institutionalize its own class sovereignty. Oskay summarizes this situation as follows;

> Even though the philosophers defending enlightenment philosophy base their political programs on converting the "individual" to have the freedom and ability to look at life with a critical approach, bourgeois left this philosophy after mid-19th century and preferred to be the heir of previous dominant classes' political culture based on individual/society antagonism(2014: 180).

Therefore, neither the values emerged in the feudal period and gains brought by Enlightenment nor the childhood discourse rooted in them and continued to take shape throughout modernity have been free of inequalities and their reinforcement (Akbaş and Toğcuoğlu, 2009:98). Even though paradigm of modern childhood appears to be giving autonomy to childhood at first glance, it is seen that only the children who can find a place in the category of modern childhood can benefit from this new childhood category. Another fallacy of modern childhood paradigm is the argument that the children who are assumed to be physically, cognitively and emotionally insufficient (and these assumptions are supported by science) should be protected (Yağcıoğlu, 2010). As a result of this protectionist argument, children have been alienated from the public realm and confined in the private one (Postman, 1995 and Roche, 1999; Quoted by: Alankuş, 2007: 46). Consequently, due to these deficiencies of modern paradigm, childhood is constructed on a class, sexist and ethnicity base; exposed to paternalist policies and different childhood experiences are ignored (Yağcıoğlu, 2010).

3.1.1 Modern State and Child

Model of modern society became increasingly decisive on the economic, political and cultural structuring of societies during last two centuries. While modernization processes, during which modern institutions replace all institutional structures structured basing on traditions sweep through the world, all relationships between state and individual, family, class and various representation groups have been reshaped.

There are numerous reasons affecting the transition period to modernity. Pierson (2011:57) arrayed the processes most dealt with along with modernization as follows: Industrialization, gradual commodification of economic relations, rise of capitalism, rise of scientific thought approach, urbanization and democratization. Negri and Hardt (2003,94-96) on the other hand regard two opposing traditions within modernism process as two modernity styles. The first kind of modernity refers to a tendency which severs all ties with past, announces its immanence regarding life, places mankind in the center of history and moves towards the democratic politics. But they stated that another style of modernity had emerged before long. This phenomenon defined as the second style of modernity aims to recapture the power and tidy up the social life. Therefore modernism process involves two opposite discourses; liberating and disciplining discourses. Hence state apparatus being centralized first in "king state" and then in "nation state" in due course became the realm where the discourse of disciplining became concrete (Wagner, 1996:26; Ağaoğulları, 1994).

Most important dimensions of modernism are surveillance and supervision. Political activities of communities under surveillance are supervised by the state. Another important dimension is the control of violence tools. Nowadays violence

tools are adopted and supervised by the modern state within national boundaries (Giddens, 1994). Political power needs repressive and ideological apparatus to sustain its existence and uses them excessively. State sustains its existence via repressive and ideological apparatus. While the repressive apparatus of state are institutions like law, courts, police and army which are effective in fields where there is the explicit use of force or enforcement, ideological apparatus are institutions maintaining acceptance of political power in realms like family, education and religion. Individuals are named, identified and confined in state's realm of domination within these realms (Althusser, 1991:27). However as mentioned by Gramsci, the system gains its real power not by the violence of ruling class or repressive power of its state apparatus but by acceptance of administrators' "world view" by the ruled (Fiori, 1970:238). At this point, education gains importance. State educates children, who it regards as the "citizens of future" in conjunction with modernism in line with its ideological principles, especially via educational institutions. Education (Çetin, 2001:207) had possessed a very intensive and effective realm as a social and political control mechanism in the modern state. Sovereignty envisaged by state, principles of power regarding the creation of nation and strong central power principles considered education as an area to actualize these principles.

Weber considered education and discipline as a modernized extension of military structuring and explained the aims of education and discipline ensured by education as follows (Weber, 1993:221-223); rationalizing actions of political power, ensuring obedience of a large number of people under same circumstances and principles, preserving superiority of rulers over the ruled and sustaining it, submitting to rules and status quo, worshiping the hero, blindly obeying administrators, creating uniform habits, psychologically conditioning masses in unity, binding masses to a common

goal, common 'case" and planned life, developing social morals, duties and responsibilities, convicting them to drift in a mechanized organization, unifying harmonized individuals in society (Çetin, 2001:210).

Within the scope of defined mutual duties, responsibilities and devotion based relation between citizens and state, parents become responsible for raising their children. Citizens should be raised to maintain the continuity of the existence of state and children constitute the first step towards this aim (Şirin, 1999: 156). Apart from the school, the state also made a contract with the head of the family. Head of the family is accountable and responsible for disciplining the child. In this way family has become an actor in the political field. Those who don't have family ties (dilly-dalliers, beggars etc.) are taken under control by charity organizations and stopped being "activists". State also helps to punish children who don't comply with rules or who are irregulars (Donzelot, 1997: 48-58).

Being regarded as the key to state's future in association with modernism also became an issue of concern for science. Especially developmental psychology offered peerless opportunities to the state to create its "ideal future citizens" (Şirin, 1999:156). The most important aspect of modern pedagogy is beginning to define children with school and educational/biological concepts (class, age, etc). At the same time modern pedagogy defined all transition phases from childhood to adulthood with rational and technical terms and concepts and this led to specialization in the field of education. Children first fell into the hands of clergymen, then of industrialists and ultimately came under the domination of state and professionals (İnal, 2014). Therefore it is an optimistic approach to confirm that children had gained a value by themselves in the modern capitalist period. Because let alone becoming a subject, children are exploited

more mercilessly to the contrary of all liberalization promises (Akbaş and Topçuoğlu, 2009:100).

3.1.1.1 Paternalist construction of childhood in Turkey "ideal Turkish child"

Even though the change of the perception of childhood in Turkey has many similarities with the universal construction of childhood, it also has some characteristics specific to Turkey. In conjunction with the foundation of the Republic, numerous changes had occurred in the history of Turkey. And as İnal (1999:200) mentioned, founding ideologists of the republic re-fictionalized childhood as many other concepts. Category of childhood is nationalized and it was aimed to[4] create the "ideal Turkish child" with paternalist policies.

In conjunction with the French revolution, nationalist movements and national values which gained strength and came to the forefront on a global scale had an impact on the education system. Consequently a nationalist educational system contingent upon national values had emerged (Yağcıoğlu, 2013). There is no doubt that the use of national symbols hides differences, converts similarities, features what's common, creates group feeling and becomes a tool of establishing a nation (İnal, 2014:156). The process of nationalizing education, impacts of which was seen all around the world after French revolution also affected the educational system in

---

[4] Paternalism is a behavior pattern of the originally superior towards lower ones. During the efforts of an individual to scale up or secure his/her interests and even if the individual cannot benefit from this in any way or if this effort harms him/her, it interferes with freedom of choice or action of the individual. Basically paternalism has three assumptions: 1) The child is weak and therefore needs help. 2) The child is not aware of his/her role and responsibilities. 3) The child is illiterate and needs direction by adults (Franklin, 1993: 41).

Turkey and many nationalist practices (nationalization of curriculum, Our Oath, Turkish National Anthem, commemorating national days and heroes etc) symbolized with ritualistic ceremonies had emerged. During this period paternalist understanding id adopted by procuring acceptance of its tree assertions at the social level. Major assumptions of paternalist policies are that children lack the required rationality, knowledge and experience needed for political autonomy, that children would see the righteousness of decisions taken by adults on their behalf as they grow up and lastly, children need adults as they don't have the competence to lead their lives by themselves (Franklin, 1993). Paternalist policies implemented in the republican period have been transferred into practice through three channels: words of official authorities, legislation and nationalist practices (Yağcıoğu, 2011:35). In this process the qualities of the "Ideal Turkish Child" have been frequently mentioned and it was tried to be redefined in accordance with modern childhood paradigm. The characteristics of the "Ideal Turkish Child" were most explicitly and strikingly stated by the authority of the time, Minister of National Education, Hasan Ali Yücel as follows:

> Turkish children are truthful and they hate lies. They willingly and fondly obey the laws of Turkish State, moral principles of Turkish community and school rules. They always remember that all of their friends are children of the great entity, Turkish nation and the Turkish Republic as they are. They don't ravage their health and strength devoted to homeland and nation with poisonous and harmful substances (İnal, 160:2014).

As it would be clearly understood from Hasan Ali Yücel's words, administrators and intelligentsia of the republic who build a new and modern childhood paradigm

determined the most ideal type of child in their own way. There is no doubt that the most basic feature of this ideal type is respect to and love for their state and nation and being tightly devoted to the values of Republic (Schnapper, 1996:149). It was aimed with the newly established educational program to raise "ideal citizens" on the axis of Turkish nationalism. It was expected from the targeted "ideal citizens" to adapt to their social environment and meet the expectations of the political system at the same time (Soydan, 2013:24). In line with this goal, Turkish national education policies in 1930's have been shaped especially under the impact of studies on Turkish History Argument and Turkish Language. In this period the authoritarian quality of the regime became apparent and its dominant ideology[5] was prominently Turkish nationalism (Soydan, 2013:38). Outside the educational life, the official ideology has been frequently reinforced with factors like saluting the flag, reading nationalist poems and memorializing the heroes to make children complete Turkish citizens. In other words it was aimed for teachers, who are regarded as a cultural army/soldiers of culture to nurture children at schools with nationalist feelings (Ünder, 1998:98).

As Zührer (2000:266) defined, Kemalism was perceived almost as a "Turkish religion" and the existing ideological gap was tried to be filled with dignification of a person which had developed around Mustafa Kemal when he was alive and further increased after his death. Mustafa Kemal is introduced as the father, savior and

---

[5] Marx negatively refers to the concept of ideology (Alemdar and Erdoğan, 1994:187). This structure, which Marx tried to define as an upside-down formation of the position of humans within the material-objective reality in his mind, which is similar to the one captured by a camera is generally interpreted as 'false consciousness' (Alemdar and Erdoğan,1994:188). Marx attributes production and distribution of ideas to interclass relations. In brief, the thoughts of people are the thoughts and ideas that the ruling class wants them to adopt. (Sungur, 2007: 127). The concept of ideology is used in the study with this meaning. *"The thoughts of the dominant class are dominant thoughts in all ages. In other words, the class that has the dominant financial power in the society is also the dominant mental power. The class which is vested with the financial production means also keeps the means of mental production under its command. These are so interlocked and the thoughts of those who are deprived of mental production means are also dependent on the dominant class. Dominant thoughts are nothing more than an ideological expression of dominant financial relations. " (Marx and Engels, 1992:70).*

teacher of the nation. Especially after the "Turkish Revolutionary History" became a required course in 1934, indoctrination at schools was focused on Atatürk at the highest level. Because destiny of the Republic was identified with the political construction of children. In this process schools and families were also assigned to raise the ideal Turkish child and the primary goal of families was determined as raising good citizens (Üstel, 2005:125). In addition to this, this ideal has been frequently supported by media. As Erdoğan (2007:85) stated, literary works of this period were generally target-specific:

"Child-directed literature generally aimed at teaching a system of values to children intentionally in a descending order by using texts that children could comprehend easier instead of stemming from the author's own life and from the culture which affected, shaped and brought him/her into existence. And this tendency is still in use.

It is possible to find topics on Central Asia, Independence War, stories of heroism about Turkish nation and children and dignification of martyrdom used to facilitate and legitimize dying for homeland in works published for children in this period (Öztan, 2009:66). Origin of Turkish children is taken to Central Asia and nobility, love of freedom and heroism of Turkish race rooted in their childhood are emphasized. Besides children's magazines and educational curriculum, on days like April 23 National Sovereignty and Children's Day and May 19 Commemoration of Atatürk, Youth and Sports Day children read, as stated by İnal (2014:197), poems full of blood, death, tears and enemy-threatening and militarist texts which are ill-suited for the psychological nature of children are memorized. For example "Robust Turkish Child" magazine, which is an important children's magazine of the time and

published by Himaye-i Etfal Society between the years of 1926-1935 placed great importance on April 23. The magazine frequently repeated that all Turkish children should be brought together and a common spirit should be created for the sake of nation's future, the concept of fearless Turkish children against the enemy was often emphasized and it was claimed that the foundation of national solidarity and unity should be laid in childhood.

In this precious day orphans of martyrs who gave their lives for independence and republic and lonely children of homeland will get get together with other children in various parts of the country and sing freedom songs, remember the great Gazi with respect and fondness, read the works of our national literates, play games, dance and will have a joyful day. What a virtuous venture in terms of national solidarity and unity! (Çılgın, 2004:106).

In addition, both in school books and publications for children it was frequently mentioned the value of being civilized should be known. In order to make future generations completely adopt many factors accepted as the requirements of civilization such as apparel, cleanness, culture and art and urbanity consciousness, they were repeated over and over again (Öztan, 2009). But even the symbolic foundations of a national similarity have been tried to be laid via stories of heroism, uniforms or modern alterations of women and children clothing, it is seen that the difference between the lifestyle provided for the townee, educated and rich children and the one mandated for the children living in poverty was persisting (İnal, 2014:168).

When a general evaluation is made, social construction of childhood in Turkey coincides with the establishment years of the republic. And nationalized childhood

fiction underlies the paternalist policies towards children (Yağcıoğlu, 2012). The project of raising the "Ideal Turkish Child" within the scope of childhood fictionalized as the national subject of paternalist policy has been going on for many years now (Öztan, 2009:70). And it is clearly seen that in order to mention real freedoms for children, a realm where children would live their childhood away from all kinds of militaristic values, paternalist domination is abolished and children would live a life without being the works of any ideology.

3.2 Neoliberalism and Changed Childhood Fact

Neoliberalism is the reorganization of capitalism at an international level, reformulation of circumstances required in accumulation process and reestablishment of class power (Harvey, 2006:145-158). At the same time, neoliberalism is a totality of ideas and practices which eliminates all barriers in front of capital accumulation, destroys the welfare state and imposes itself to the world via international institutions and nation states (Gambetti, 2009:148). According to neoliberalism the state which possesses resources in the name of providing welfare and it is merely an entity which trips up individual and social development and enrichment. Accordingly interference of state to the economy should be put an end and the rules of free market should prevail (Eştürk, 2006:18). As Giroux (2007:14) mentioned, instead of democratic idealism, free market radicalism became dominant in the economic and political realm in most part of the world. This market ideology is distinct not only with profits but also with its ability to reproduce itself. All of these policies mean in a sense that capitalism and globalization are rising under the leadership ob neoliberalism. Because it is clearly seen that the market policies predicted via neoliberalism presents a globalization where the borders on the world disappear (Sungur, 1996:49). Therefore

it is necessary to evaluate the neoliberalism, which dominates the world since 1980's, as a basic driving powers of capitalist globalization.

One of the distinguishing aspects of today's world, where capitalism became global is that functions and roles of some international institutions, organizations (IMF, WTO) and multinational companies are considerably increased. This is actualized via many organizations and multinational organizations as in the imposition of neoliberalism. Multinational companies want to sell their products in international markets, provide raw materials from suitable environments and establish their new production units at most appropriate places in terms of capital/labor relation, market, taxation and infrastructure. Therefore it is aimed to remove or minimize all kinds of social, administrative or legal limitations and barriers for multinational companies. In summary, as stated by Sungur (1996:49), the ultimate solution is the destruction of all structures hindering market logic within the world economy and creation of an environment where goods, money and productive capital trends are liberalized. The key that opens the way for these demands was neoliberalism.

Neoliberalism believes that it should be the mechanism which shapes all economic, social and political decisions in the market and by attacking the concepts like democracy, benefit of society and social state, it changes the meanings of concepts like citizenship and social life (Giroux, 2007:15). This phase of capitalism involves a movement towards consumption in terms of an economic, social and cultural process and as stated above, the impact of capitalism gradually becomes more universal within the frame of globalization via multinational companies (Bocock, 1997:84). Therefore one of the changing facts in this process was the momentum gained by media and advertisement industry without doubt. As a result of capitalism's

new phase (Jameson, 1984) mass consumption pumped by media and advertising controlled by transnational capital became prominent (Şeylan, 2002: 39-40). A popular description of this period was "consumption society". Consumption of material objects was replaced by consumption of images and brands. As a marketing strategy, the indicators on goods begin to play an active role in consumption process. Bauman describes this situation of the present day as follows:

If the criterion of successful life, happiness and even human decency is consumption, then humane desires give themselves away. It is simply not possible for any amount of earnings and exciting sensation to bring a satisfaction in the manner of "reaching the standards promised once": There is no standard to reach! The finish line advances as the runner advances. Objectives are always one step ahead of those, who want to reach them. Records are always broken and there is no limit for the wishes of any human-being (Bauman, 1999: 110).

Consumption culture force the individuals to buy lifestyles based on consumption and continuously creates fake needs. When the authentic usage values of commodities are disappeared, the goods gained new secondary and artificial values. This development liberalized the commodities to undertake a broad range of cultural associations and illusions. Especially the ads exploited this situation to the full extent and associated ordinary consumer goods like soaps, dishwashers and cars with images of romance, exotic desires, beauty, satisfaction, scientific improvement and good life (Featherstone, 1996:39). In this context, the modern individual gets happy as they consume and when they are happy, they steadyingly surrender to the power of the established socio-economic system (Jameson, 1989:104). Communities are assumed

to be liberalized due to their free will, free press and consumer preferences. Whereas the freedom of advanced capitalism in reality in a society increasingly administered more effectively is merely a repressive tolerance based on keeping attention away from the manipulation and conformism of society and accordingly reinforcing manipulation and conformism (Marcuse, 2008).

Childhood is not exempt from all these economic, political and social changes. On the contrary it is seen today that children are also sacrificed for the market economy and became the one and only target audience of producing and marketing companies. So much so that, even the leisure times of children are surrounded by multinational companies. As Şirin (1998, 91-93) also confirmed, childhood of twentieth-century embedded in history as a designed and consumed age. Children became both consumers and consumed of a new and rather broad market. For this reason Mendel (1992) states that children are the new exploitee target of visual media and multinational companies which are the founders of the new world order. Meriç, who wrote the introduction of Şirin's (2006:21) work titled "Our Lesson is Child" mentioned the situation of children as follows;

> …We are now in the phase of electronic childhood. Children all around the world now read the same books, look at the same pictures and play the same games. Globalization now starts from childhood. Are our children the slaves of the new order?

Along with globalized capitalism, most of the children began playing similar games today and children at both ends of the world began wearing the clothes on which they have stickers and posters of cartoon heroes almost simultaneously.

Postman (1995) made an observation with regard to the state of childhood and defended that childhood had disappeared today and only two institutions would stand against it. He stated that these institutions are schools and families and childhood would be saved when these institutions are strengthened and improved. However as Alver (2004:139) mentioned, improvement of economic conditions, fair sharing among the children in the first place, improvement of educational opportunities and increased quality of education have great importance for the protection of children. As will be mentioned in detail in later parts of the study, educational system also became a victim of neoliberal policies. Colleges and universities have been converted into company docks (Giroux, 2007:77). At the same time State creates a fear culture to be able to create neoliberal policies in the country and put across new conservative views abroad. And it keeps children away from all kinds of critical reading. Criticism is rated with treason. Education and media increasingly became adjuncts of official power (Giroux 2003; Barber 2003; Robin 2004). Consequently the notion that racism and class discrimination are merely prejudices and unemployment is the result of weak personality is engraved in the minds of children via both education and media (Giroux, 2007:21). At this stage of neoliberal policies what is clearly demanded from children are "being obedient students at school, erotic objects in advertisement industry and other fields, fruitful customers in consumer market, little devotees in ethereal field, well-behaved apprentices in workshops, little hookers on streets and obligatory refugees of every war (İnal, 2007:36).

3.2.1 Consumer child in free time clamp

Meaning of free time has considerably differentiated until today. For example while it had the meaning of being free/being at liberty/at ease in ancient Greece, it is

not the field of deliberate preferences and liberation today. Now free time is possessed by different corporate apparatus, organizations, industries and became a monopolized commercial field by them. Free time is an explicit/implicit hunting ground for different power structures which hide their various intentions. The rise of capitalism surely has an impact on the perceptual change of free time. As capitalist work order is based on formal, disciplined, normative and organized construct to a great extent, it caused institutionalization of off-hour, that is free/liberated activities of this construct. As free time is discovered as a profitable exchange tool by the capitalist system there has been great differentiation in its nature and usage value. As Aytaç (2006) stated, free time is quantitatively increased and arranged as a consumption base to spin the capitalist wheel. Living spaces where consumerism revealed itself are determined as off-hours free time to a large extent. Free time, which became fertile areas for consumption and consumerism became needed to satisfy the provoked consumption desires, obtain new identity and status over consumption and achieve hedonist satisfaction obtained by consumption. Marx (1997:27, quoted by: Aytaç, 2006) regarded free time as the realm of human development.

> Individuals who don't have free time and spend their lives working for capitalist except for physical interruptions like sleeping, eating and similar activities are lower than even beasts of burden. They are merely machines that produce wealth for others (Marx, 1997:27, quoted by: Aytaç, 2006).

Today people live in a consumption frenzy with their so-called freedom and artificial right to choice in their free time and as Marx stated, they serve the capitalist system even in the period they should use to develop themselves. Another philosopher

who contemplated free time is Lafargue. Lafargue (1999) asserted that mankind should resist the madness called working in his work titled The Right to be Lazy" and recommended that work time should be three hours at most a day. He emphasized that the rest of the time should be free for the people to engage in creative activities and purged from repressive and intervening effects. However the absolute dependency of modern economies on consumption made organization of free time in a commercial/industrial/capitalist way unavoidable. Capitalism treasured the will to spend the most after the twentieth century and brought increased consumption to the forefront (Fromm, 2002: 49-50). Production turned into mass production as a result of technological development and it became possible to produce more by using less time and manpower (Fromm, 1987: 73). Capitalism needed consuming pleasure to sustain its power and destroy this excess production. Lafargue explained this situation as follows;

In the presence of workers' madness to work deathly but live in poverty, the major production problem of capitalism is not finding producers and double their strength but finding consumers, motivate their desires and create fake needs for them (Lafargue, 1999:95).

Free time is necessary not only as a realm of the cultural hegemony of capitalism but also as a source of accumulation (Argın, 1992:27, quoted by: Dağtaş, 2006:17). Therefore capitalism spreads the assertion that real life can be lived in off-hours to society and tries to complete its control on labor process with its control on free time processes (Dağtaş, 2006:18). In line with this goal, opening free time to commercial use and establish as some kind of a power realm. Companies make great investments in free time and organize this time as shopping-oriented (Aytaç, 2006:35). Therefore

free time actions became a merchandise like everything else and determined by the principles of consumption society. This consumerism ideology which asserts that the meaning of life lies in purchasing things and living prearranged experiences tries to legalize capitalism and encourage people to be consumers in real life as they are in their fantasies (Bocock, 1997:58). In capitalist countries welfare is considered equal to being able to consume more and in such a society, everything became to gain a meaning at the existing consumption dimension. Time, space, entertainment became objects to be commodified and consumed and by losing their meanings, they turned into goods to be sold in the market (Tolan, 1981:236). Now commodity and consuming performance function as tools to be superior to the others. Veblen (1995) mentioned the concept of "conspicuous consumption" and defined dominant/idler class as "scavengers". He regarded "conspicuous consumption" as an indicator of the null lifestyle of the rich. Conspicuous culture converted being wealthy and ownership from being a survival tool into being the main goal of life. And consuming more became regarded as the sign of a higher social position (Veblen, l995: 68-87).

Consequently, commodities became the accessories of a merry show and they completely occupied our lives. As surroundings of a commodity are furnished with indicators in such a world, goods not only regarded as commodities but converted into indicators and even indicators are commodified (Debor, 1996). That is why the greatest consumption in consumption society is directed towards commodified indicators. Within the process of consumption's turning into a means of position, prestige and show-off to the extent going beyond the value of usage, media assumes the task of rationalizing consumption (Baudrillard, 1991:33). Limitless domination of advertising and marketing techniques oftentimes plays a big role in the heartily consumption of the offered goods and services by the mass. Individuals cannot mostly

use their free will and individuality privilege against the power of these tools. Individual consciousness became blunt especially against the power of media. These tools spread over all divisions of individual's mental, emotional, ethical, social and private life realms (Schiller, l993). In this context, when the concept of free time is looked at in terms of childhood/children, the circumstance is not different. Free time of children is completely occupied by media industries. It is rather easy to penetrate children's lives by using media organs. Therefore media is one of the effective ways to infiltrate the minds of children (Dağtaş, 2006:21). Therefore multinational companies developed within the frame of capitalist production understanding within the scope of globalization pump consumption via their products and unilaterally transfer their ideologies and cultures of life and entertainment to children in line with their interests (Mora, 2008:8). Free times of children are controlled and disciplined by multinational companies (Aytaç, 2006). For example Warner Brothers, Disneyland, Dreamland and innumerable other companies constitute the leading industries of organized and commercial free time (Jensen, 2003:159-l76). Therefore children are being represented and exposed as a consumption object in today's media.

As it will be examined in detail in later parts of the study, publishers of children's magazines have an eye on the free times of children and established or wanted-to-establish values and beliefs are carried via these magazines. It is attention-grabbing to see that popular children's magazines are used in many fields from the construction of a national identity to focusing children on consumption or popularizing religious beliefs (Terkan, 2009:46). For example in the United States, producers and advertisers determine the dimensions of consumption potential of child viewers/readers and position their broadcasting/publication policies accordingly (Postman, 1995: 139). Consequently the world of children is being surrounded by monotype shops,

restaurants, movies, clothing and completely similar products and services. And children's fancies become directly compatible with the products of multinational companies (Kanner, 2005). In parallel with interests of economic globalization, a uniform child culture is created all around the world.

Lastly, at this stage of capitalism, it requests more free time for everybody because of its economic interests and due to same reasons, it doesn't seem to be intentioned to leave this time empty. The capitalist system aims to take hold of all kinds of free time whether via social struggles or technological developments and children have their share of this approach (Dağtaş, 2006:18). Therefore it is very important from the point of childhood to create free times as an alternative to free time processes emptied by capitalism and brought under its hegemony (Argın, 1992:28).

3.2.2 Relationship of neoliberal policies and education

In this part of the study the effects of neoliberal policies on education will be addressed and these effects will be interpreted in terms of critical pedagogy. After outlining a general framework, educational policies and the changed curriculum from 2002 until today, the period included in this study, will be addressed.

The trend of change which commenced in 1970's on a global scale had changed the given social relations to a great extent and education was one of the fields affected by this process of change. Neoliberal policies which define change and determine its tendency also redefined goals and operation of the educational system (Ercan, 1998). Education was identified with market mechanisms in terms of content on a global scale during the process of change but the change occurred in underdeveloped or developing countries took place via external interference, in other words, structural

adjustment programs (Eroğlu, 2005). These changes have been introduced as reforms made to improve education. These "reforms" towards education can be classified under three goals. The first group (Cornay, 1995) consists of reforms to re-determine the goal and content of education in line with demands of the market. The second group contains reforms with regard to financing education and the last one is composed of reforms to rearrange education's role in social dynamism and egalitarian political function in compliance with educational agenda of neoliberalism.

In the implementation of neoliberal policies, international financial institutions (such as IMF, WB, WTO and their binding agreements) had an active role in the capitalization of fields which are not managed by capital such as education and healthcare. (http://arsiv.mmo.org.tr/pdf/11954.pdf). The arguments of WB and IMF to bind education with market process can be listed as follows; government's disparities and unfair distribution of limited resources caused by them will be removed, public funding is not enough for educational expenditures, so many students are excluded from education after basic education, especially in developing countries and lastly, educational services provided by private sector would increase the limited educational supply (Eroğlu, 2005). According to GATS, which can be regarded as the commercial constitution of neoliberalism, education is one of the primary industries predicted to be commercialized by being subjected to conditions of the market economy (Eroğlu, 2005). The structural change resulting from this institution and agreements is reflected in the form of corporate formation of schools. This market-indexed system imposes on students that they would take education provided that they cover the costs of school (Oktik, 2002). Education has been addressed as human capital and begun to be seen as an economic investment tool. Thus education has begun to shift from social realm to economic realm (Eroğlu, 2005).

As mentioned above, education has become defined as a commodity not different from other commodities from the point of neoliberal policies. In this process, many neoliberal thinkers frequently stated that creation of a competitive market in education is inevitable and education should now be regarded as a private commodity (Ercan, 1998). However, while these considerations are being expressed, the fact that neoliberalism itself is the source of inequalities is forgotten and reason of the failure of those who were not successful in this system is introduced as personal insufficiency. In short, as Şentürk (2008: 76.) stated, the ideology of talent in neoliberalism justifies the contrariety of master-slave relation in essence. While talented ones deserve the highest payouts, those who are not talented are 'temporaries', 'others' and they deserve to be unemployed.

At this point the critical pedagogy primarily opposes to the commercialization of education and turning education, which is both a right and service, into a commodity on sale and calls attention to drawbacks of this attempt. For critical pedagogues, both children and teachers are negatively affected by these processes, which are experienced in the field of education together with neoliberalism. Apple (2006: 19) addresses to "disqualification" and "re-qualification" process of neoliberalism[6]as follows:

A complicated process like disqualification and re-qualification is on the agenda and a significant number of teachers lose their control on a great part of curriculum and pedagogy. Because business ideologies and practices infiltrate right to the center of so many classrooms.

---

[6] Large enterprises and defense industry attacks to schools by penetrating in all respects. As the social meaning and dimension of education disappear in favor of the market, the educators are transformed like academic contents; and especially teachers lose their autonomy in the lessons they give and need to establish their authority on their students via markets. This leads teachers to lose control: "*That is to say that as teachers lose their curriculum skills and pedagogic skills to big publishing houses, techniques for better controlling the students replace these skills*" (Apple, 2006: 191).

Academic research is being transformed into a commercial activity by breaking away from scientific orientations. The meaning of research concept is conveyed to the hierarchy of the validity and appreciated by market terms. Academic discipline has been found to be valuable and beneficial as long as it serves to political economy and manages to reproduce it (Ergur, 2003, 185-186). The main goal of education should be developing the awareness and critical consciousness of people which would assist them in actualizing their freedom effectively (Blackledge and Hunt, 1989: 121). However neoliberal education process serves to meet the demands of market and produce the rapidly consumed knowledge instead of giving free rein to the human mind and reveal its potential (Ergur, 2003, 193-194). Critical pedagogues attach importance to dialogue between teacher and student at this point. With proper dialogue to be established, traditional roles of students and teachers should be changed and liberating forms of the curriculum should be developed. For example Freire (1998) argues communication cannot be available without dialogue and accurate education is not possible without communication. There is a narrator (subject) and a listener (object). And without dialogue/communication between them, teacher fills the students with empty information as if they are an investment object. Education should be re-established as a liberation praxis to reveal a "problem identifying educational model" instead of this "banker training model[4]and it is only possible[7]with a form of dialogue to be established between teachers and students (Freire, 1998). Otherwise the individual does not to perceive reality critically and has difficulty in embracing it. In this direction, it should be accepted that knowledge and

---

[7] "Traditional banker training model" regards people as passive and influenceable beings. In this understanding students memorize the information imposed on them and their critical consciousness becomes "incomplete" (Freire,1998).Whenas the "Problem Identification Training Model" is a process of "dialogue" where teachers and learners teach and learn simultaneously and investigate the information together. The hierarchical relationship between teachers and learners is removed and teacher and students become responsible for this process together (Freire, 1998).

power should always be arguable, accountable and reproachable to establish a liberal dialogue. However such an educational process would direct them to a political field by ensuring them to put what they have learned into practice in different fields and thinking about democratic participation (Giroux, 2007: 31-32). Schools need to be transformed into areas producing critical knowledge and social-political actions. Schools should educate their students to be critical citizens and play an active role in social transformation and provide them the language of criticism and hope that would enable them to systematically conceptualize the relationship between collective aspirations of social order and their own wishes and aspirations (McLaren, 2003: 178 -179). However, due to company-oriented pedagogy, democratic demands and practices of civil society become ineffective and the individuals passing through this education system do not see the gender, class, race inequalities created by the order. While knowledge is seen as capital for economic investments in this process, expansion of the struggle for power, self-consciousness, freedom and justice is not interested in (Giroux, 2007: 19-20). In brief, neoliberalism weakens or even destroys education for and for the benefit of people for the sake the economic values (profit, ownership, etc.) of the markets. This process also leads the oppressed masses to perceive education as a means which merely provides the opportunity to move up the social ladder or a power to be in request in markets.

3.2.2.1 Neoliberal education policies in Turkey

Market-oriented applications which came into effect in 1980's in Turkey increased decisiveness of capital in social life and at the same time, caused a further increase in the effectiveness of capital. With the "Economic Stabilization Program" announced on January 24, 1980, many changes have taken place in social and cultural

areas as well as in economy (Küçüker, 2010). Especially after 1980, change efforts in Turkey gathered pace with adjustment programs by receiving support from international organizations. (Küçüker, Gürbüz, 2012: 194).In 1980's, "Industrial Training Project", "Industrial Schools Project" and "Non-Formal Vocational Training Project" have been carried out respectively in 1984 and 1988, in 1985 and in 1987. In the following years, with the "National Education Development Project Loan" signed with World Bank in 1990 amounting 90 million dollars and with the "Basic Education Project Loans" signed in 1998 and 2002, each one amounting 300 million dollars, an extensive interference period in national education system had commenced (Eğitimsen, 2003).

Public services were taken into the sphere of influence of global powers and institutional basis of developments ensuring the local ones to be subject to global was set In Turkey by GATS (General Agreement on Trade In Services). Turkey signed this agreement on March 26, 1995 and made a commitment to liberalize vocational services, communication services, contracting services, educational services, environmental services, financial services, healthcare services and tourism services along with sub-sectors of these services (Eroğlu, 2005). The signing of GATS has been an important turn in terms of getting educational and public realms into the market. In addition, WB put the education sector on its agenda as of 1970's within the scope of struggle against poverty and began giving credits and grants towards education sector. However, WB's radical intervention in education system became evident in the 1990s. Between 1990 and 2003, three project agreements in the amount of $ 690 million were signed (Özdemir, Beltekin, 2012: 47). These projects increased the sensitivity of education to the economy and while it was planned towards the national market and public sector, education became regarded as a sector producing

the labor qualities required by the global market after 1980. In conditional adjustment loans given by WB, principles such as privatization of schools, renewal of curriculum and determination of qualifications of education according to the labor required by global market have been foregrounded (Özdemir, Beltekin, 2009: 271). At the same time IMF had new demands in terms of labor wages, number and type of employment at educational institutions via educational policies, brought new approaches to investment and current expenditures planned for education (Özdemir, Beltekin, 2009:259) and used all of these new approaches to create the neoliberal society that they desire. When all educational projects of IMF, WB and GATS are examined, it is understood that they are the intermediaries to educate people who would have the knowledge and skills needed by capitalism.

When it came to 2002, the first action of the winning party of elections, AKP (Justice and Development Party), was announcing the changes they would like to make in Turkish educational system within the scope of their "Immediate Action Plan". AKP changed the curriculum of primary education in 2004 and accused the old curriculum of not complying with the new world order and its requirements (www.akparti.org.tr/program). The new curriculum, aimed at educating children with an entrepreneurial spirit, demands that education as a whole should be directed towards "productivity" starting from classroom activities as envisaged by neoliberalism. This productivity language is not intended to be a factor in children's versatile development, but as a means to adapt comfortably to the market (T.C. MEB, 2004: 364, İnal, 2013).New curriculum describes the desired youth as follows.

Programs pay attention to a stable, productive and sustainable economy and require the student to be involved in economic life. For this reason, it doesn't content itself with students' examining the economic life of the society they live in and

generate ideas in this respect but also guides them to make use of the possible economic opportunities in the rapidly changing world. This way students would not have any difficulties to keep pace with their future working lives with an entrepreneurial spirit as successful individuals in an increasingly globalized world MEB, 2005).

This changes in implementation and curriculum are treated as a simple program change. But it is clear that the neoliberal philosophy that has rapidly enfolded the educational system in recent years, completely enters the lives of children via the changes made and the new curriculum programs and becomes the main determinant for structuring the educational system (EğitimSen, 2005). Another change made during the power of AKP took place in textbooks. The market of textbooks was created in 2003 and Ministry of National Education became the biggest customer by purchasing books in the amount of 300–400 million TL in the market every year (http://www.kesk.org.tr/content/e%C4%9Fitimde-akpnin-y%C4%B1l%C4%B1). The effective role of teachers in the selection of textbooks has been taken away. Purchasing the books of the lowest bidder in the tenders opened for textbooks caused the competition to be based on price instead of quality.

One of the biggest changes made in this period is undoubtedly the "4+4+4 Law" which entered into force in 2012. It was asserted that this law amendment would increase pedagogical requirements technical skills of children. However it is clear that this law serves two main goals (Özsoy, 2012:109); speeding up commodification process in education and increase child labor exploitation to meet cheap and qualified labor need of capital. All educational "reforms" made by AKP comply with the neoliberal-conservative ideology of the party (İnal, 2012:86). AKP's conservative democracy approach defends neoliberal political economies like

liquidation of the welfare state, privatization and flexible employment which are presented as a solution to accumulation crisis of capitalism as of 1970's. With this argument it can be said that AKP had adopted the key concepts of conservatism such as authority, tradition and obedience especially with their aspects inherited from Thatcher (Belsey, 1994; Köker, 1999). In this context conservatism emphasizes on continuity of social institutions, private ownership, authority and hierarchy and regards the society as an organism rather than a mechanism. When it was looked at from economic perspective, it takes shape with regard to neoliberal conjuncture existing in social conditions (Bora, 1999:54). In short, the education system in Turkey has been continuously changing since 2002 within the framework of establishing "Market Islam" which originated from the marriage of Islam with market mechanisms (İnal, 2012:87). While the students are taught the merits of entrepreneurship, those who are seen as not having the capacity to be an entrepreneur are accused of being personally insufficient and deep inequalities arising from capitalism itself are being camouflaged, poverty is associated with fate and the fate of poor is considered equal to "charitable state".

Universities also took a major blow from the developments in the field of education in Turkey. The effects of neoliberal policies on universities can be observed in terms of three major factors; emergence of paid education, adoption of "university-industry" cooperation programs and the "entrepreneur university" model which came to existence based on other two factors. Neoliberal educational policies pushed universities to be professionalized like companies and caused differentiation in academic roles. Primarily it directs scientists to think like entrepreneurs not like scientists (İnal, 2004:114).

During the process of neoliberal globalization, restructuring of universities especially excites attention of capital sector (institutions like TÜSİAD "Turkish Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association" etc.) TÜSİAD report argues that conduct of educational activities should be involved in market mechanisms and states that only the already wealthy benefits from higher education and financing the activity at stake by public resources creates a social injustice (Soysüren, 2003: 74-75). However pursuant to Article 26 of Universal Declaration of Human Rights, basic education is a right and it's the responsibility of the state to provide it for all. However the concept of "free education" lost its reality in a significant part of the society today. This situation led the judgment that prevents to regard "free quality education" as a right to dominate the society (Eroğlu, 2005). The State had transferred its responsibility for education to nongovernmental organizations, charity organizations and other international aid organizations. Some projects and campaigns listed by Kemal İnal (2006;7-8) lay this situation bare: "Hundred Percent Support for Education Project" initiated by Prime Ministry; "If Life Starts Again" initiated by a group composed of students and faculty members of Van Yüzüncü Yıl University; "Snowdrops" executed by ÇYDD (The Association for Supporting Contemporary Life) and Turkcell; "Starfish" by Garanti Bank; "Contemporary Boarding High School Girls Project" by ÇYDD and Schneider Electric; "I Have a Daughter in Anatolia and She Will Be a Teacher" by ÇYDD, international trucking agency Sertrans, Ege Kimya and Turkish Education; "Every Girl of Ours is a Star" by ÇYDD and Mercedes-Benz; "Girls of Information Society" by ÇYDD and Ericsson; "Village of Love" by Antalya Governorship and multi-partnered projects of "Career Pursuing and Integrating in Production for High School Graduate Girls" and "They Were Also Children"; "Dad, Send Me to School" by Milliyet Newspaper; "Let's Go to School

Girls" by Ministry of National Education (MEB); "Classroom of Stars" by TEGV (Education Volunteers Foundation of Turkey) and Kanal D; "Harmony in Education" by Arçelik; "Long Live Our School" by the Ministry of National Education; "Support to Computer Aided Education Campaign" by MEB and "We Grow as We Read" by Tatvan Dumlupınar Elementary School.

As a result of these policies carried into effect during approximately twenty-five years in parts in Turkey, educational inequalities increased, knowledge and education monopoly of the rich expanded and the idea of gaining a future via education for the poor became uncertain. Transformations in the ideological and cultural universe of liberalism accompanying this process converted public meaning and function of education and abolished the right to be educated.

3.2.2.2 Educational Function of Children's Magazines

Children's magazines and education have always been arm-in-arm throughout history. When the development of children's magazines is examined, it is seen that first magazines published in the world and in Turkey were educational. The first children's magazines and those following them always gave education a weighted place. Therefore when analyzing children's magazines, they also should be regarded as complements of educating the children in their free time after school. All beliefs and values wanted to be implanted in children's minds by way of education are in compliance with the contents of children's magazines. Another aspect of children's magazines which makes them educationally effective was the attention-grabbing visual material they use. While children's magazines call children to have fun, they also convey and reproduce the dominant ideologies taught at school.

Children's magazines are mainly published for children at elementary education age who attend the school. These magazines focus their goals on education and entertainment of primary school students who they have chosen as their target audience (http://dhgm.meb.gov.tr/yayimlar/dergiler/Milli_Egitim_Dergisi/151/simsek.htm).Since the first children's magazine, the common point of children's magazines was education and entertainment. For example, the first children's magazine published in Turkey was Mümeyyiz and it set its goal as educating and upbringing children as well as possible. The below quotations from Mümeyyiz magazine explicitly confirms this intention.

> Children, if you say "we are going to school, read and study", our reply to you will be "We see you." As a matter of fact you go to school, read fascicles and books and study until the evening. But when we see the schools of other nations and their children calmly attending to school and sitting in classrooms in a well-behaved manner, we don't like the noise you make at every chance and your behaviors on the streets after you leave the school... (http://fabilog.com/osmanli-dan-gunumuze-cocuk-dergileri/).

Assistant editor of TRT Child Magazine which is published nowadays and will be examined in depth in the research section of this study reflects their publication goals as follows;

> Our goal is to make the educational process a systematic and entertaining source, convey studied, evaluated and planned information to our children, ensuring them to be up to date and prepare study files not to entertain children but to direct them towards a certain target (Yiğitçibaşı, 2014:47).

This clearly shows that children's magazines published until today continued their existence in parallel with school education along their qualities to follow up current affairs and entertain. It is possible to encounter the works of children's literature, which meets a significant part of reading materials of primary school students, in children's magazines. These literary works are in rapport with the main goals of school education.

The reason of this rapport is media's being a product of a capitalist structuring like education. Same as education, media has been assuming the role of a conveyor of dominant ideologies at all times via its discourses having economic and political power patterns and continues to function on a basis where hegemonic discourse in daily life is reproduced and legitimized (Tutar, 2014). Therefore, in parallel with the system of education, children's magazines hide class differences by minimizing the differences between the rulers and the ruled in children's minds (Köker, 1998: 74) and thus, class positions of subjects in a society are naturalized.

Childhood is very important in terms of adaptation period of individuals to social structure. Therefore it has an extremely strategic position for capitalism aiming to sustain its consumption-oriented existence and create generations who would not query its system. Children are seen as the locomotive power in the operation of the capitalist system and they are being bound to current consumption order via the information they obtain through children's magazines and education (Öcel, 2002: 378-379). For example, cultural industry of imperialist countries like USA reproduce virtual heroes like X-Men, Spider-Man, Pokemon, Terminator, a global neoliberal childhood culture in aggressive forms and this pattern coincides with the reasons for wars that are started by USA to dominate the whole world and legitimize their attacks

in the eye of "future generations" (İnal, 2007:111). In children's magazines, reasons and consequences of the economic crisis are being continuously reduced to individual dimension and reasons of all social issues are being sought one-by-one in persons. The frequently emphasized message in these productions is as follows.

The question is not the system. Some people who got out of the system caused this disaster. Immediately a scapegoat is found and destroyed (Yazıcı, 2013 quoted by: Kurtoğlu, 2013:142).

The system has no intention to make the children breath as they are the very thing for the capitalist market. Free times of children remaining from education are filled with children's magazines and everything is done to integrate young generations with the system.

3.3 Democracy and Child

Wealth of capitalist society expresses itself as an enormous accumulation of commodities (İnsel, 2004:31). Therefore capitalism, can be quintessentially defined as commodification (Şaylan, 2003:33-36). The arising inequalities are camouflaged in this commodification process on the grounds that limitations brought about for the benefit of community or public will ruin natural mechanisms, repress free individual selections, limit production and ultimately reflect on everyone in the form of narrowed welfare (Bauman, 1996: 222). Capitalist ownership needs non-economic regulations and the support of repressive forces to preserve and camouflage the system (Wood, 2003:191-193). In this context, one of the areas underwent change during the development process of capitalism is the legal system. Yüksel (2001:61)

had summarized the changes in the field of law as follows;

> Bourgeoisie, which became effective in the economic and commercial life of the
> society first, then had a say in political power and while it cleared its way, also
> created a radical change in legal relations. Disorganized legal structure of feudal
> period is replaced by the effort to unite and simplify the law... When transiting
> from urban economy to national economy, it became mandatory to transit from
> disorganized law to unity of law judicial unity.

Following the World War Two, international law gained a different dimension
depending on the globalization of social, economic, political and cultural relations.
Many issues once fell into the realm of state's authority gradually became determined
at an international and supranational level and the number of international agreements
gained steam (Yüksel, 2001:69). One of the most important agreements is the
"United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Children" dated 1989, which was
drawn up for children and accepted by many countries. But the issue of "rights"
should be evaluated by considering the fact that capitalism creates some artificial
needs and continuously imposes the thought that these are irrevocable rights.
Therefore when considering children's rights in the capitalist system, it is important to
comprehend what are the rights acquired as a natural consequence of being human
and what are artificial rights imposed by capitalism to protect and develop the
interests of the capitalist system. Therefore all rights given by the system, albeit with
a bad grace, should be queried. Because capitalism exceedingly internalizes the rights
that it reluctantly accepted in following periods. For example it is seen that right to
education is exceedingly internalized by capitalism and began having the
characteristics to serve the interests of capitalism (Onay, 2009:128). In this context

capitalism does not only determine the periods of human life with all aspects but also makes an effort to solve the problems originating from the system itself by using the tools that it developed to serve its own interests. Social rights' being the subject of interest of capitalism apparently cannot go beyond to find solutions for a limited number of privileged people. (Berman, 1999)

For example organizations like ILO and UNICEF working on children's rights couldn't ensure a permanent improvement in the subject of children's rights even though they exist for many years as they didn't get to the core of the problem and face the nature of capitalist relations. It should not be forgotten that these organizations are also products of the capitalist system (Fuat, 2008). As stated by Akyüz (2013), hundreds of thousands children in many regions in the Middle East, Asia, Latin America, Pacific and tens of engagement areas are handed out guns and sent to kill or die at the present time. Children are still being used in many unfavorable activities including being sex slaves and the capitalist system sees children as an exploitation tool and cheap labor. Consequently studies conducted with regard to the problems of children cannot go beyond hiding the essence of problems. In this context this study, subject of which is "child" deals with the problems of children (children's rights, poverty, child labor...) and what kind of solution methods are embraced to approach these problems has importance in terms of the examination part of the study.

3.3.1 Children's Rights

We are now passing through a period during which the structural problems of capitalism are tried to be solved by legal mechanisms and institutional means in conjunction with the New World Order and globalization winds constituting its infrastructure. Capitalism is extremely skillful in taking all kinds of precautions to

sustain and strengthen its existence and in implementing them. For this reason, as Bauman also pointed out, capitalism doesn't have the moral structure to grant any right without having any interest even if it appears to be reluctant. It is therefore necessary to have a skeptical view of why rights are granted to those who are exploited and wanted to be exploited more excluded social groups who have no wealth at all (Onay, 2009).

With the acceptance that childhood is a special stage in early 18th century, the belief that children are beings to be protected has also begun to settle (Dikmen, 1998: 37). A major transformation of childhood originates from the French revolution. The bourgeoisie which was the driving force behind the revolution, reassessed the children and began to see them as potential entrepreneurs/citizens of the future in line with the emerging need for a new economic/social structure (Spring, 2014). With the acceptance of childhood as a separate and special stage in the 18th century, understanding of children's rights also emerged (Dikmen, 1998: 38). However, when list of classic rights coming from 18th century to the day[8] it is seen that all the rights except the right to life are for adults. Children cannot own properties and even if their ideas are consulted, they cannot make the final decisions and the most notable thing is that children never had the right to participate in politics which underlies the classical rights throughout history (Turanlı, 2004). Besides even today, millions of children are undernourished, have sheltering problems and a great majority live in poverty.

---

[8] Classic rights (first generation rights) are listed between articles 3 and 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; Right to life, ban on slavery, ban on torture, right to recognition as a person, equality before the law, right to effective judiciary, ban on arbitrary detention, right to public hearing, right to privacy, right to freedom of movement, right to asylum, right to a nationality, right to marriage and family, right to freedom of assembly and association, right to take part in government, right to participate in cultural life, right to own property, right to freedom of thought and religion, right to freedom of opinion and expression (http://www.tihk.gov.tr/www/files/531dba2883d7e.pdf).

That is the vast majority of children do not even have the most basic rights today (Franklin, 1993: 16-20).

According to Franklin (1993, 30-35), there are four categories of rights under the general title of children's rights. They are classified as prosperity right, protective rights, adult rights and rights in the face of parents. Adult rights suggest that children should also have the rights of adults (right to vote, driving right, right to marry). Likewise, rights against parents argue that children must have more independence against their parents before reaching the age of majority. Prosperity rights and protective rights granted to children do not change any of the social or legal status of children in the face of adults. At the same time, as the courts cannot reach a verdict with regard to the elimination of poverty on earth, prosperity rights of children cannot be completely met.

Even though social rights were mentioned during World War One for the first time, their acceptance via international agreements was realized after World War Two. "The United Nations International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights", one of the most important agreements of the time, mentions children's rights and included children's rights to nutrition, education, health and protection in detail. However in reality it seems more accurate to define these economic-social rights as Donnely (1995: 41) did: " *In the proper meaning of the word, economic and social rights are just privileges granted to some people from others' pockets by the state rather than simply being rights*. For this reason, aside from social rights, even classical rights seem to be hard to carry into effect today.

In later years, the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child, which was adopted by the League of Nations in 1924, formed the basis of the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, which was unanimously adopted by the United Nations General

Assembly in 1959. In the same period, the United Nations General Assembly unanimously adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. The United Nations announced the year 1979 as the "World Children's Year" and after 10-year efforts of Human Rights Commission, the United Nations General Assembly adopted Convention on the Rights of the Child on 17 November 1989 by a great consensus (Sunal, 2010: 6). Even though its origin was the Declaration of the Rights of the Child adopted in 1924, children's rights were put on the world agenda with the "UN Convention on the Rights of the Child" dated 1989 and therefore it can be stated that this is yet a very new conceptualization of rights (Yolcuoğlu, 2009). The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, which was adopted on November 20, 1989 is the most important document created in this field. When it comes to 1997, it is understood what a great impact it has had when considered that the number of countries that don't approve the convention is only six (Güven, 1997). The provisions of the Convention on the Rights of the Child can be collected into four main groups (Dikmen, 1998).

    a. Right to Life; Right to Sheltering, Right to Adequate Nutrition, Right to Benefit from Healthcare Services.

    b. Right to Development; It contains what children need to develop. (Right to Education and Free Time, Right to Reach to Knowledge etc.)

    c. Right to Protection; It includes rights to protect children from all forms of exploitation.

    d. Right to Participation: They grant children to play an active role in their societies. (Like freely speaking their ideas, being able to have a say in situations that would affect their own lives).

The Convention on the Rights of the Child was signed by Turkey in 1995 and became a part of domestic law. When this convention is used as a base, 96 percent of the world's children live in countries that ratified this convention which consequently has the obligation to recognize and protect children's rights. However, as in the case of Turkey, it is obvious that it couldn't prevent children from being exposed to all kinds of ill-treatment and exploitation, more than four million children from working under very harsh conditions, from being subject to long years of imprisonment on the grounds that they are destructive to the security of state and from being tortured at police stations. (Ozansoy, 1999). In addition to this, one of the rights that stands out in the convention is the right to "free time" as previously mentioned in the study. Article 31 of the convention emphasizes the necessity for children to play with toys in their free time and states that toys should not be underestimated because children are getting prepared for social life via the games they play (Akıllıoğlu, 1995). However children become victims of various ideologies during their free time exploited by multinational companies and as previously stated, they are simply away from making a choice in their free times (as mentioned in the previous chapter). As Tomlinson (1999: 69) mentions, children have become potential carriers of American capitalist cultural values in their free times via Disney's comic strips/magazines sold in a widespread manner especially in the Third World and animated cartoons broadcasted on televisions since 1940's. In Mattelart and Dorfmani's work regarding the ideological themes used in comic strips, the characteristics of these comics strips are enumerated as follows; obsession of money, compelling consumption, continuous reference to exotic countries (third world countries) which are sources of wealth and waiting for this richness to be possessed by western adventurers, introducing third

world nations with stereotyped phrases in terms of culture and race (and especially by depicting people of these countries as children), alleging capitalist class relations as natural, unchangeable and morally legitimate (Sungur, 2007:136). Erdoğan and Alemdar also stated the features of the said cartoons strips, magazines/novels as follows;

> When we look at the cartoon and comic works of Disney, we can find signs of a certain lifestyle and thought. In the said animated cartoons, not human life but losing ownership is dominant. Consciousness of being rich by working hard, using one's mind, individualism, not trusting anyone and chance is popularized in animated cartoons.

Therefore the right of children "to freely use their free time and use it for their own development" stated in the Convention on the Rights of the Child is not available in real life within the capitalist system. In this context, it is necessary to recognize that the right to rest, which is one of the social rights, is a right designed for the interests of capitalism. Because it is seen that free time, the most important factor of the right to rest is designed as a timezone extremely internalized by capitalism (Bauman, 1999: 132).

Other notable articles of the convention are those related to "Media". The obligations of media in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child are specified in Articles 12, 13, 14 and 17. Related articles are as follows [9];

Article 12: States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the

---

[9] For further information, see: http://www.unicef.org/turkey/crc/_cr23b.html

child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child.

Article13: The child shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of the child's choice. The exercise of this right may be subject to certain restrictions, but these shall only be such as are provided by law and are necessary for the respect of the rights or reputations of others or for the protection of national security or of public order or of public health or morals.

Article 14: States Parties shall respect the right of the child to freedom of thought, conscience and religion.

Article 17: States Parties recognize the important function performed by the mass media and shall ensure that the child has access to information and material from a diversity of national and international sources, especially those aimed at the promotion of his or her social, spiritual and moral well-being and physical and mental health.

Although the children's "right to freedom of expression" was frequently mentioned in the above articles, it is also seen that they would make wrong choices and get harmed unless they are not subject to protective paternalism[10]. For example, as stated in the convention; "States Parties shall ensure that the child has access to information and material from a diversity of national and international sources, encourage the mass media to disseminate information and material of social and

---

[10] Quoted from Geoffrey Scarre, Children and Paternalism by Bob Franklin, Child Rights, p. 43.

cultural benefit *to the child and protect children from harmful publications."* At this point, however, the state shall decide what is beneficial and what is harmful to children. For example even though Article 36 of Convention states that "No one *can use children for their own interests. The state protects every child in such a circumstance"* children are being used for advertising, that is in line with the interests of advertisers, and the state sees no harm in doing so and allows it.

At the same time, according to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, every individual is regarded as a child until to the age of 18. But this definition is quite abstract and problematic. The fact that a child who is able to do so many things such as material production, studentship, childbearing is not allowed to use vote before the age of 19 proves that this is the result of an adult aristocracy that excludes youth but not an issue of age. (Inal, 2014: 293). In fact the status of children as being nobody created by adults has no place for political rights, they are economically dependent and have no right to ownership, they jauntily obey the arbitrary and unlimited implementations reaching from families and schools to state and they are subject to physical and psychological violence of adults throughout their lives. They cannot vote, but they can go to war, they cannot decide to have sexual intercourse or marry but they can give in marriage by their parents' decision at very early ages, they can earn money by working on streets on the streets or at workshops but they don't have the power of disposition on their personal assets (Turanlı, 2004). Even though children's rights movements originate from an approach querying this status of children and reacting their deprivation of so many rights, they paradoxically carry the flag of this movement. And the rights of children and authority to make a decision are still belong to adults.

UNICEF, which operates in line with the Convention on Children's Rights (CCR) and has been affected by Maslow, suggested that a horizontal order of priority or hierarchy should be set with regard to children's needs. Primarily, the priority regarding the fulfillment of their needs is taken into consideration.In this context if a child dies due to poor nutrition, the efforts to make his/her birth safe and protect him/her from diseases or avoiding accidents don't have any meaning. Likewise, it has no value to educate a child who is extremely hungry for learning something (Sunal, 2010:60). Meeting their basic needs can be seen as the first step towards survival, but it does not provide a concrete view in terms of eliminating the existing inequalities. For this reason, instead of meeting their basic needs, egalitarian approach argued by Dworkin (1988) becomes more meaningful, as far as the children are concerned. Because what really matters is the equal distribution of resources at the beginning. This is crucial for the welfare of children. In this regard, the goal should not be to meet the basic needs of children but to equally distribute all resources in a society to children (Sunal, 2010).

For example, one of UNICEF's practices in our country is the "Haydi Kızlar Okula (Let's Go to School Girls!" project. Within the scope of this project, a letter on behalf of the UNICEF Turkish National Committee is included in the credit card payment envelopes. With this letter, cardholders are invited to charitable events and are told that with a small amount of money they will pay each month, Turkey will be able to find solutions to many humane problems, such as vaccination against seven deadly diseases, prevention of diarrhea or support for the "Let's Go to School Girls" campaign (Temelli, 2004 Quoted by: Nakiboğlu, 2004). Thus the system which makes the rich richer and render the poor helpless is never questioned, poverty issue is assigned to private realm and "charity organizations" to a great extent and a society

of benevolence which secures enrichment is created (Nakiboğlu, 2004). At this point Freire's (1998: 24-25) definition of "fake magnanimity", which he used for attempts to soften the force of oppressors comes to mind. Freire suggests that the oppressors are also obliged to eternalize injustice to have the opportunity to express their "magnanimity" and defines real magnanimity as below;

> True magnanimity is the struggle itself to destroy the causes feeding fake charity. Fake charity obliges those who are frightened, overpowered and "rejected by life" to beg for with trembling hands. True magnanimity is trying to ensure these hands - whether belong to an individual or to people - to need help less and become working hands that would transform the world (Freire, 1998: 25).

Exploitation of the child, being sexually abused, being the victim of violence etc. has become one of the most chaotic dilemmas of the modern world. Children's rights movement of the twentieth century is rooted in the modern childhood paradigm. However, as noted above, the process commenced with the emergence of modern childhood paradigm and continued with the Convention on the Rights of the Child is far from being a child-centered process as asserted or desired which aims at the participation of child. At the same time, the idea that children's fate can change through charitable projects is constantly dictated (İnal, 2014: 285).

It is clear that children constitute a unique political group of [11] exclusion and

---

[11] Three reasons are alleged to legitimize paternalist policies. The first one is the claim that children lack the required rationality and experience for political autonomy. As children are not able to make their own choices, these choices should be made by adults. The second assertion is that children will approve the rightness of decisions taken by adults on their behalf as they grow up. And finally, children are in need of adults in many respects and they cannot take care of themselves (Franklin, 1993).

paternalist policies. Children constitute a clear example of the violation of democratic principle by being subject to a number of laws which they do not participate in (Franklin, 1993: 37). They are excluded even in the matters which are important for their future (education, nuclear weapons etc.). Therefore despite the fact that there are so many regulations regarding children's rights, the dilemma between the idealized forms of children's rights on the legal basis and the hardface of reality hinders solution of problems. Therefore, as long as the equal distribution of resources is not possible, it is neither possible to talk about a childhood fact which has equal rights, freedom and living conditions.

3.3.2 Child Labor

The use of child labor in the center country and neighboring ones can only be explained by examining the changes in power relations between labor and capital and which policies the capital pursues to reproduce its economic, social and political power on a global scale. Therefore in order to examine child labor, it is necessary to look at economic, political and ideological structures which regulate labor-capital relations (Özdemir and Yücesan, 2005). Today the phenomenon of working children is considered as a serious problem both in the center and surrounding countries.And the basics of this phenomenon should be addressed together with economic, social, political problems and problems in other fields (Yetim and Çağlayandereli, 2007).

Exploitation of child labor refers to children's working for a fee or in family businesses or for educational purposes that would negatively affect their physical, mental and spiritual development and threaten their health. Exploitation of child labor is the most widespread type of physically and spiritually exploiting children (Akyüz, 2013:532). Generating maximum profit, which is the main reason for child labor

exploitation is also one of the reasons for being of capitalism. In this context, annihilating or trying to annihilate child labor exploitation is a fact against the nature of capitalist production. At this point it is possible to say that capitalism actually doesn't annihilate child labor exploitation but tries to be seen as if it annihilates it. The best examples of this situation are laws enacted by the system to prevent child labor and some international agreements.

Child labor is not a recently-emerged concept. From ancient times until today children worked in many ways to contribute to the family economy. The date of children's working as shepherds, farm laborers or workers dates back to old times (İnal, 2007). Small, extremely fragile and vulnerable children bodies have been subject to forced labor throughout human history. But in conjunction with industrial revolution workshops turned into factories and using child labor as slave labor became widespread (Maclennan, 1995:145). After the industrial revolution apprentice children helping to their families in the past became "wage workers" (Işıklı, 1995:25). Prior to modern periods child labor was used to contribute free-of-charge to the labor of household or financially contribute to the family budget. But no other system has benefited from child labor this inhumanely as capitalism (http://blogumuz.blogcu.com/calisan-cocuklarin-egitimi-1-blogumuz-kemal-inal/932555).

In spite of the new childhood ideology discovered in the modern period, 18th and 19th centuries has witnessed horrible scenes in terms of child labor. Especially 19th century is rather different than previous centuries in terms of horrible exploitation of child labor (İnal, 2014:387). For example children, who were purchased to work in England were enchained, little girls working in mines in

Belgium were forced to be prostitutes.[12] Holt's (2000:140) findings regarding the children's being put to work are as follows[13];

They were slaves in the proper meaning of the word and were forced by their families to work. Already half-starved families would be really starving if their children would not work... These families were so poor and the small amount of money that their children would bring in was not enough for them to make their living.

in the 19th century discussions regarding the demand for child labor and the argument that children should attend school was intensified. There are some arguments that factories have saved the children from streets and prepared them for life but opposing arguments defended the opinion that children need to go to school because working at factories adversely affects the physical and psychological development. (Ertürk, 1997:332). Even though the second opinion prevailed in time and the number of school attending children is significantly increased but this circumstance could not go beyond projecting a different world for children of middle and upper-class families (İnal, 2014:389).In addition 19th century both frequently witnessed labor force and became the period when laws regarding child labor are enacted (İnal, 2014:390).The first one of these laws was "Health and Morals of Apprentices Act" dated 1802. But this law was not considered important by capital and capital argued that the life of a non-working child would be much worse.

---

[12] For detailed information; Marx, Engels, Lenin, *Woman and Family.* Translated by: Arif Gelen, Sol Publications,2002,p438)

[13] Abuse and exploitation that children were subject to in 19th century became subject to literary works of the time. While children were exploited in the industrial and commercial world, literary world of 19th century dignified the poor and working children/childhood to the max.In the literary works of 19th century and early 20th century (Huckleberry Finn, Oliver Twist..etc), heroic children who would find solutions to problems caused by the adults in the capitalist society were illustrated.

Whereas in 1833 the Factories Commission of Inquiries composed of factory inspectors explicitly revealed the bad working conditions of children.

Manufacturers put children to work rarely when they are five years old, often when they are six, more frequently when they are seven and generally when they are eight-nine years old. A work day generally lasts between fourteen to sixteen hours except for lunch break and regular breaks (Engels, 2007:188).

In the following years, the age of attending to school was determined as ten pursuant to "Law on Primary Education" dated 1880 and additional limitations imposed on child employment (Maclennan, 1995:146). The most important law in this field was the "1920 Act". "1920 Act" determined the age full-time working at factories as fourteen and stipulated record keeping for working children under the age of sixteen. Besides, with the establishment of International Labor Organization (ILO) in 1919, the issue of child labor became an issue addressed and emphasized at international level (İnal, 2014:392). ILO accepted the individuals in 15 – 24 age group as young workers and determined the age limit of child laborer as 15. Accordingly children who begin to work under the age of 15 to earn a living and contribute to the family budget are regarded as "child laborers (http://www.ilo.org/public/turkish/region/eurpro/ankara/areas/child.htm). United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) defined child abuse in the statement of the board of "Exploitation of Working Children and Street Children" in 1986.

Working full-time at early ages, working for long hours, working at jobs causing extreme physical, social or psychological stress, living and working on streets under poor conditions, working for law or insufficient wages,

working at jobs imposing heavy responsibility, compulsory working or working at jobs that tarnish children's honor or self-respect like sexual abuse. (Küntay and Dikmen, 2011 quoted by: Kalaycı and Çicek, 2014:132):

In the following years ILO initiated a study named "International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labor"(IPEC). IPEC programme was initiated in Brazil, India, Indonesia, Kenya, Thailand and Turkey in 1992. ILO determined its goal with this campaign as putting an end to child labor in the long term and protecting the children and improving their working conditions in the short and medium terms. However as completely putting an end to child labor was impossible under the conditions of the capitalist system, IPEC changed its aim with a slight maneuver and determined its priority as prevention of child labor in bad forms (Koçak, 2005). In this context ILO adopted the "Emergency Action Plan" No.182 related to the "Prohibition and Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labor Convention" in the meeting dated 17 June 1999. (According to Article 3 of the Convention, the worst forms of child labor comprises the following.

- All forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labor, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict,

- The use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances,

- The use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties,

- Work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children http://www.ilo.org/public/turkish/region/eurpro/ankara/about/soz182.htm);

It can be said that this approach of ILO is an approach to interfere an existing problem after it comes to existence and rehabilitate it rather than putting an end to the existing child labor exploitation. As stated in the first place, what needs to be questioned and changed ultimately is the existing economic, social and political situation which deepens child labor exploitation (Altıntaş, 2003:18). When ILO's data in the present day is examined, it is seen that there were approximately 250 million child laborers in the age group of 5-14 only in underdeveloped countries in 2004. According to the "Third Global Report" published by ILO in 2015, this number rose to 352 million. (http://www.turkmetal.org.tr/default.asp?page=arastirmalar&id=14909). Likewise when UNICEF's data are examined, it is seen that the use of child labor is increased but not decreased. So it seems that there is no positive change about child labor from the day they were established until today.

Today, as a result of erosion policies in social institutions and realms implemented by globalization, income inequality generated between countries and regions, increased urban and rural poverty, more children forced to participate in employment and masses that cannot benefit from their most basic rights are main problems. Increased unemployment due to privatization policies leads to poverty and poverty leads to an increase in the number of laboring children (İnal, 2014: 393). Ultimately today, one of every two children in the world is affected by different forms of poverty (starvation, education, sheltering, etc.). These children do not have safe

homes and they cannot access clean water and healthcare services (Lindberg, 2013).
This is especially visible in third world countries. Child labor continues to be a
dominant phenomenon in neighboring countries, although it appears less in center
countries. When we look at child laborers in center countries, it is seen that children
of illegal and migrant workers are being put to work completely out of control, under
very poor working conditions, under intensive labor and very cheaply. At this point
one of the serious criticism towards center countries is that their governments don't
prevent legal supervision to hinder the illegal workers to enter their countries as they
know they increase the profit by being cheap labor (Yıldızoğlu, 1996). In nearby
countries, on the other hand, the effects of capital and industrial production in center
countries tending towards cheap labor in neighboring countries are visible (Çelik,
2005). Cheap and unorganized labor without any social security in neighboring
countries became subject to interests and policies of "global commodity chains" and
international capital within the structure of new international division of labor
approach to global capitalism (Özdemir and Yücelan, 2005). Poverty in developing
countries became more chronic as they sacrifice their resources and social policies for
the sake of belonging to the global world and multinational companies saw no harm
to put children to work in poor countries as they are the cheapest and obedient labor.
For this reason it is seen that "*the restrictive measures bilaterally applied by strong
countries in weaker nations lack all kinds of legal or moral basis which would lead to
an improvement in working conditions or humane rights of the workers, both in poor
and rich countries*"(Munck, 2003: 162 quoted by: Güler, 2010: 42)

Looking at the world as a whole, it is seen that children are mostly used as
cheap labor in industries based on intensive labor such as textile, souvenir, brick, roof
tile, mine and other industries in developing or underdeveloped countries which

generally produce for exportation. As mentioned above, child labor is frequently preferred due to its easy adaptation to demands and changes brought by globalization process and easy entry-exit. Therefore numerous international companies still use child labor to obtain cheap labor and reduce the cost despite all prohibitions and studies in most of their productions (Kayhan, 2012).

With the communication channels provided by the ongoing technology, the news about child labor in the subsidiaries of multinational corporations were revealed and this has led to an increase in reactions of non-governmental organizations and consumers and the pressures on multinational corporations to act in the direction of correcting this issue have been increased (Güler, 2010: 53). Due to these pressures, international organizations have stepped in and regulations called global labor standards were constituted by international organizations like ILO, WTO and WB. However these sanctions are criticized as they are being applied in countries rather than to multinational companies, being euro-centralist and having protective goals. Moreover when it is considered that international labor standards protect the rights of legal workers, it is clear that they cannot protect the rights of informal children and workers who work under the form of flexible organization (İnal, 2007).

Especially in countries defined as underdeveloped or developing countries, child labor is used as a strategy of survival against poverty, and the child's work comes to the fore as a source of a way out from poverty. Claims of those questioning the limitation of child labor in nearby countries are also based on this argument. There are many arguments about the prohibition of child labor. Some claim that those who are "rescued" will shift to a more unbearable form of poverty or they will be forced to work at a more unbearable job. Or they will be told that "you cannot escape from capitalist system and will not be able to radically change your production relations

and thus, you will remain to stay in the capitalist system. So you don't have any other way than selling extremely cheap labor". However while the claim that "we don't have any other way" proposes to give up defending labor until an alternative society is created (Özdemir and Yücelan, 2005), the argument that children's situation will get worse if they don't work (prostitution etc.) is merely hiding the irregularity of the existing system. For this reason it is a more accurate approach to perceive poverty as a process rather than as a circumstance when considering child labor. Because if poverty is perceived as a "circumstance", its real dimension is overlooked and it is reduced to providing food to the starved or shelter to the homeless or job to the unemployed. So the whole picture goes unnoticed (Bauman, 1999:117).

Consequently it is necessary to correct long-term structural problems and economic inequalities to provide a solution to child labor issue and short-term practices as the ones mentioned above cannot provide this solution. The state is required to develop policies which improve employment and regulate income distribution in the manner to drain the swamp instead of merely killing mosquitoes (Kayhan, 2012). It is obvious that the policies and institutions created to prevent child labor still of no use when it is considered that child laborers are still an important part of the countries' economies and preserve their existence. Because, as MacLennan (1995: 162) emphasizes, children's wages are paid in person, their records are not kept, insurance premiums are not paid, they cannot be union members and they cannot claim compensation, health insurance or premiums. For this reason there are so many obstacles in political, social and economic sense to provide a radical solution to this long-lasting, challenging and complex issue. Although there are some efforts to eliminate this problem, it seems that a world where children are not put to work would be reachable when labor would have a say in this process.

3.3.2.1 Child labor in Turkey

When the problem of child labor in Turkey is looked at, it appears that the main reason for children to work is poverty. (Karabulut, 1996: 7). Projects are being implemented in many parts of the world against child labor and to abolish child abuse. The ILO conventions on the "Minimum Age Contract and Elimination of Worst Forms of Child Labor" are some of the steps taken in this direction. The "International Programme on the Elimination of Child Labor" (IPEC) also serves this purpose. Despite these international organizations of which Turkey is a member, the "Child Labor" report published by DİSK (Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions) on April 22, 2015 proves that the work of these organizations is not enough (http://www.disk.org.tr/2015/04/disk-ar-turkiyede-cocuk-isciligi-gercegi-raporu-2015/).

Table 1: Number of Employed, Working at Home, Total Number of Working Children in Years
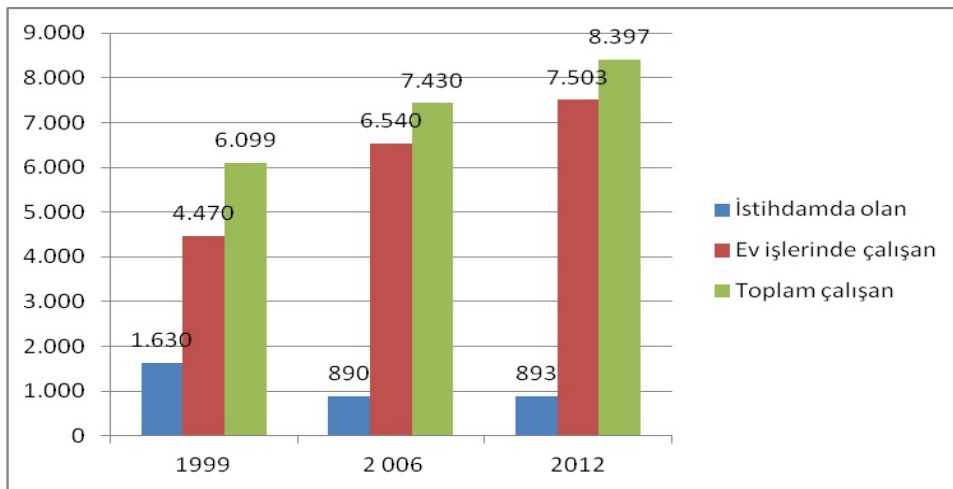
Source: (TÜİK "Turkish Statistical Institute - TSI", 2013)

Child Employment Surveys were conducted by DIE (State Institute of Statistics) and TÜİK in 1994, 1999, 2006 and 2012. According to conducted surveys, while the number of children working in economic activities in the 6-17 age group was 2 million 269 thousand in 1994, this number decreased to 1 million 630 thousand in 1999 and to 890 thousand in 2006, but it increased 893 thousand in 2012.

Table 2: Children who attend/don't attend school due to working

Çalışma nedenine göre okula devam eden ve etmeyen çocuklar, 2012

Children attending/not attending school by their reason of working in economic activity, 2012
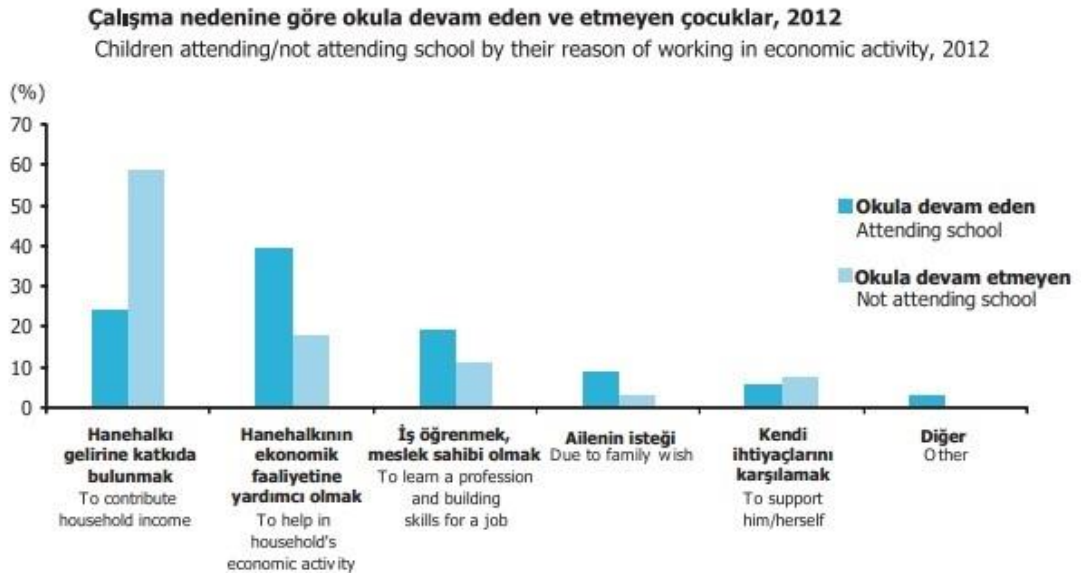
Source: (TÜİK "Turkish Statistical Institute", 2013)

As it was mentioned earlier, the above table confirms that the main reason to work for working children is poverty. Of the children attending to school and also working in 6-17 age group, 39.3% are working to help the household's economic activity and 24% are working to contribute to household income. The rate of children not attending to school but working to contribute to household's income is around 58.7%. The rate of children not attending to school but working to help the

household's economic activity is 18.1%. In total, more than half of the children work due to economic reasons. The number of children attending to school and also working is increased by 64% between the years of 2006 and 2012 and reached to 445 thousand from 212 thousand. While 2% of children attending school were working on an economic activity in 2006, this rate reached to 3% in 2012. Among these children, the rate of those working at domestic affairs rose to 50% from 43%. The number of children not attending school dropped to 1 million 297 thousand from 2 million 314 thousand and the rate of children not attending to school but working at an economic activity increased to 35% from 27%.

Another important point is the status of children working in small industrial enterprises. These children generally work informally in auto industrial areas and furniture industry. Children in these places struggle to earn money under heavy conditions and the children in these places are more difficult to distinguish than those working in other industries (Erbay, 2008). In addition, the issue of children's work safety is important. Turkey is in a rather bad condition in this respect. According to İstanbul Worker's Health and Job Security Assembly's (İSİG) data, 59 of the 1235 workers who lost their lives in 2013 were child laborers (14 of them were 14 years of old or younger and 41 were between the ages of 15 and 17). This number was 54 in 2014 (19 of them were 14 years of old or younger and 35 were between the ages of 15 and 17). In 2004, three of every 100 work murders were child laborers. So one of every 30 workers losing their lives is a child laborer working due to poverty (İSİG 2014, İSİG 2015). Child laborers constitute an important source of unsecured workers pool and in the forthcoming days, it seems possible that rate of child labor murders would increase due to the insufficiency of the measures taken.

(http://www.disk.org.tr/2015/04/disk-ar-turkiyede-cocuk-isciligi-gercegi-raporu-2015/).

Another issue that needs to be paid attention in Turkey is the children working on streets. It is seen that the studies on this issue are very limited. (Yetim ve Çağlayandereli, 2007). The street is an unprotected and risky area for a child as physical, emotional and sexual assaults are very likely to take place there. Streets, which need to be placed to be used by children to play and participate in life in person become places where children cannot live their childhood and full of many dangers. It is estimated that at least 42.000 children work or live on streets. However the unofficial figure is almost 80.000 (http://www.unicef.org/turkey).

There are also inconveniences in Turkey regarding street children. In a study conducted by Karataş, Ayar and Duyan (2015) between 1 January 2005 and 31 August 2005, they reviewed 46 news about street children and determined statements which would affect children in 36.9% of them. The headlines involved words like girl thief, glue-sniffer and thinner addict and there were headlines like "Terror of Thinner Addict", "An İstanbul Nightmare", "He Spread Terror with Rifle". In summary children who live and put to work on streets are perceived as a threat by media and society influenced by media and they become excluded (Erbay, 2013:193). In other words, the ideology that these children are not the outcomes of unequal nature of social production relations but they are bad because of bad aspects of their own personalities or bad fate is imposed upon the society. These children are also defined with concepts like "psychopaths" and "crime machines" (Cankurtaran and Öztaş, 2004 quoted by: Özdemir and Yücelan, 2005).

Finally, in addition to poverty, education policies also feed the cruel exploitation of child labor in Turkey. Along with the 4+4+4 law adopted in 2012 in

Turkey, education is divided into pieces and formed a basis for increased child employment and further exploitation of apprentices. This law also opened the way for buying and selling female children who stay out of formal education after the first four years like a commodity (İnal, 2012). The compulsory education formulated as 4+4+4 doesn't increase attendance of female children to school and on the contrary, it encourages them to continue their education in the form of "open education". As a result of cascading compulsory education the age of apprenticeship drops to 11 from 14. This will popularize child labor and increase exploitation of child labor. In this respect, it can be said that capital and state are encouraging children to begin working at early ages (Akyol, 2014).

Eventually this process clearly confirms that there was no change in working conditions and the number of working children. Children are still being victims of work murders at a high rate and cannot benefit from educational realms equally. Niyazi Berkes (1944) summarizes this situation as follows;

> Only temporary measures can be taken as long as the conditions of the system continue. This issue is so serious and cannot be dealt with only by charity, teaching morals, legal measures and unsystematic studies. It should be addressed as part of a broad social development program (Quoted by: Alada, Sayıta and Temelli, 2002:251)

In summary, the studies and regulations on child labor didn't achieve any of their short-term goals and they seem to be far from putting an end to child labor in the long-term.

CHAPTER FOUR

HISTORICAL EVENTS THAT SHAPED MEDIA AND CHILDREN'S

MAGAZINE PUBLISHING IN TURKEY

It is possible to follow up all economic and political changes in a country over media. It is important to find answers to the questions of how it was structured and after which social changes to understand media, which is considered rather influential the masses. Therefore it is important to mention the economic, political and cultural changes occurred in Turkey and how they have reflected on media in order to see the whole picture when reviewing the historical development of children's magazines which are the subject of this study. In this context the state of media after 1980, changes in magazine publishing and lastly, historical process of children's magazine publishing will be discussed in this chapter of the study.

4.1 Transformation of Media in Turkey

Neoliberal policies pursued after 1980 in Turkey affected media as they affected every other realm. Having a rather different structure than its traditional one and ownership feature, media became a more important actor in political and economic areas in comparison to past (Bulut, 2009:75). Once a family business, media first became a business of holdings and now it witnesses horizontal, vertical and even cross integrations within itself and in other industries (Kurban, Sözer, 2012: 11).

If a date should be given for the commencement of media's structural transformation, January 24 decisions might be a good one. January 24 decisions have

been supported by "September 12 Military Coup". After September 12, regulations regarding the transition to free market economy declared by January 24 decisions found an environment to be implemented (Kaya, 2009:234). Especially after the military coup of September 12, big capital from outside of press increased in a short time and caused industrialization of the sector. During this period, growth of press was actualized by incentives and credits originating from political power to a great extent. At the same time, institutions like IMF and World Bank recommended in their structural adjustment programmes that the state should withdraw from traditional interference fields beginning from the market and privatization implementations should speed up in various sectors including media along with January 24 decisions (Ekzen, 1999). For this reason, the process of change initiated in 1980's gathered further speed as of 1990's.

During the period of ANAP power between the years of 1983 and 1990 Turgut Özal, who was the implementer of new right-wing policies in Turkey, made an effort to structure media in this direction and direct it in line with his policies. Believing in limitless capitalist competition open to everyone like his contemporaries, Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher and admiring new right politicians, Özal's approach to media was exactly the same (Züchrer, 1995:417). Strengthening and commercializing of capital in media in Turkey took place to a great extent in Özal's era. Özal attributed importance to media to gain support in public opinion for economic, cultural and political transformations he initiated in social structure and established good relations with owners of newspapers and editorial writers. In exchange for the support of media, he provided state support to media companies (Sönmez, 2000). In conjunction with all these developments, the number of commercial television channels in Turkey was increased considerably during 1990's. And Turkey excited the attention of foreign

media groups. Media markets spreading globally and global media holdings also emerged in Turkey. And from production to distribution, media came under the rule of a few big groups. As Bulut (2009) stated, these groups owned newspapers, television channels, radio stations and included many institutions like banks, insurance companies and energy companies. Media evolved from being a family business to a new type of media ownership dominated by big capital groups in industries other than media (Adaklı, 2001:145). The new media owners have investments in different sectors and they don't hesitate to use media as a weapon against their competitors, political power and advertisers (Bulut, 2009).

When media is owned by big capital groups it became impossible for both economically and politically powerless groups to have a place in the media industry. At the same time working conditions and personal rights of labor are deteriorated in the media industry and conditions of union membership became extremely difficult. Sensation and manipulation in media content became widespread (Adaklı, 2010: 75) and owners of big media companies began influencing media contents in line with their personal beliefs and values (Woods, 2007). Therefore in 1990's and later on, although the numbers of television channels, magazines, newspapers and radio stations had increased in Turkey, not many more and different views and opinions are not produced as alleged. Because as Erdoğan (2002) states, "Quantitative plenitude with the same production style never means a qualitative difference. And the saying 'Isn't it worse not to have alternatives?' functions as one of the legitimization mechanisms that helps the fake and bad to sell themselves as good and real where the good is destroyed or not available."

At the end of 20th century, four big groups (Doğan, Uzanlar, Bilgin and Karamehmet) dominate the media even if their shares are not equal. After a while

Uzan Group lost their economic and political powers and withdrew from the industry and Dinç Bilgin left his place to Turgay Ciner (Kaya, 2009:257). But the main scene didn't change. At the same time along with local monopolies, foreign monopolies also established partnerships with Turkish media or directly acquired them (Bulut, 2009). Global media established its first relations in Turkey with Doğan Publication Holding. Doğan Publication Holding has partnerships with CNNTürk in visual media and with Germany's Burda Group in printed media for magazine publication. Another cooperation of the group with global media is the partnership with Egmont from Denmark towards children. It started its broadcasting on 15 May 2000 after the agreement between MSNBC and NTV of Doğuş Holding. There are many more examples like Canadian media company Canwest which had acquired Metro FM, Super FM, Joy FM and Joy Türk FM put out to tender by Savings Deposit Insurance Fund (TMSF) and entered into Turkish media sector.

In summary, when the status of Turkish media in this period is examined, we find changed ownership structures and monopolization. With the change of the ownership structure of media, it began to take shape over relationships with political actors and commercial interests. A media structure which mostly determines self-censorship in line with their own interests and so, independence and neutrality of which becomes debatable carried itself to 2000's.

When Justice and Development Party came to power alone after 3 November 2002 elections, a transformation had occurred in this media structure which was regarded as main stream media and which positions itself in the center but it was only about changes of company names and media owners.

AKP wanted to make some changes in media and they had this chance after 2001 crisis because owners of many bankrupt banks were also media owners and they

have transferred these institutions to Savings Deposit Insurance Fund. Consequently, "media of powers" emerged as a result of using amenities of state instead of "power of media" which gained significant power after conglomeration (Doğanay, 2007:70). Following the AKP Power, distinct changes were seen in the picture of dominant groups in the media sector. The transformation process commenced with the liquidation of Uzan Group of Companies. It was followed by Çalık Group and Kalyon Group and market share of Doğuş Group was substantially increased. So when it comes to 2014, we see a picture in which it was still controlled by big capital groups and only intensities changed hands. (Çam, 2015:71-72). During this period, media ownership have been rearranged and mainstream media was built as a political means not acting against the discourse of the power. Big media groups preferred to be attuned to power due to the threat of being economically weakened and discredited (Çaylı, Depeli, 2012:43). One of the most apparent examples of this trend is Doğuş Group. Working hand in glow with political power and rearranging its structure in line with this development, it seems that Doğuş Holding got its reward of being close to power beyond measure. Doğuş Construction won the Üsküdar-Sancaktepe Subway Tender, which was the fourth subway tender in İstanbul, in 2002 (Başkaya, 15.06.2012). Holding won the tender for privatization of Salıpazarı Port Area called "Galataport" in 2013 by a bid of 702 million dollars (ntvmsnbc, 16.05.2013). Doğuş Group maintains its economic growth in all areas (Kuyucu, 2012: 47).

When we look at the period of AKP government as of 2016, it is seen that the main strategy to transform the media system was neoliberal policies and these policies have been implemented to a great extent. AKP government consciously actualized the main stream media to be taken over by capital groups close to them by using

neoliberal weapons (http://yeniarayis.com/genel/2016/01/ AKP-period-media-neo-liberal-return my/my-return).

As a result it is clear that the problems of media in Turkey will not end unless the attitudes of media bosses to give up critical publishing and even journalism due to being close to the government because of their investments in other fields and rewarding pro-government media bosses by the government with public tenders would not change.

4.2 History of Magazine Publishing in Turkey

The 1860s had witnessed the revival of Ottoman press, pressures, limitations and new opinions. Parallel to the revival of the press, the number of new newspapers and magazines has also increased rapidly. In conjunction with the First Constitutionalist Period the Ottoman Basic Law (Kanun-i Esasi) was prepared and the first Parliament (Meclis-i Mebusan) was convened. Due to the impact of this, an atmosphere of freedom came into existence but this impact didn't last long. Grounding on the Russo-Turkish War, Abdülhamit declared martial law basing on Article 113 of Kanun'i Esasi in 1877 and claiming that the people were not ready for a parliament yet and the Constitution did not comply with sharia, he abolished Meclis-i Mebusan in 1878. From this period until the Second Constitutionalist Period, a strict censorship has been applied on the press. Although magazines were not censored and closed as much as newspapers in this period as their contents are mostly artistic and literary, their number was not high (Yapar, 2007:64-66).

The first initiatives in the history of Turkish magazine publishing were seen during Tanzimat Reform Era. The first magazine was "Vaka-i Tıbbıye" published in

1850. Also in the same period magazines like "Cemiyet-i İlmiyeyi", "Mecmua-I Fünun", "Mecmua-i İbritname" were published (Parlak, 1968). The first official magazine published in Turkey is "Ceride-i Askeriye". It was published by the Ministry of War in 1864. The most important and effective magazine of this period is "Serveti Fünun" published by Ahmet İhsan Tokgöz in 1891.

Primary magazines published during the period from Tanzimat Reform Era to proclamation of the Republic and their dates of publication are below;

Mecmua-i Fünun (1861), Ceride-i Askeriye (1864), Mecmua-i Askeriye (1864), Mecmua-i Ulüm (1867), Tuhfet-ül Tıp (1868), Mecmuatül Ebuzziya (1881), Hazine-i Evrak (1881), Servet-i Fünun (1891), Malümat (1893), Mektep (1893), Muhit-ül Maarif (1902) Beyan'ül-Hak (1908), İçtihat (1904), Resimli Kitap (1908), Sırat-ı Müstakim (1908), Sebilürreşad (1908), Şehbal (1909), Genç Kalemler (1911), Türk Yurdu (1912), Halka Doğru (1913), Milli Tetebbular Mecmuası (1915), İslam Mecmuası (1915), Edebiyat-ı Umumiye (1916), Yeni Mecmua (1917), Kurtuluş (1919), Dergah (1921), Küçük Mecmua (1922) (Okay, 2006:511-518).

Looking at the above sequencing and dates, it is seen that the number of published magazines after the Second Constitutionalist Period had increased. This was influenced by various movements of thought and westernization efforts. All movements of thought have begun to publish their own media organs (Duran, 1998: 133). For example new magazines such as "Beyan-ül Hak" which includes Islamic thoughts, "Sanayi (Industry)" magazine wishing Ottoman to be an industrialized country, "Ulum-u iktisadiye", a pro-westernization magazine and socialist "İştirak (Communion)" magazine were issued (Yapar, 2007:64-66).

During War of Liberation some newspapers supported Mustafa Kemal while others were opposing him (Yapar, 2007). Mustafa Kemal attached importance to the support he would receive via press during the war of independence. He requested a new newspaper to be established in Ankara, in 1919. This newspaper was named "Hakimiyet-i Milliye (National Sovereignty)" published as the official publishing organ of Anatolian and Rumelia Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti (Countrywide Resistance Organization). The first editorial of this newspaper was written by Mustafa Kemal (Tüfekçioğlu, 1988). And the newspaper continued to be the voice of War of Independence throughout the war. Almost all of the magazines published in that period took sides with War of Independence.

In this period, the most efficient journalist of İstanbul media was Sedat Simavi. Magazines grabbing attention with their colored covers and cartoons were published. These were; Diken, women's magazines İnci, Yeni İnci, Hanım and children's magazine Hacıyatmaz (Duran, 1998:151). Along with these, the political humor magazine "Akbaba" published by Yusuf Ziya Ortaç and Orhan Seyfi Orhon and "Resimli Ay" published by Zekeriya Sertel in 1924 attracted great attention (İnnuğur, 1992:61). However after Takrir-i Sükun[14] Law (Law on the Maintenance of Order) was enacted, pressure on and supervision of the press gradually increased and many newspapers and magazines were closed by Cabinet Decrees. One of the most attention-grabbing of these was "Resimli Ay" magazine. Both being authors of Resimli Ay magazine, Sabiha Sertel's article titled "Get Out of the Way! I am Coming" and Emin Türk Eliçin's article titled "I am Coming from My Village"

---

[1]After enactment of Takrir-i Sükun Law (Law on the Maintenance of Order) pressure on and supervision of the press gradually increased. Tevhid-i Efkar, Son Telgraf, İstiklal, Toksöz, Sebilürreşşet and Vatan newspapers are some of the newspapers that were closed. After the closure of these newspapers many journalists were judged and sentenced. In the same period, within the scope of investigations initiated for leftist movements in Turkey, some journalists were arrested and sentenced on the grounds that they made propaganda of communism.

became matters in dispute. At the court, the prosecutor stated that both articles were against the current administration and demanded both journalists to be sentenced to heavy imprisonment up to 20 years (Sertel, 1987).

The most important event regarding history of press in 1930's was the "Law Governing the Press" which became effective on 8 August 1931 in line with resolutions adopted[15]CHF general assembly. The law was adopted in parliament after long discussions and the publication bans brought by the law were as follows (Kabacalı, 1990);

1) Publications provoking monarchy, caliphate, communism and anarchism are banned.

2) Publication of articles sent by persons from dynasty is banned.

3) Publication of suicides is banned.

With this law, freedom of the press is kept under strict inspection. The initiative has been completely left to Interior Minister and Prime Minister. A period of the strict one-party regime had begun and this situation had a great impact on the press. There were no opposition parties and finding an opponent newspaper or magazine was rather difficult. Critical articles rarely published in newspapers completely within the tolerance limits of government (Topuz, 1973). Therefore magazine publishing slowed down between the years of 1930-1940 due to one-party administration and World War Two (Yapar, 2007). In conjunction with the transition to a multi-party system, control over press began to mitigate. In this period press was

---

[2]The most important article of the Law was article 50: "Newspapers and magazines would be temporarily closed due to publications which would harm the general politics of the country. The executives of a newspaper closed in this manner shall not publish a newspaper under a different name during the period of closure (Kabacalı, 1990).

divided into two as those who support Democrat Party and those in support of RPP (CHP). Coming into power after 14 May 1950 elections, Democrat Party included ensuring freedom of the press in its program and they frequently mentioned freedom of the press in their statements before elections (Kalyoncu, 2007). However, this positive approach towards press lasted a short time. DP became stronger after 1954 elections and it fell out with the press. This was followed by a firm stand on the press (Kabacalı, 1994: 238).

DP supported publications supporting the government throughout its power. There were different types of supports during the application of punishments on the press: supporting press was taken care of, loans and lands were provided, adding stories was permitted, official advertising was placed, paper allocations were made. What Menderes told to Enver Adakan is very important to comprehend his approach to press in those years;

> Vatan? Let me have a lunch with the owner of Yeni Sabah, Safa, at Ankara Palace, Ahmed Emin will immediately give up writing. Nadir Nadi? Let me tell him about a small poverty like Chile and especially about Vienna, Nadir will write an article as I want the next day. Burhan Felek? He would be a putty in my hands in return for a couple of sports federation trips abroad. There are also those among them who would sell their pens for an amount of 20 to 30 thousand liras
>
> (http://www.politics.ankara.edu.tr/dergi/pdf/51/1/29_nuran_yildiz.pdf).

During this period "Akis" and "Kim" magazines were attracting notice with their high circulation and their opposition to DP (Kalyoncu, 2007). One of these opponent magazines, "Akis" had to close up due to economic problems and a verdict

of closing was rendered for "Kim" magazine. But the magazine changed its name as "Mim" and continued its publication life until 27 May Military Coup (Yapar, 2007).

In early 1960's, pressure of power on journalists was considerably increased. During this period, 867 journalists were convicted and law suits brought against 2300 (Koloğlu, 1992:49). Following 27 May 1960 military coup and 1961 Constitution, leftist magazines were increased in number. Examples of these magazines are "Yön", "Sosyal Adalet" and "Devrim ve Emek" (Yapar, 2007). This libertarian atmosphere continued until 12 March 1971 Memorandum. After this date depoliticization commenced and this change also reflected on magazines. Cartoon magazines made a start on (Cumhuriyet Ansiklopedisi "Encyclopedia of Republic", 2002). Press was exposed to many restrictions and strict rules after 12 September 1980 military coup. Press gradually became depoliticized and moved away from people. During the same period economic items became determinant after 1980 and press became an expensive line of business (Kabacalı, 1990). At this time magazine publishing rapidly became tabloid. Some of the magazines published in this area are (Yapar, 2007) "Haftasonu", "Hayat", "Ses", "Fırt", "Nokta", "Yankı", "Kadınca", "Bilim Teknik", "Onyedi".

Towards the mid-1990s, Hurriyet Publishing Group and Milliyet Publishing Group established partnerships with foreign publishing groups. Doğan Group established a partnership with Rizzoli Burda Group and magazines published abroad like "Max" and "Elle" were also published in Turkey. The groups dominating magazine publishing in this period were Doğan Group, Doğuş Group and Sabah Group. After 2002 "Novamedya" Publishing was added to this list (Yapar, 2007).

As the transpiring media bosses made alliances with political powers especially after 1990's and thus, commercial interests of holdings became prominent in publishing business. AKP also created media groups close to itself during its

rulership. In conjunction with AKP era Feza Group and Albayrak Group also increased their effectiveness in the sector along with İhlas Holding. The second most prominent group after Feza Group was Albayrak Group during AKP power. As of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's mayorship in İstanbul, Albayraklar established significant business relations with the municipality in many fields and they entered into media industry by acquiring Yeni Şafak Newspaper, established on 23 January 1995, in 1997. Magazine published by these groups are as follows (Demir, 2013:48-58);

İhlas Group: Türkiye Çocuk Dergisi, Yemek Zevki, Automotive Exports, IT Network, Print on Demand, Hotel Restaurant Hi-Tech

Feza Group: Aksiyon, Turkish Review, Cihan Dergi

Albayrak Group: Derin Tarih, Lokma, Nihayet, Derin Ekonomi, Cins, Gerçek Hayat, Kırmızı Beyaz, Skyroad

Meanwhile, the new Turkish Criminal Law No. 5237 effectuated on June 2005 brought back the prison sentences abolished by the new Press Law No. 5187, which was also enacted by AKP power and the existing prison and cash fines were increased. Moreover the amendments made in AKP era gave way to disclosure of numerous incidents from the right of privacy to interpersonal communication, from deciphering of conversations without consent to hidden video shooting (Bakıcı, 2011).

The major magazines published today are those;

Bebeğim ve Biz, , Cosmopolitan Bride, Esquire, Forbes Türkiye, Bilim Çocuk, Harper's Bazaar, HomeArt, Lacivert, Otohaber, Para, Sofra, Meraklı Minik, Şamdan Plus, National Geographıc, National Geographıc Kids, Robb Report, Traveller, GQ, Galmour, Vogue, TRT Çocuk

It is clear that magazines and magazine publishing were affected by the economic, political and cultural changes in Turkey and they were also changed accordingly. As can be understood from the above list, most of the magazines published today pump the consumption ideology via their colored and attractive pages and gifts they offer.

4.3 Children's Magazines Publishing in Turkey

Children's magazines cannot be considered separately from social, economic and historical processes that Turkey underwent. Children's magazines reflect the general perspective of the time they are published. Therefore it is possible to see the effects of each and every period that Turkey had. For this reason the opinions alleged by children's magazines with regard to education and children is important to comprehend the periods that the country had from past until today and the child profile wanted to be created based on these periods. In this context, the reflections of historic, political and economic changes happened in Turkey from the time of Ottomans until today on children's magazine publishing are addressed in this chapter to offer an insight into the next chapter of the study.

4.3.1 Children's Magazines Publishing in Ottoman Era

During the period before Republic, the works written for children in Turkey are so scarce if any. First works in this field commenced with translations made in Tanzimat period. With the announcement of Imperial Edict of Gülhane (1839) after Abdülmecit came to the throne, Ottoman entered a new period. With this edict

authorities of the Sultan was limited for the first time and he shared the right to enact a law. Defined as opening to West and transfer of innovations, the most significant innovation movements were seen in the field of education during Tanzimat Period. Establishment of teacher's training schools, teaching schools equal to universities and Daru'l-fünun (Ottoman University) were the most important events in the field of education (Deniz, 2010).

In this process the Ottoman intellectuals who turned their faces to West and aimed to impose this on people used the press as the most effective way to achieve this goal (Yaman, 2004). Mediating to social change via press and literature, the elite headed towards children and youth to ensure the sustainability of change. At that time young generations were regarded as the mass most open to change and influence same as today. This consideration caused seeking for ways to reach children. Şimşek summarizes this situation with these statements;

> The birth of children magazine publishing is a continuation of social change which gained speed in association with Tanzimat. Because the elite mediating the social change via educational means and literature needed to head towards young generations which are the most dynamic section of society in order for the change to continue more healthily and be permanent. Because the young generation was seen as the mass which is most open to change. This consideration triggered the quest to find better ways to reach children. At the beginning various literary works were published and even though in limited number, some articles towards children were published in the press. But works directly aimed at children were published for the first time during the second half of 19th century (2001:119).

As Şimşek mentioned above, various literary works were published at the beginning and articles for children had a part in the press and later on (second half of 19th century) works for children began to emerge (Doğdu, 2007). Poems were written to correct the spoken language of children and educate them and world's classics were translated into Turkish. Books like "Gulliver's Travels (by Jonathan Swift) (1872)" translated by *Mahmut Nedim*" "Journey to the Center of the Earth (Jules Verne) (1883)" and*"Five Weeks in a Balloon (Jules Verne)*" (1887)*"translated by* Mehmet Emin are the first foreign works of children's literature published (Yaman, 2004).

The first children's magazines were distributed as newspaper supplements. The first example was the magazine named "Mümeyyiz" delivered as a weekly supplement of the newspaper in 1869 (Doğdu, 2007:27). The target audience of Mümeyyiz was children at the primary education age. Mümeyyiz magazine also included daily political events as news (Gençel, 1984:186). Bayram (2005) analyzed Mümeyyiz magazine in his study and stated that it was composed of intelligence questions and answers, news texts, advertisements and announcements, jokes, letters, stories, fables and tales, advises and warning texts, encyclopedic texts, moral texts and didactic texts (Bayram, 2005). Mümmeyiz magazine frequently emphasizes education and upbringing of children. The below section quoted from Mümeyyiz magazine clearly confirms this.

> Children, if you say "we are going to school, read and study", our reply to you will be "We see you." As a matter of fact you go to school, read fascicles and books and study until the evening. But when we see the schools of other nations and their children calmly attending to school and sitting in classrooms in a well-behaved manner, we don't like the noise you make at every chance

and your behaviors on the streets after you leave the school...

(http://fabilog.com/osmanli-dan-gunumuze-cocuk-dergileri/).

The longest-lasting one of children's magazine written with old letters is "Çocuklara Mahsus Gazete (Newspaper for Children)". It's publication began in 1896 and continued to be published until 1908. The articles generally published anonymously in children's magazines until that time were replaced by writings by famous persons in "Newspaper for Children" (Okay, 2006:513).

When general features of children's magazines written in old letters are examined, it is possible to say that they were generally complying with political and social circumstances of the time. They have taken sides with sultanate up until Constitutionalism (Azim, 2000:8). Political commitment presented as obeying the Sultan and other state officials was frequently mentioned as a required and compulsory task for everyone. In this context concepts and topics that would intensify political commitment like homeland, citizenship, patriotism, nation, state, commitment to state, fairness of administrators and a state would never survive without administrators have been dwelled on (Okay, 2002: 477).

Children's literature researcher Yanar (2001:7-8) made the below observations with regard to these magazines published in Ottoman era;

- These newspapers and magazines prioritized the goal of education.

- Magazines were usually published on Fridays or Thursdays when schools were closed so that the children would not skip their classes.

- Magazines adopted subscription system as they were maintaining their publication lives under hard conditions.

- Magazines of the time were generally published in İstanbul. Three magazines were published in Thessaloniki (Aile (Family), Çocuklara Rehber (Guide for Children), Çocuk Bahçesi (Playground)).

- During this period, children's magazines typically have complied with political and social circumstances of the time.

As Okay (1999:24-26) determined, children's magazines published until Alphabet Revolution are shown in the below table;

Table 1: Dates and Numbers of Issue of Children's Magazines Published until Alphabet Revolution

Year	Name of Magazine	Number of Issues	Publication Dates
1869	Mümeyyiz	49	1869-1870
1873	Hazine-_Etfal	1	1873
1875	Sadakat	6	1875
1875	Etfal	16	1875
1875	Ayine	41	1875-76
1876	Arkadaş	13	1876-77
1880	Tercüman-ı Hakikat	26	1880
1880	Aile (Family)	3	1880
1880	Bahçe	40	1880-81
1881	Mecmua – Nevresidegan	4	1881

1881	Çocuklara Arkadaş	12	1881
1881	Çocuklara Kıraat	18	1881-82
1882	Vasıta - Terakki	4	1882
1886	Etfal	23	1886
1887	Numune – Terakki	9	1887-88
1887	Debistan-ı Hıred	1	1887
1887	Çocuklara Talim	9	1887-88
1896	Çocuklara Mahsus Gazete	626	1896-1908
1897	Çocuklara Rehber	166	1897-1901
1905	Çocuk Bahçesi	43	1905
1909	Musavver Küçük Osmanlı	3	1909
1910	Mekteplilere Arkadaş	14	1910
1913	Çocuk Dünyası (Child's World)	94	1913
1913	Ciddi Karagöz	3	1918
1913	Çocuk Yurdu	7	1913
1913	Mektebli	19	1913
1913	Talebe Defteri	68	1913-18
1913	Çocuk Duygusu	61	1913-14
1913	Türk Yavrusu	2	1913
1913	Çocuklar Alemi	10	1913
1913	Kırlangıç	3	1913

1914	Çocuk Bahçesi	21	1914
1914	Çocuk Dostu	23	1914
1914	Mini Mini	7	1914
1918	Küçükler Gazetesi	8	1918
1918	Hür Çocuk	3	1918
1919	Haftalık Çocuk Gazetesi	8	1919
1919	Lâne	3	1919-1920
1920	Hacıyatmaz	1	1920
1922	Bizim Mecmua	74	1922-27
1923	Yeni Yol	113	1923-26
1923	Musavver Çocuk Postası	18	1923
1923	Çıtı Pıtı	4	1923
1924	Haftalık Resimli Gazetemiz	7	1924
1924	Resimli Dünya	21	1924-1925
1925	Sevimli Mecmua	13	1925
1925	Mektebliler Alemi	6	1925
1926	Türk Çocuğu	24	1926-1928
1926	Çocuk Dünyası (Child's World)	30	1926-1927
1927	Çocuk Yıldızı	10	1927

Reference: (Okay, 1999:24-26)

It is seen that most of the children's newspapers and magazines published in

this period were short-term publications. However, although their publication lives were short, children's literature and magazine publishing emerged in the Tanzimat period and became established in Second Constitutionalist period left many children's magazines and works written for children to Republic period. With the announcement of the Second Constitutionalist period (1908) there was an extraordinary mobility in press (Kabacalı, 2000: 134-138) and especially daily newspapers and political and humor magazines began their publication lives one after another. In this process, the magazines representing various ideas affected the political life in Turkey and some segments of society participated in politics as never seen before, expressed their opinions and recommended some "ways of salvation" (Kabacalı: 2000:134-138). For example; along with the pro-western "Ulum- u İktisadiye" published by Rıza Tevfik, Mehmet Cavit and Ahmet Şuayip, Turkist and pro-western magazines named "Genç Kalemler", "Felsefe" and "Türk Yurdu" and socialist publications like "İştirak" and "Halka Doğru" have been published (Gönenç, 66). The tendency towards women's and children's magazines accelerated due to the intense impact of feelings created by Turco-Italian and Balkan wars. According to Okay (1998:20) simultaneous and immediate rebels of communities which lived together with Ottomans for hundreds of years created a feeling of being betrayed in Ottoman society. And especially after these wars, the number of women's and children's magazines which include concepts, slogans of and stories about Turkism, revenge, retaliation, homeland, country and nation was increased. Two of the children's magazines published in this period are "Çocuk Dünyası (The Child's World)" and "Türk Yurdu (Turkish Homeland). The main theme of the magazines published in a period when the impacts of Balkan War and Turkism movement were very intense was nationalism. "Çocuk Dünyası" magazine involved politics in children's literature and emphasized nationalism in their

pages with many examples like the poems "Ala Geyik (Fallow Deer)" and "Türk'ün Tufanı (Flood of Turks)" by Ziya Gökalp, "Kahraman Nuri (Nuri the Hero)" or "Ben Türk'üm (I am a Turk)" by Edhem Nejad (Okay, 2006).

Prominent magazines published during the period of War of Independence were "Bizim Mecmua (Our Magazine)" and "Yeni Yol (The New Path)". The publications in this period didn't give priority to literary works and concern but they were mostly published to commentate on War of Independence, the Republic wanted to be founded and the innovations of the new regime.

4.3.2 Children's Magazine Publishing in Republic Period

With the foundation of the Republic, the consideration to regard children as citizens of future and accordingly, as the guards of the Republic. Converting the traditional social structure into a contemporary one, raise the contemporary citizenship consciousness of individuals and strengthening the social structure by way of education became the main objectives. For example; after the adoption of "Latin Alphabet" in 1928, using Ottoman Turkish as the language of education was terminated. "Following these adaptation efforts the literati inevitably began writing new works aiming at children to convey the principles of the Republic to young generations" (Yağcı, 1999: 177). During the early years of the Republic the trend in magazine publishing was establishing private companies and 4194 magazines have been published until 1970's. The number of published magazines have been in a close relation with socio-economic conjuncture and the political environment in the country (Kocabaşoğlu, 1984: 4-8).

Founders of the Republic regarded children as a mass to easily adapt to changes. It was considered that severing their ties with the past and adapting them to changes were easier when compared with adults. For this reason publications towards

schools and children in the Republic period had a central position primarily in the socialization of individuals, their articulation to the new society project and consequently, internalization of the norms and values defining the said project by young generations (Doğdu, 2010:20-21). Tuncay (1981, 237-238) explained the importance attached to the education of children during the early years of the Republic as follows; *"The function of propagandism of the regime was attributed to education in defiance of non-educational objectives and even of the real objectives of education. Assigning the task of political education to teachers and schools along with general education became an explicitly argued principle."*

Along with the increased importance attached to the education of children, the number of children's newspaper and magazines had also increased. Children's magazines published between 1928-1940 can be listed as below (Alpay, 1980: 178,179,180);

Table 2: Children's Magazines Published Between 1928-1940

Name of Magazine	*Year*	*Owner*	*Publication*
Youth	1928	Cemal	Monthly
Altın Kalem	–	Ahali Yurdu	15Günlük
Hacıyatmaz	–	Diken Neşriyatı	-
Çocuk Sesi	1932-1938	M.F.Gürtunca	Weekly
Şen Çocuk	1932-1933	Mehmet Şükrü	Every 15 Days
Afacan (Urchin)	1934-1939	M. F Gürtunca	Weekly
Çalışkan Çocuk	1934-1935	Refik Emin	Weekly

Mektepli Gazetesi	1932-1935	M.Sami Karayel	Weekly
Oklahoma	1935-1955	Alahaddin Kıral	Every 15 Days
Olgun Çocuk	1935	Burhan Bilbaşar	Weekly
Ateş (Fire)	1936-1938	Tahsin Demiray	Weekly
Çocuk	1936-1948	Fuat Umay	Weekly
Gelincik	1936	M. F Gürtunca	-
Öğretmen İleri	1936-1937	N.Bilbaşar-B.Atasavar	Düzensiz
Yavrutürk	1936-1942	Tahsin Demiray	Weekly
Yeni Kültür	1936-1945	K. Nami	Duru Aylık
Cumhuriyet Çocuğu	1938-1939	Zahide Tan	Weekly
Çocuk Gazetesi	1938	M.Muzaffer	-
Asrın Çocuğu	1939-1940	Suha Tükel	Weekly
Binbir Roman	1939-1952	Tahin Demiray	Weekly

 (Rference: Alpay: 1980:178, 179, 180)

The objective of these magazines was the continuation of the task of adopting the revolutions to young generations during leisure times. As Öztan (2011) mentioned in his book titled "Political Construction of Childhood in Turkey";

"After the proclamation of the Republic, the basic political project of ideologists and followers of the new regime was upbringing new generations who were devoted to the values of the republic and revolutions and who protect the "image of founding/protecting Gazi (Mustafa Kemal Atatürk)" and build an unshakable bridge between the experienced "victorious moment" and "glorious future.""

The statement of İsmail Safa Özler, Minister of Education at the time, in a circular dated 8 March 1923 confirms Öztan's argument. Özler enumerated the "objectives of education" as follows (Akyüz, 2001:297,386):

• Upbringing generations showing respect to every opinion and which are not in conflict with their national assets.

• Upbringing minds which would not leave the country in economic captivity.

• Upbringing strong and determined generations in everything.

When the contents of the children's magazines published in this period are examined, another point attracts attention. Via this magazines, it was requested for children to effectively participate in new social arrangements and not only adopt them. Children were frequently reminded of their citizenship duties. At the same time patriotism, love for Atatürk and praises to RPP (CHP) were prominent in these magazines. For example one of the eye-catching sections of the "Olgun Çocuk" magazine published in 1935 was the story named "One Mustafa Against A Thousand Enemies" appeared in the section titled "Great National Novel". In this story, the successes of a Turkish child among the enemy armies were told. *The following sentence was written at the beginning:* "You will read it by bursting with pride and getting the shivers". At the same time they spared a page to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and narrated heroic stories and his revolutions under the title of "There is nothing for a Turk to achieve" (Olgun Çocuk, Issue1).

In the "Çocuk Dünyası" magazine first published in 1926, an article series named "Life of İnönü" was printed. In this article series telling İnönü's life, there were praises to him such as "Who would think that this child, who was playing with a wooden sword and wooden horse in İzmir once would save the fatherland with his

expansive intellect, determination, will and great talent?" (Çocuk Dünyası, 1926, Issue: 25).

Publication reasons of all the magazines in this period were almost the same. The "Musavver Çocuk Postası" magazine published in 1923 described its reason to be published by saying "This magazine tries to increase the knowledge of Turkish children". "Gürbüz Türk Çocuğu" magazine, the first issue of which was published in October 1926 described its objective as "Upbringing sturdy Turkish children and constitute a strong nation composed of these sturdy Turkish children" (Sarıkaya: 2010:51, 83). "Olgun Çocuk" magazine explained its reason to be published on the first page of its first issue in 1935 as follows; "Why we are published? Only for you Great Turkish child" (Olgun Çocuk, 1935, Issue 1).

It is possible to see the reflections of the 1929 economic depression on children's magazines. 1929 depression created anxiety and solutions have been sought. For the purpose of being affected by this depression as minimal as possible, Turkey adopted a self-sustained economic policy and turned in upon itself. Moreover, some arrangements were made to excite savings consciousness and encourage consumption of domestic products in the society and in line with this aim, Society of National Economy and Savings" was established on 14 December 1929 (Duman, 999:111). A remarkable example of the reflection of 1929 Depression on children's magazines is the poem titled "Economic Patriotism" by Ziya Gök Alp which was published in issue 13 of "Şen Çocuk" magazine.

My country's silk is very beautiful.

We know how to weave and knit

All sorts of flowers growing in our fatherland

Are visible on the fabrics we produce

> Let's not buy rotten goods from foreigners
>
> Let's not wear neither crepe nor jersey
>
> Let's manufacture all bed linings, blouses, skirts and shirts
>
> From domestic products.
>
> Let's keep our money in this land
>
> Let our hand work gain value.

Before World War Two, similar economic difficulties have been experienced and consequently, consciousness of savings and austerity was continued to be indoctrinated to people (Toprak, 1999: 203). Accordingly, the urge to encourage people to consume domestic products continued in 1930's and 1940's. Being frugal and consuming domestic products and avoiding imported goods for the sake of the nation's future became one of the major features of the "Children of the Republic" (Öztan, 2011:99). The symbol of frugality for children was piggy banks. By way of children's piggy banks, messages were given to parents at the same time. "While the wealth of children are saved in piggy banks, the wealth of parents should be valued at banks and recorded". For example in the "Çocuk Duygusu" magazine of the time, frugality was considered important and emphasized as the assurance of future in poems, articles and ads of İş Bank (Doğdu, 2007:96);

> O friend!..Saving is the most beautiful thing in life.
>
> What I love most is here, my piggy bank.
>
> If you save money, it becomes a sea but if you don't, it's just a sip.
>
> O, friend! The most beautiful thing in the world is saving.
>
> Little drops make a lake, lake completes the sea.

One penny today prevents a thousand troubles tomorrow.

Time passes and when mournful old age comes,

The only friend that would help you is your savings.

Picture 1: Çocuk Duygusu, Issue:12, 1929

The common features of the children's magazines published in this period were treating the subjects of obligations of citizens (children) towards the state, the pride of being a Turk, patriotism by way of poems, tales, novels and stories and construction of childhood was rated with the destiny of the Republic.

4.3.3 Transition to multi-party period and state of children's magazine publishing in the following years

When in the 1950's, the Democrat Party came to power and Turkey entered into a new economic and political period. Moreover, upon the commencement of cold war period after World War Two, USA granted financial aids within the frame of "Marshall Plan" and Turkey received a pro rate share of these aids. As Kejanlıoğlu (2004:150) mentioned, one of the fields affected by the cold war in this period was

publishing. By the end of the 1950's the satellite technology was developed by virtue of the cold war between USA and USSR as of 1970's and consequently, the scope of publishing made a progress. With a change made in 1972, commercials had begun on television. And while TRT's revenue of radio-TV licenses was 1.4 billion, advertisement revenue was recognized as 2.2 billion. At the same time, a new period began in Turkey as in the world during which broadcasting came to the fore as an economic activity (Kejanlıoğlu, 2004:180). Without any doubt, this period which commenced with Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan and continued had a great impact on the social life in Turkey. The image of the United States of America grew stronger in Turkish public opinion and using and consuming American goods was considered as a prestigious thing. Magazines were also affected by the West and particularly by America and they began publishing attention-grabbing and sensational news like the American magazines do. Magazines and comic strips given on to a certain topic and interest gained weight (Gençel, 1984:198). Therefore, as an effect of this, the 1950s has witnessed the change experienced in the children's magazine. The period when American comic strips were prevailed and American heroes were adopted in children's magazines had begun (Ertem, 2009:395). At the same time children's magazines full of religious themes also begun to be published. (Kocabaşoğlu, 1984: 9).

These comic strips published in Turkey with titles such as Pekos Bill and Oklahoma in 1950's have dominated children's magazine publishing in Turkey until 1970's (Yıldırım, 2006:29). As these magazines yielded too much profit in a short time, publishers' preferences were in this direction. (Alpay, Anhegger:1975). These magazines including foreign topics and heroes and even having foreign names led their publishers to have a great commercial success in a short time (Gençel,

1984:198). The magazines which have been article intensive before underwent a complete change in this period and adopted a sense of image and tabloid intensive publishing (Başaran, 2008).

One of the important magazines published in this period was "Doğan Kardeş". Doğan Kardeş was first published on 23 April 1945 with the support of Yapı Kredi Bank and continued to be published until 1978 without interruption. The content of the magazine was composed of sections including literary works such as poems, tales and stories, geographic and natural history, encyclopedic information and readers' pages (Yıldırım, 2006:33). Generally positive effects of Turk and Turks on the world and topics about villages and workers were treated. However following 1960's the magazine gradually included comic strips and was shut down in 1978 due to a strike (Alpay; Anhegger, 1975).

When we came to 1970's, Milliyet Çocuk (Milliyet Child) published by Milliyet Publishing began its publication life on 7 October 1972, Tercüman Çocuk (Tercüman Child) on 23 April 1977 and Kumbara (Piggy Bank) published by İş Bank in 1978 (Güler, 2006:9-12). Headed by Ülkü Tamer, "Milliyet Çocuk" aimed at filling the literary gap emerged after "Doğan Kardeş". "Tercüman Çocuk" on the other hand was filled to the brim with foreign comic strips. Even though their number, publication years and total number of issues cannot be precisely determined, they can be listed as follows;

Table 3: Magazines Published Between 1940-1980

Name of Magazine	*Year*	*Publisher*	*Place*
Binbir Roman (1001	1941-1947	Tahsin Demiray	İstanbul/Monthly

Novels)			
Çocuk Romanları (Children's Novels)	1941	M.Faruk Gürtunca	İstanbul/Weekly
Bilmece (Riddle)	1943-1945	Cemile Tuna	İstanbul/Weekly
Çocuk Dünyası (Child's World)	1943	D. N. Arsan	İstanbul/Weekly.
Çocuk Haftası (Child's Week)	1943-1964		İstanbul/Weekly.
Türk Çocuğu (Turkish Child)	1944-1946	Naki Tezel	Ankara/Every 15 days
Çocuk Gözü (Eye of Child)	1945-1946	Faruk Gürtunca	İstanbul/Weekly.
Doğan Kardeş (Brother Doğan)	1945-1978	V. Nedim Tör	İstanbul/Monthly.
Şen Çocuk (Merry Child)	1945-1947	Bahaddin Yücel	İstanbul/Weekly.
Aile (Family)	1947-1952	V. Nedim Tör	İstanbul/Weekly.
Can Kardeş (Brother Can)	1947	Erdoğan Egeli	İstanbul/Weekly.
Çocuk Alemi (Child's World)	1947-1951	Hamit Şendur	İstanbul/Weekly.
Küçük Kardeş (Little Sibling)	1947-1948	V. Nedim Tör	İstanbul/Weekly.
Armağan (Gift)	1950-1957	Hamit Şendur	İstanbul/Weekly.

Çocuk Güneşi (Child's Sun)	1950	Bilal Akıncı	Trabzon/Every 15 days.
Çocuklara Armağan (Gift to Children)	1950-1956	Children's Publishing Establishment	İstanbul/Weekly.
1001 Özel (1001 Special)	1951-1961	Kemal Uzcan	İstanbul/Weekly.
Pekos Bill	1951-1960	Alaaddin Kıral	İstanbul/Weekly.
Fabulous Adventures of Pekos Bill	1951-1953		İstanbul/Weekly.
Ateş (Fire)	1952	Hamit Şendur	İstanbul/Weekly.
Harika (Marvelous)	1952	Aziz Vetoy	İstanbul/Weekly
Karınca (Ant)	1952-1953.	R. Gökalp Arkın	İstanbul/Weekly.
Kelebek (Butterfly)	1952	Ragıp Şevki Yeşim	İstanbul
Resimli Tomurcuk (Illustrated Bud)	1952-1954	Hamit Şendur	İstanbul/Weekly.
Yurt Çocuğu (Child of Fatherland)	1952	Sabri Tümkur	İstanbul/Weekly.
Çocuk ve Yuva (Child and Home)	1953-1978	Society for the Protection of Children	Ankara/Monthly.
Koca Teks (Big Tex)	1953	Alaaddin Kıral	İstanbul/Weekly.
Oklahoma	1953-1955	Alaaddin Kıral	Istanbul/Every 15 days/
Çocuk Dünyası (Child's	1954	Sabri Tümkur	İstanbul/Weekly

World)			
Çocuk Yuvası (Nursery School)	1954-1975	Turkish Commercial Bank Cultural Publications	Istanbul/Monthly/
Genç Ay (Young Moon)	1954-1959	Red Crescent Society	Ankara/Monthly.
Afacan (Urchin)	1955-1970	Şarika Şilliler	İstanbul/Weekly.
Bill Kid	1955-1971	Özcan Egeli	İstanbul/Weekly.
Ceylan (Gazelle)	1955-1966	Erdoğan Egeli	İstanbul/Weekly.
Adventures of Detective Nick	1955	Nihat Özcan	İstanbul/Weekly.
Kumbara (Piggy Bank)	1955	Ahmet Dallı	Ankara/Monthly.
Küçük Afacan (Little Urchin)	1955-1956	Erdoğan Egeli	İstanbul/Weekly.
Roket (Rocket)	1956	Meral Demirer	İstanbul/Weekly.
Teksas	1956-1958; 1967-1976	Erdoğan Egeli	İstanbul/Weekly.
Tom Miks	1956-1968	Erdoğan Egeli	İstanbul
Vak Vak Kardeş (Quack Sibling)	1956	Nihat Özcan	İstanbul
Yeni Macera (?) (New Adventure)	1956	Erdoğan Egeli	İstanbul/Weekly.
Aslan Prens (Lion Prince)	1957	Ceylan Publications	İstanbul/Weekly.

Rodeo	1957	Meral Demirer	İstanbul.
Yavru Türk (Turkish Youngster)	1957-1958	Kemal Özcan	İstanbul/Weekly.
Magazine of Illustrated Tales	1958	H. Şükrü Adal	İstanbul/Weekly.
Illustrated Discoveries and Inventions	1958	Sabahattin Selek	İstanbul/Weekly.
Superman	1958-1959; 1963; 1967-1968	Erdoğan Egeli	İstanbul
Binbir Macera (100 Adventures)	1959	Adnan Şakrak	İstanbul/Weekly.
Çocuk Haftası Yıllığı (Child's Week Yearbook)	1959-1960 (?)	Tahsin Demiray	İstanbul.
Dakota.	1959	Eşref Ekicigil	İstanbul/Weekly.
Dirik Daring	1959	Zeria Karadeniz	İstanbul/Weekly.
Jim Tora	1959	Erdoğan Egeli	İstanbul/Weekly.
Kansas Kid	1959	Zeria Karadeniz	İstanbul/Weekly.
Kinova	1959	Erdoğan Egeli	İstanbul/Weekly.
Kit Taylor	1959	Ceylan Publications	Istanbul/Irregular.
Lucky Luke	1959-1978	Adnan Şakrak	İstanbul/Weekly.
Sipru Album	1959-1961	Adnan Şakrak	İstanbul/Weekly.

Tom and Mick	1959	Hamit Şendur	İstanbul/Weekly.
Topuz (Knob)	1959	Erdoğan Egeli	İstanbul
Cowboy	1961	Adnan Şakrak	İstanbul/Weekly.
Küçük Prens (Little Prince)	1960-1978	Adnan Şakrak	İstanbul/Weekly
Kartal (Eagle)	1961-1963	Hakkı Bilgiç	Ankara/Weekly.
Fearless Bill	1961-1962	Burhanettin Şener	İstanbul/Weekly.
Küçük Fatoş (Little Fatoş)	1962-1963	Burhanettin Şener	İstanbul/Weekly.
Tom Mikson	1961	Adnan Şakrak	İstanbul/Weekly.
Alev (Flame)	1962-1964	Cemil Atacan	Istanbul/Every 15 days
Arkadaş (Friend)	1962-1963	Haluk Yetiş	İstanbul.
Bacaksız (Kiddy)	1962	Fuat Yılmaz	İstanbul/Weekly.
Çiçek (Flower)	1962-1964	Merih Atalaysun	Istanbul/Every 15 days.
Çocuk Yuvası (Nursery School)	1962-1967	Necdet Özbelge	İstanbul/Monthly.
Hey Teksas	1962 - 1974	Erdoğan Egeli	İstanbul/Weekly.
Kara Maske (Black Mask)	1962-1964	Mukaddes Kıral ve Ortakları (Holy King and Associates)	İstanbul/Weekly.

Mickey Mouse	1962-1966	Ali Nusret Pulhan	İstanbul/Weekly.
Lucky Luke	1962-1964	Said Yurdagül	İstanbul/Weekly.
Zagor	1962-1963; 1970-1978	Sezer Yalçmer	İstanbul/Weekly.
Cingöz (Sly)	1963-1970	Sait Yurdagöl	İstanbul/Weekly.
Heroic Ranger	1963	Hakkı Bigeç	Ankara/Weekly.
Heroic Tommiks	1963-1972	Erdoğan Egeli	İstanbul/Weekly.
Masal Dünyası (Fairy Tale World)	1963	Tunç Gör	İstanbul/Weekly.
Sipru	1963-1964	Sait Yurdagül	İstanbul/Weekly.
Tarzan	1963-1969	Burhanettin Şener	İstanbul/Weekly.
Zorro Black Rider	1963	Burhanettin Şener	İstanbul/Weekly.
Cici ile Bici	1964	N. Erkmen	İstanbul/Weekly.
Resimli Armağan (Illustrated Gift)	1964	Ahmet Yazıcı	İstanbul/Weekly.
Robin. Dağların Aslanı (Lion of Mountains)	1964	Burhanettin Şener	İstanbul/Weekly.
Şarlo Kodeste (Şarlo in Jail)	1964	Asım Şakrak	İstanbul/Weekly.
Yuki	1964-1973	Yaşar and Coşar Şilliler	İstanbul/Weekly.
Zıp Zıp	1964-1966	Erol Simavi	İstanbul/Weekly.
Armağan (Gift)	1965	Sait Yurdagül	İstanbul/Weekly.

Aster	1965-1969	Şarika Şilliler	İstanbul/Weekly.
Bahadır (Gallant)	1965-1967; 1972-1973	Burhanettin Şener	İstanbul/Weekly.
Colored Texas	1965-1968	Erdoğan Egeli	İstanbul/Weekly.
Colored Tommiks	1965-1968	Erdoğan Egeli	İstanbul/Weekly.
Türk Çocuğu (Turkish Child)	1965-1967	Cemal Erten	İstanbul/Weekly.
Çitlenbik (Hackberry)	1966	Hayrettin Önder	İstanbul/Weekly.
Kaplan (Tiger)	1966-1967	Nejat Erkan	İstanbul.
Tom Kit	1966-1967	Bilge Şakrak	İstanbul/Weekly.
Altın Kanat (Fatoş) (Golden Wing (Fatos))	1967-1968; 1976	Bilge Şakrak	İstanbul/Weekly.
Arkadaş (Friend)	1967	Bilge Şakrak	İstanbul/Weekly.
Bücür (Shorty)	1967-1970	Şarika Şilliler	İstanbul/Weekly.
Sipru	1967-1968; 1971;	1978 Sait Yurdagül	İstanbul/Weekly.
Viking	1967	Bilge Şakrak	İstanbul/Weekly.
Captain Swing	1969-1978	İlhami Alpagut	İstanbul/Weekly
Seksek (Hopscotch)	1970-1976	Haldun Simavi	İstanbul/Weekly.
Zagor	1970-1979	Sezen Yalçmer	İstanbul/Weekly.
Zembla	1970-1978	Sümer Publishing	İstanbul/Weekly.
Kansas	1971	Demirşah Doğan	İstanbul/Weekly.

Savaş (War)	1971-1977	DemirşahDoğan-Hayrettin Önder	
Superb Gordon	1971-1972	Şevket Kadayıfçı	İstanbul/Weekly.
Tolga	1971-1979	Abdullah Turhan	İstanbul/Weekly.
Yuki	1971-1973	Yaşar and Coşar Şilliler	İstanbul/Weekly.
Milliyet Children's Magazine	1977	Milliyet Gazetecilik A.Ş.	İstanbul/Weekly.
Tercüman Children's Magazine	1977	Kemal Ilıcak	İstanbul/Weekly.

Source: http://www.turkceciler.com/turk-cocuk-edebiyati.html)

As can be seen in the above table, 33 magazines out of 51 began their publishing lives between 1950 and 1960 were comic strips. Likewise, 84 magazines have been published between 1960 and 1970. 57 of these 84 magazines were also comic strips (Göktürk, 2001:56).

When late 1970's and 1980's are considered, it is seen that this period was attention-grabbing in terms of developments in the world as well as in Turkey. The student upheavals in May 1968 in Paris and the immediate demands announced both in Western Europe and the USA for liberation against the system and establishment of a new world order resulted in questioning the perception and world-view of the traditional western style capitalist ideology in the world (Özgen, 2004:466). These developments have naturally affected Turkey. During this period the event which left its mark on Turkish History was the military coup of 12 September 1980. On the pretext of the deadlock of the system and terror, the army seized the power on September 12. Members of the parliament were sent off, political parties were

abolished and mayors were unseated (Arı: 2008:24). The development which left its mark on the economy was 24 January 1980 decisions. As mentioned in detail in previous part of the study, in conjunction with 24 January 1980 decisions, the protective and import-substituting economic insight which raised the trade walls was left and replaced by the measures recommending a neoliberal approach model which was the beginning of a complete integration with capitalist western world (Özgen, 2004:467). 24 January decisions recommended liberalization of the economy and obligate the liquidation of current rights and freedoms to the full extent. Within the scope of all these developments, new icons serving to make the capital segments sympathetic in the public eye became the key element of the new order (Adaklı, 2006:145).

It is not possible to consider the developments in the field of the press in this period independently of this context. Freedom to inform of the press and freedom of information of the people have been restricted by the bans imposed by MGK (National Security Council) which was composed of only military members (Zürcher, 1995:406). Especially between the years of 1983 and 1984, restrictions on newspapers were rather intensified. Scorecards were kept for every newspaper regarding their states and conducts, and press organs remaining above a certain level have been shut down (Sucu, 2005:38). And media left the responsible publishing understanding after 1980. From then on it was nothing more than a commercial institution. It tended towards tabloid journalism and so, both the media and the people was depoliticized after the coup (Özgen, 2004:421).

Coupled with the "Özal Era" which got started after this process on 6 November 1983 and continued until 17 April 1993 (Nebiler, 1994:48) TRT (Turkish Radio and Television) proceeded to color transmission and the second channel started

to broadcast. Meanwhile, the high circulation Tan newspaper full of made-up news and Sabah newspaper began to be published. There was a major difference in the field of the press in 1980's. The newspapers were family businesses before 1980 but after that date, non-media capital entered into the field of media in conjunction with the sale of Milliyet newspaper to Aydın Doğan and Asil Nadir's entry to the field of media with a large capital. At the end of 1980's, media institutions became consumer or customer-oriented businesses. Mass journalism became prominent and along with news departments of the newspapers, advertising and marketing departments also became significantly influential.

In parallel with these developments and as a result of the consumption frenzy of 1980's and the advertisements supporting this, the number of magazines published gained steam (Sayılgan and Sayılgan, 2005). Children's magazine publishing rapidly kept pace with this situation and concentrated on teaching consumerism to children in conformity with neoliberal policies. As Aydoğan (2005) states, the number of pages allocated to informing the children became less than the number of pages allocated advertisements and entertainment. Consequently this led children to gradually move away from the written culture and be alone with a visual culture not necessitating cognitive reading and based on just looking.

When we came to 1990's, newspaper and media establishments turned into media holdings and newspapers which didn't have their own television channels, radio stations, public relations companies and internet businesses couldn't commercially exist in the market. When the media institutions were aiming at gaining the trust of their readers before 1980, they began to quest commercial ways to increase their profit margins and reach a high circulation. A period where the content was trivialized and purchase and consumption of the commodity by customers gained importance

had begun. At the same time the fact of "Global Media" came to existence and as a result of vertical and horizontal integrations, media oligopolies emerged (Adaklı, 2001:153). However spectrum of thoughts was not broadened upon capital inflow as argued. Even though their names were different, monotype products were offered to market (Kaya, 2009:259). For example magazines published after 1990's such as "Donald Amca", "Disney Dünyası", "Şirinler", "Barbie", "Power Rangers", "Batman", "Swing" and "Red Kit" resembled each other with tales narrated by cartoon film characters that children watch, puzzles, coloring and sticker sections and fancy pages (Taş, 2008).

At the same time these magazines were designed with repetitive and detailed illustrations based on artificial details of the product which would attract children's attraction and definitely were offered with a present. At the same time most of these magazines turned into famous commercial brands of globally leading companies of media-entertainment industries and published by having similar contents regarding toys, comic strip characters and icons known by children in every country. In many of these magazines adventurous posters of the characters whom the magazines were named after and advertisements full of cartoon animation characters by companies, the target audience of which were children were frequently seen. As an example, Doğan Egmont Group created a character named "Pınar Kido" in the children's magazines they published and aimed at selling "Pınar Milk" products targeting children (Şeçkin, 2009:13).

Another group of magazines first published in 1990's and still continue their publication lives is the children's magazines issued by institutions. For example "Diyanet Çocuk Dergisi (Children's Magazine of Directorate of Religious Affairs" published by the Directorate of Religious Affairs, "Bilim Çocuk (Science Child)" and

"Meraklı Minik (Curious Petit)" published by Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey and "TRT Çocuk Dergisi (TRT Children's Magazine)" published by Turkish Radio and Television Corporation are among the ones which still continue their publication lives. "Meraklı Minik" and "TRT Çocuk Dergisi" with wide circulation will be analyzed in detail in the research part of the study.

In summary, as it will be examined in detail in further parts of the thesis, the impact of conservative-liberal AKP (İnsel, 2008) administration is also being observed on children's magazines. It is possible to say that a conservative and consumption-oriented understanding of childhood has been developed. This impact is clearly felt when we look at today's magazines with the widest circulation. (National kids, TRT Çocuk, Meraklı Minik and Gonca).

Finally the children's magazines published in historic processes of Turkey have importance as they reflect the point of view of the time with regard to "child" and "child education" and in order to comprehend the desired model of child in the said period. The range of industries aiming at children establishes a daily life ideology for them. Today, fearless development of identity hinges upon the consuming power, skill and priority. Toys, DVDs, magazines related to cartoon film characters, clothing, accessories and similar commodities keep defining the life as consumption-oriented. And while children consume mass entertainment products, they become the arena of dominant ones (Şeçkim, 2009:15).

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS OF CHILDREN'S MAGAZINES IN TERMS OF

TRANSFERRING DOMINANT IDEOLOGIES

Children's magazines are one of the mass medium which would indirectly or directly influence the children. Sometimes they transfer their messages rather clearly and in some cases, they do it by aiming at the subconscious of children. As it was addressed in detail in earlier chapters of the study, assessing the dominant ideologies appearing in children's magazines independently of existing or historically changing socio-economic and cultural facts or events will come short. Therefore "critical discourse analysis" was preferred in the research part of the study. Because differently from analyses dealing only with discourse in terms of linguistics, in critical discourse analysis the approach of the analyzer is also assessed within the context of this relation (Van Dijk, 1993:249). Critical discourse analysis reveals the relationship between all parties of the discourse and pays sufficient attention to political, social and economic conditions that would affect the comments and individuals in the background. In this direction, the selected children's magazines published in the years involved in the study by also mentioning the ownership structure.

5.1 Methodology

Ideology and discourse are two concepts which are not considered astride. Broadly speaking, discourse plays a role in articulation and transfer of ideologies. That is to say that they are influential on reproduction of ideologies and their expression in daily life. Hence as Van Dijk (2000:24) stated, the most important

social practices affected by the ideologies are the linguistic performance and discourse which affect how we obtain, learn and change the ideologies.

Individuals in a social life understand each other by means of language and contribute to the formation of verbal and written culture. Being a means we use to interpret our world-view and experiences, language also enables the transfer and processing of ideology. Words are signs which represent the things they verbalize and gain an existence/a value when they are used (Talimciler, 2007:48). Individuals can continue their existence in social life by sharing the language and the ideology involved in the language. Language performance matters in this socialization process and functions as a key to comprehend the world (Karaduman, 2009:43). Since linguistic messages carry the effect of dominant ideology on them, all social linguistic elements are under the influence of an ideological reading. It is impossible to talk about a linguistic and communicative process independent of ideological influence, because the system of meaningful rules enabling organization and production of messages is constituted by the ideology. Being a system of semantic rules to produce the messages, ideology proves that it is the most effective means to shape the subjects and create the consent (Çoban, 2003:254-255). Van Dijk's analyses exemplify the hierarchical mechanism that the social differences (such as ethnic, racial, gender) are positioned within discourse. When the concept of discourse is addressed together with ideology in terms of media operations, it provides points of exit to exhibit the role of media texts in the establishment of social power (Karaduman, 2009:45). The importance of means of communication lies behind their role in determining the social discourse and communication processes. Media discourse emerges as the main source of knowledge, attitudes and ideologies of the society. Because as mentioned in the previous chapter of the study, the powers cannot actualize their legitimacy in the

public eye merely by force-based institutions and strategies. They also generate discourses that would legitimize them and the tools to convey these discourses to masses. Therefore generation of discourse is of great importance for the control and supervision of the social life (Özer, 1999: 123). Therefore persuasion and manipulation have become one of the most important issues of our time. Critical discourse analysis at this point focuses on how such power is exploited to establish dominance and focuses on how discourses are controlled and how individual beliefs and actions are transferred in favor of dominant interest groups. In this study, the concept of discourse and critical discourse analysis will be the pathfinder in order for us to comprehend the hidden/implicit ideology contained in children's magazines.

At this point it would be useful to open up the critical discourse analysis a little bit. Critical discourse analysis provides a rather broad conceptual and methodological frame including discourse studies, discussions of identity, distinction and others due to the critical dimension it contains (Van Dijk, 2007:4). Faircough (1995: 57-62) summarizes critical discourse analysis under three main headings; discourse as a text, discourse as discursive practice and discourse as a social practice. These three are in relationship with each other. For example, there are serious differences between the representation of a person as nationalist, racist, patriotic or terrorist, guerrilla or freedom fighter (Van Dijk, 1998: 31). Certainly, to analyze these differences, it would not be enough to examine a text at the level of words and phrases alone. For this reason, the ideological and hegemonic function that the discourse processes is important. This is also categorized as "discourse as a social practice" (Faircough, 1995: 57-62).

Van dijk analyzes texts in two main structures as macro and micro. In the examination of macro structure firstly news headlines, subtitles, news entries and

spots are analyzed from a thematic point of view (van Dijk, 1998: 13-85). In the schematic analysis composed of two subsections; in the first one the narrative pattern (Case) and in the second one, true sources of the event and the reactions of the parties involved (Interpretation) are examined. In the examination of the micro structure, Dijk keeps tracks of the discourse reflected on the elements (units) of language. It examines word choices, sentence structures, causality relationships between statements by linking them with rhetoric.

Another important dimension is the relationship between history and discourse. Critical Discourse Analysis emphasizes that the mental stereotypes and templates subjecting the discourse are historically shaped. Decisiveness of historical context on discourse is important in terms of the formation and transformation of identity (Van Dijk, 2000). For example, discursive reasons behind the political and social exclusion of certain groups may be the subject of critical discourse analysis, taking their historical context into account.

Another phenomenon considered in critical discourse analysis is the synonyms of words. When the word map of a text is reviewed, the words particularly chosen among the synonyms or the ones having approximate meanings are classified and it is tried to understand why these words were chosen particularly. Because as opposed to popular belief, words don't envisage an innocent preference but affirmative or negating intention of authors as representatives of a world, a cultural climate. On the other hand, the researcher should consider not only the lexical meanings of the words but also associative meaning interactions they assume within the context of its use; (Van Dijk, 1993: 249). Social structure and social individual are built with successful discursive strategies under conflicting circumstances like alienation environments of national identity formation processes, class hierarchy tension emanated due to social

stratification or polarization. At this point, one of the means using the language in the most appropriate way is "media organs". Therefore it is also important to analyze which ideologies are being built through media.

At the same time discourse can be analyzed over visual materials along with written and verbal texts in the critical discourse analysis. So much so that the analysis of meanings attributed to shapes and symbols is also important when the new forms of communication at the present day are considered. All channels used through television, cinema and new media tools prefer simple and short texts in the transmission of messages and features visual materials. For this reason, analysis of visual materials in critical discourse analysis is also an important research topic. In the research section of this study, the texts in the children's magazine as well as the visuals in the magazines will be examined. In the study, the method developed by van Dijk for media texts will be used in general terms specific to children's magazines. Because sociopolitical phenomena shape not only daily news but also children's magazines.

5.2 Categories of Analysis and Interpretation

Children's magazines were highly influenced by the existing political, social and economic conditions. The changes in these areas have also affected the discourses in children's magazines. In this part of the study, it is aimed to reveal changes or similarities in discourses of children's magazines together with social life and economic processes. For this purpose Can Kardeş, Türkiye Çocuk, Başak Çocuk, Öncü, Kumbara, National Kids, Milliyet Kardeş and TRT Çocuk magazines published

between the years of 1980 and 2012 which had a high number of followers will be examined. A total of forty magazines will be subject to examination, with five of each.

Children's magazines will be examined under five categories of analysis, with reference to the method of critical discourse analysis, on the grounds that they reproduced the dominant ideology of the period. These categories are determined in consideration of the economic-sociopolitical events during the years involved in the examination as; "Militarist Discourses and the Desired Ideal Turkish Child", "Construction of Muslim Child with Religious Discourses", "Presentation of Charity and Feeling of Being Thankful", "Inversion of Saving Child to Consuming Child" and "Successful Child Phenomenon".

5.3 Ownership Structure of Selected Magazines

In this study it is important to know the ownership structures of selected magazines in order to be able to see and handle the existing table as a whole when they are analyzed to examine. Therefore, looking at the ownership structure of selected magazines will make it easy to examine.

The general characteristics of the selected magazines, dates of publishing dates and ownership status are as follows;

NAME OF THE MAGAZINE	*YEAR OF PUBLICATION*	*OWNER OF PUBLICATION*
Kumbara (Piggy Bank)	1978-1992/2010-...	İş Bank
Başak Çocuk (Başak	1983-2000	Ziraat Bank

Child)		
Milliyet Kardeş (Milliyet Sibling)	1977-....	Doğan Egmont Yayıncılık ve Yapımcılık A.Ş.
Türkiye Çocuk (Turkey Child)	1981-...	İhlas Gazetecilik A.Ş.
Can Kardeş (Brother Can)	1980-...	Yeni Asya Medya Grup (Media Group)
TRT Çocuk (TRT Child)	2008-...	Turkish Radio-Television Corporation
Öncü (Pioneer)	1995-...	Turkish Standards Institute
National Kids	2004-...	Doğuş Yayın Grubu (Publication Group)

As seen above, Başak Çocuk and Kumbara magazines are published by banks. While magazines published by banks were 4% of the total previously, their ratio had raised to 34.8% after 1990. The common feature of these magazines is they are not sold with a price (Yalçın and Aytaş, 2005). They also stand out with their emphasize on savings and piggy bank funds for children.

İş Bank was established and went into action by order of Atatürk to establish "a national bank" in 1924, under the management of its first General Manager, Celal Bayar. When the owners of İş Bank today are considered, 28% of its share belongs to Atatürk, 40% to Supplementary Fund Foundation (foundation of bank employees) and remaining 32% is open to public. As it will be discussed in detail in the research section, "Kumbara" magazine owned by İş Bank also aimed at upbringing a generation devoted to Atatürk and following Atatürk's footsteps. Today Kumbara magazine is managed by Suat Özen. Suat Özen also carries out the duty of the

General Manager of İş Bank Corporate Communication Department. Sözen states that one of the most important starting points of Kumbara magazine is "creating economic awareness"[16]of children. In the name of "creating economic awareness of children", Kumbara magazine definitely publishes the advertisement of "Piggy Bank Fund" owned by İş Bank in every issue and encourages children to save their money in this fund.

Başak Çocuk magazine is being published by Ziraat Bank on a monthly basis. All share os Ziraat Bank belong to Undersecretariat for the Treasury. Chairman of the Board of Directors is Muhammet Karslı[17].

Öncü Çocuk magazine is distributed without a price like Kumbara and Başak Çocuk magazines. The magazine published by Turkish Standards Institute can be reached by subscription and it is published once every three months. The magazine is owned by Turkish Standards Institute. The magazine is managed by Hulusi Şentürk. Hulusi Şentürk acted as İstanbul Deputy Provincial President of AKP. While he was the president of TSE, one of the issues that Hulusi Şentürk laid emphasis on was "Halal Certificate". Commencing with foodstuff in conformity with Islamic procedures, "halal economy" created its own "sharia-centered" market economy from toys to cosmetic products and to the tourism sector. Hulusi Şentürk says the following words concerning to the subject:

"This is a market share expected by EU. Let me tell you what will happen if we cannot enter the market. This is an annual yield of hundreds of millions

---

[16] Complete interview of Suat Sözen can be accessed at this address:
http://www.dijimecmua.com/mng-kargo-box/1112/index/968117_suat-sozen-is-bankasi-kurumsal-iletisim-muduru/

[17] Muharrem Karslı was elected as a member of parliament from Justice and Development Party in Istanbul, on November 3rd, 2002 and appointed as the Chairman of the Board of Ziraat Bank.

throughout Turkey. If we cannot do this, this money will still be received by Europeans. They will provide this certificate. I mean, all parties should completely support us by considering the commercial dimension of this issue. OK! The fee of the certificate is very much but it actually includes the halal foodstuff market with an annual return amounting 930 billion dollars. The return of halal food market around the world was 930 billion dollars last year. This return means that our business world remains in the background. None of us has the right to do this."[18]

When mentioning the aim of publishing the magazine, Hulusi Şentürk stated that while using products and services, the quality of the said products and services should be questioned and the healthiest starting point of this questioning is "children". He added that this free-of-charge magazine will contribute to the development of children's "quality" consciousness. (http://www.milliyet.com.tr/tse-tiyatro-grubu-ndan-once-kalite-oyunu-ankara-yerelhaber-471800/).

When the general structure of Öncü magazine is examined in the light of the above information, it is understood that it has a conservative publishing approach which is conformity with the conditions of the market.

Milliyet Kardeş magazine continued its existence for long years. Doğan Medya Grup (Media Group), the owner of the magazine, merged with Egmont International in 1996. As a result of this merger, publications of establishments such as Disney, Mattel, Nickelodeon, Turner, Harper Colins and Scholastic entered into Turkey, in other words, into the "the world of children". By the 2000's, all effects of getting commercialized had reflected on the magazine, the whole appearance of the

---

[18] For continuation of the interview, see, http://ekonomi.haber7.com/ekonomi/haber/754567-tse-helal-gida-sertifikasi-verecek

magazine had changed and it became full of posters of artists, gifts and advertisements. There are significant differences between its early issues and issues of today in terms of visuals and content.

Other long-lasting magazines are Türkiye Çocuk and Can Kardeş. Can Kardeş magazine of Yeni Asya Medya Grup (Media Group) proceeded in conformity with the voice of its owner and preserved its conservative identity from the first date of publication until today. Yeni Asya Medya Grup states that they have based on the basic estimates and values mentioned in "Risale-i Nur (Epistles of Light)[19]when they formed their publication principles (Eraçıkbaş, 2015). Some of these publication principles are as follows:

- o Yeni Asya has the opinion that the common values of the society, religion being in the first place, cannot be an instrument to any interest.
- o It is against the imposing understandings aiming at making a single opinion or ideology dominant.
- o It objects radical and violence-based behaviors.

As will be seen in detail in the reviewed magazine of the study, although the publisher declared that they are against imposing ideologies and violence, violence is frequently the theme of comic strips and stories included in Can Kardeş and the enemies are mostly non-Muslims. In addition indirectly or openly "religion" based stories are frequently offered to children.

Similarly, İhlas Çocuk magazine belongs to İhlas Yayın Grubu (Publication Group) and has a conservative tendency. At the same time Enver Ören, owner of İhlas

---

[19] A book written about Islamic matters by Said Nursi. The movement shaped under the leadership of Said-i Nursi is called "Nurculuk" (Subaşı,2005). One of the establishments very close to Nur Congregation is Yeni Asya Group.

Holding[20]is known as being very close to "Işık Cemaati" (Light Congregation) (Çakır, 2014). Işıkçılar Cemaati (Light Congregation) is positioned in line with Turkish-Islamic synthesis and fight against communism is included in the main policies of the Congregation. The Congregation complied with global capitalism in its commercial affairs. When Türkiye Çocuk magazine is reviewed, it is seen that it is in conformity with the parameters of both Turkish-Islamic synthesis and capitalism.

TRT Çocuk magazine contains all features of belonging to a state-owned institution in itself. The momentum of the magazine is always in rapport with the ideology of the current power and tendency.

Finally, National Geographic Kids magazine, began its publication life in 1975. But it entered into Turkish market after its partnership with Doğuş Publication Group in 2004. National Kids magazine is a magazine full of global heroes or ads of products which use these characters and publicity of animated movies.

Attributing the ownership, wishes and actions of media owners only to economic reasons will not provide a sufficient explanation in terms of ownership. Especially in a country like Turkey, where it was always stated that media is at a loss, it will be more difficult to explain this effort (Cansen, 2002:14). Therefore being a media brings alone two factors; political power and money. Sometimes media owners don't abstain from directly verbalizing these objectives of them. For example Robert Maxwell, the owner of Mirror Group in England, explained the reason for determining the whole publication policy of the group by himself as follows: "I didn't invest ninety million pound/sterling in this business for benediction" (Duran, 1999: 92-93).When Rupert Murdoch acquired London Times and forced the employees to

---

[20] Founder of the Işık (Light) Cult is Hüseyin Hilmi Işık. He then transferred the leadership to his son-in-law, Enver Ören. The congregation developed within İhlas Holding.

make pro-Thatcher publication, he was faced with mass resignation. Thereupon Rupert Murdoch showed his reaction by saying "I didn't walk such a long way for not interfering the internal affairs of the newspaper. I own this business and I am the boss." (Duran, 1999:92-93). It is clear that children who are regarded as the "new generation" are victims of the commercial and political concerns of media owners.

5.4 General Overview of the Magazines Published Between the Years of 2009-2012

State budget implementations actualized within the context of neoliberal economy policies in Turkey had a start in 1980. Export-based foreign capital supporting activities and outward-oriented growth policies implemented as of 1980 to enable the integration with the capitalist world became effective on both budgetary implementations and formation of socio-economic problems (Güzelsarı, 2008:97).

Neoliberal policies were adopted in 1980's by instilling hope to people of having a higher standard of living if they adapt to the new social conditions (Oskay, 1982:180). This belief/persuasion had also reflected on children's magazines and children were added to the newly formed consumption ideology. The belief that consumption is pleasure and happiness was tried to be infused to children and while they were abstracted from realities via consumption, the characteristic of children gradually was accorded with the capitalist system.

When it was 1990's, Turkish economy was completely liberalized in terms of commodity and capital movements. Competitive power became the single criterion of success and the understanding of "human comes first" was moved away from the

economy and social life (Kazgan, 2004:155). 2000's became the years where capitalism was completely developed and settled (Boratav, 2007:205-206).

The years included in this chapter were also a vibrant period of time in terms of "national identity" and "conservativeness". One of the most important developments in Turkish political life in 1990's was the rise of extreme nationalism and conservatism (Arıkan, 2004:13). Especially with the presence of PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) in the 1990s, nationalism was further triggered and conservatism rose and its effects were frequently reflected on children's magazines. Both national discourses and religious articles with religious themes were published more and these two facts were generally spread as a conservative nationalism.

5.4.1 Nationalism Fact, Military Discourses and the Desired "Ideal Turkish Child"

Political power has defined childhood throughout history from a paternalist perspective in Turkey and this perspective was predominantly focused on the dimensions of protection and guidance. While protection proposed the development of children in various respects, guidance caused nationalist tasks and responsibilities to be ascribed to them (İnal, 1999:195). In this section the reflections of values and beliefs that bear the traces of the Republic period on children's magazines in terms of paternalist approaches, consciousness of being a nation, language and race.

In the early years of the Republic, education was regarded as the most effective means of transforming the society. "The function of propagandism of the regime was attributed to education in defiance of non-educational objectives and even of the real objectives of education" (Tuncay, 1981:237-238) and the task of political education was assigned to teachers and schools. In addition, in all works of the time

about pedagogy and child-rearing, the rising status of the child in the world was mentioned and the impact of family and community on child rearing was emphasized. The schools were defined as "contemporary homes" and it was stated that there should be a rapport between the parents and teacher for the education of child (Öztan, 2009:116).

The policy of child revealed in compliance with the ideal of the Republic to form the "ideal Turkish child" with a paternalist understanding on the basis of class, sexist and ethnicity-based childhood fantasy adopts the approach of children's being in need of protection, insufficient and weak and subjects children to a triplet control mechanism composed of family, school and state. There are so many examples to present under this category in the magazines reviewed. For example in the section of "Letters of Endearment" in "Can Kardeş" magazine, emotions of a teacher who was angry with a student who asked for ten points for the course in morals were expressed in a letter written by the teacher as follows;

> It seemed like a chill ran down my back. I would expect this from another student, but not from you. First of all it was disrespectful for you to talk to me while you were sitting. Secondly, your manner was cynic. And your request was obnoxious. Because you asked for something you didn't deserve. You asked me to defraud. Although we are in the course in morals your words, attitude and request didn't comply with morals. You must have noticed that I was turned scarlet. For a moment, I thought to slap you.And that's not all: I blamed your father and mother. They should have taught you how to behave in a classroom and how to talk to a teacher. Anyway, I hope this kind of incidents will not happen again. I also wait for the day when you come and apologize to me. (Can Kardeş, 1984 (45), 16).

The notion of "standing up when the teacher comes" mentioned above is considered equal to respect. This appears before us as a reflection of military order to schools. Children are told to stand at attention in front of a teacher who basically turned into a representative of the official ideology. As Freire (2006) also states, presentation and duty of the teacher are presented as merely an informing source in the magazines. The students are in a passive state and they are obliged to receive and learn the information provided to them. They don't have the right to investigate, interpret and criticize this information. Otherwise they would be disrespectful. Meanwhile, another point that made the teacher angry is student's asking for a course grade. Because exam and grade system is "the most effective way to be kept under the repressive control of dominant practices" as Erdoğan states. (http://www.irfanerdogan.com/egitim/egitimideolojisi.htm).

There is another point. The teacher is angry with student's mother and father for student's behavior and this is evidential reasoning of the thought that "the educations begins in the family" for the child who is defined as an entity to be educated. This story which emphasizes the importance of raising the child to be obedient and moral is the proof of the thought that "primarily the parents should be obedient and moral". The *"For a moment, I thought to slap you" sentence in the text* is almost normalizing to use brute force on a child due to a "mistake" he/she makes. It is clear at this point that when the emphasis is laid on a questioning, investigating, creative and free childhood, the point where the freedom of children comes to an end is the principles, symbols and laws of the existing order as stated by Öztan (2013:126-127). Therefore the space of freedom of the child ends in the elements of the system like standing up when the teacher comes and giving course grades as in the above

example and obedience is expected.

Similar examples from children's magazines can be augmented. For example the story named "Bastinado" by Ömer Seyfettin in Kumbara Magazine (1980(16):6-11). In the story told from the mouth of the school's urchin, District Governor bans the bastinado of the teacher who frightens the children with bastinado. And the child who tells the story says; *"The next day bastinado was not in its place. And we got so wild.. We took his snuffbox while our teacher was sleeping."* When the fear of bastinado is gone, children got out of control. In other words children who are regarded as a mass to be kept under control get out of control when there is nothing to suppress them. The reaction of the teacher when he realizes that his snuffbox was stolen is as follows; *"I promise that I will beat the one who sneezes to death[21]!"* Therewith it is seen that children's feet are whipped. "*Five minutes later the charge-hand came and a horrible scene began. Our feet were whipped in turns. All of us run the gauntlet. As of that day, yawning and sneezing were regarded as a major offense."*

Later on in the story, the teacher is convinced that the donkey stole his snuffbox and he gets busted by the district governor when he was whipping the feet of the donkey and loses his job. Then the child who played the joke on the teacher has a guilty conscience: " *The image of this white-bearded poor old man who was fired from his job because of me would stand against me.*" In this story, it is depicted that the child has a guilty conscience because of the teacher's losing his job as a result of a joke played on him but regular whipping of children was taken normally. As clearly seen from the stories above, children are being disciplined by their families and

---

[21] When the child goes home, he/she asks his/her mother: What kind of an oath is "Let it be a must!" Her mother says: "Wives of those who commit perjury become free." Thereupon the child thinks that his/her teacher should keep his word and pushes him more.

schools. As stated by Postman (1995:61); *"The families turned into guardians, guards, protectors, oppressors, punishers and judges of credit and honesty."*

Attitudes of families proceed in parallel with the education at schools. The section named "Family and Child" of Milliyet Çocuk magazine is a good example of this. Mother and father of a little girl who doesn't eat her breakfast tell her the necessity of having breakfast as follows;

- Dear daughter, if you don't eat your breakfast, you will get a beating! (Father)

- My little one, if you don't eat, you will die! (Mother)

- You can't understand what your teacher says, you cannot be successful! (Father)

- Eat your bite! Otherwise the dog will take it! (Mother) (Milliyet Kardeş, (35): 8).

As seen from the above dialogue, mother and father threaten their child with factors like beating, dog and success in order to get her adopt the habit of eating breakfast. In another "Family and Child" section, mothers and fathers who put the pressure of success on children and who match their children's grades/success (Milliyet Kardeş, (36):8. In modern family structure, expectations of the state from citizens matched up with expectations of families from their children and the name of "setting someone straight" with the thought that "their flesh is yours and bones are mine" is legitimized as "education". The spare times were spent under the voluntary supervision of families (Althusser,1994:42). So much so that, in order to understand the father's authority on the child, it is necessary to read a text in Türkiye Çocuk magazine;

"A child's obligations against his/her mother and father are those: When somebody's mother-father calls him/her when he/she was doing something, he/she should immediately cease what he/she was doing and be at his/her mother's/father's service. If his/her mother/father gets angry and shout at him/her, he/she should not reply them. If they are cross for any reason, he/she should not speak harshly to them and immediately kiss their hand and soothe them." (1993(26).12)

In the above text, the child became subject to mother's and father's authority under the chain of command as will be seen from the sentence of "...be at his/her mother's/father's service" who was regarded as an element owned by the teacher and serve under the teacher's command in the previous examples.

The parents who look out for their children and protect them are those who know the best for them "like the state" as Öztan (2009:126) states. "Ideal child" should learn to respect and obey those who protect him/her. Thus adapting to "the rules determined by the state" in the future will get easier.

One of the emphasized points when the children are indoctrinated in terms of an authority who knows what is best and which behavior is right for them and when the outline of "ideal Turkish child" is determined is nationalist values in compliance with historical circumstances. During the construction of the Kemalist nation, nationalism principles were erected as the determinant of individual and collective identity (Yıldız, 2007: 16, 291, 295). In this period, this construction process was accelerated with leaving Arabic alphabet and transiting to Latin alphabet along with provincial and historical studies giving on to "ancient civilizations" (Timur, 2006: 17).

Means such as compulsory education, national media, laws enacted in the official language, nationalization policies, national holidays and symbols, compulsory military service have been used to create, spread and strengthen this feeling/identity of a nation (Kymlicka, 2004: 375). Unity of lineage, race and blood and language became important (Yardımcı ve Aslan, 2008: 132) and frequently used in children's magazines. Stories written to dignify Turkish race and language and belittling other races and nations were fictionalized in a way to attract the interest of children. In this context, one of the most frequently discussed subject in the children's magazines published especially between the years of 1980's-1990's was "Turkish Language". Those who don't/can't speak the Turkish language intelligibly were criticized and "Turkish Language" was spoken highly of. For example, the dialogue in the section of "Başak Child's Adventures" in Başak Çocuk's magazine is as follows;

- Do you know Başak Boy? There are such words in some books that we read that cannot be in Turkish, which are very difficult to understand.

-You're right Başak girl. Our dearest Turkish is like a third language. Do you know that this issue that you complain was overwhelming the people in the past, too.

-I do not know, will you tell me?

-In the 13th century the languages spoken in the Anatolian Seljuk Sultanate were Persian and Arabic, so there was a disconnection between the people and the administrators. For example, in the public office, the citizen would not understand what the official officer said ...At that time Esquire Mehmet agglomerated the Turkmen settled on the foothills of Taurus Mountains and established Karamanoğulları Seigniory. He attached a great importance to

language; "One of the elements that brings about a nation is language. Convey my order in this matter as of tomorrow ...(Başak Çocuk, 1995 (148) : 22)

In this short story, the old times were cited and it was stated that at the time when a common language was not used, people would not understand each other. " *And the statement "One of the elements that brings about a nation is language"* it was pointed out that an important rule of being a nation state is unity of language. Likewise, there are two pages describing Turkish Alphabet Revolution in the section titled "Pages from Our History" in Kumbara children's magazine. The necessity of the alphabet revolution and the importance of the Turkish nation's speaking the same language are emphasized. The magazine features Atatürk's speech:

The harmonious and rich Turkish language will make an appearance with new Turkish letters. Much work has been done, but today we have a very necessary job to do, which is learning the new Turkish letters quickly. Teach them to every citizen, woman, man, porter, boatman. Refer to this as a duty of patriotism and nationalism (Kumbara, 1991 (142): 12).

Another example that emphasizes the importance of "simplification of language" is seen in Kumbara Çocuk magazine. There is an *article introducing Nurullah Ataç* who is qualified as a person who "dedicated himself to the purification of Turkish language". In the part of the article where his characteristics are mentioned*, it was stated that "He was sincerely remained loyal to Atatürk's principles to until he died. He adopted these principles as the only way to bring Turkey to the level of contemporary civilization ".*

It is not a coincidence that examples in the above children's magazines covering the years 1980-1990 were often emphasized on "unity of language" and "Turkish language". Like all nation states, Turkey also continues to live under a strong one common language ethos. This was provided through the single and official language, Turkish language, which had an important place in nationalism policies in the Republic period. The transition from the Ottoman Turkish, which reflects the impure and Islamic values of the Empire to the Turkish language, which reflects Turkism, has been the greatest development supporting this ethos (İnal, 2012: 81).

Another element that draws attention to the existence and importance of the founded Republic and frequently mentioned in children's magazines is the "victorious" wars in the history of Turkey. From the early years of the Republic, the bellicose and heroic themes which are inherited from the ideological formation of the Committee of Union and Progress and are inseparable parts of the nationalist discourse preserved their dignity and validity within the frame of educating both the children and adults (Öztan, 2009: 56). Therefore, while examining the perception of 'ideal' childhood in the Republic period, it is necessary to take a closer look at the 'heroism/ bellicosity' which have their origins in Central Asia.

For example, Kumbara magazine devotes one page of each issue to a war in history. In Kumbara magazine published in July-August 1989, a page was dedicated to "Victory of Malazgirt" and "August 30 Victory". Regarding the Battle of Malazgirt it is stated in the magazine; *"So Anatolia's gate was opened to Turks. Anatolia, which has become unclaimed for centuries, became the new homeland of our nation"*. Another article in the same magazine is about "August 30 Victory":

The Assembly granted the title of "Gazi (War Veteran)" and the rank of "Marshall" to Mustafa Kemal due to his success. This victory has now led to

new treaties. Now the last enemies remained in some parts of the homeland

would be thrown out. The battle commenced started with a violent artillery

fire towards morning. The enemy positions were denied one-by-one. They

were captivated with their commanders. Thus a new and glorious victory was

added to our history of wars and it was called Supreme Pitched Battle or

August 30 Victory (1989,(126):59).

In order to be more effective on constructing the "ideal" childhood through

heroism, a story about a battle in late history and heroism was needed. In children's

magazines, the nationalist view precisely discriminates "us" and "foreign and

threatening others. The militant aspect of nationalism presents itself to children as the

virtue of killing and killing for the "national cause" regardless of whether it is right or

wrong.

(http://www.ozgurtoplumundegerleri.com/res/Mustafa_Erdogan_milliyetcilik). In this

context Dardanelles War and War of Independence were mentioned in children's

magazines at most. Başak Çocuk magazine absolutely included a historical victory in

its every issue published in those years. For example; The magazine spared one page

for "Dardanelles Victory" and depicted how the war was made (1996, (155):5). In

another issue of Başak Çocuk magazine, under the heading of "Liberation of

Gaziantep", how the word "Gazi (War Veteran)" was added to the original name of

the city, "Antep".

People of Antep heroically resisted to invaders. On November 20, 1920, the

French attacked to national resister with a great force of 20,000 people.

Despite all impossibilities, the city resisted for 10 months and 9 days and 7000

people were fell martyrs. Invading troops entered into the city only after this.

Due to this valiant resistance, the word Gazi was added to the name of the city (1998 (70): 10).

In the texts above praise to soldiers and military is attention-grabbing. With the emphasizes in the text such as "valiant resistance" and "heroically resisted", "patriotism" and "bravery" of Turkish soldiers and the people fighting in unison with them are praised. So much so that, this is what is expected from the "ideal" Turkish child. Being a child during the war counts for nothing. What's important is fighting "bravely". A poem written from the mouth of a child in Başak Çocuk magazine is an example. The child refers to his peers who died during the war of independence with the statement "blood of my siblings irrigates it":

My beautiful homeland, my heavenly country

My ancestors fought for it

Blood of my siblings irrigates it

And the sultan sold it for nothing

My beloved Turkey ...

It was kneaded with our blood in the war

It was kneaded with our love when we make peace

My, your, everyone's homeland

My beautiful homeland, my heavenly country

My beloved Turkey ...

Our freedom is in this land

Our future is in this skies

Our defense is in these waters

My beautiful homeland, my heavenly country

My beloved Turkey ... (Başak Çocuk,1989(82):27).

At the same time the above poem refers to the past with the phrase "and the Sultan sold it". The words "blood, war, defense" refer to that the Republic was founded with difficulties and Atatürk's saying, "the future is in the skies" underlies the necessity of following Atatürk's footsteps. Drawn portrait of an "ideal Turkish child" emphasizes that they should be obedient and tightly devoted to values such as language and history as well as they should not leave Atatürk's path and devoted to Atatürk's practices. Within the framework of the Republican symbols and culture of leader, love for Mustafa Kemal was constantly prioritized. Children's love and respect for "savior" Atatürk was frequently emphasized in children's magazines. The article titled "We Commemorate Atatürk" in Kumbara magazine is an example of this. In the text, the importance of love for Atatürk and following his footsteps were mentioned and Atatürkism was presented as the formula of happiness.

> Love for Atatürk is being carried into the future like a flag. We all know very well that, great difficulties were experienced in our country when there was a tendency to leave the Atatürkist thought. In this regard the objective which determines national unity and social happiness has always been "Atatürkism" and love for Atatürk. Doesn't the perception of every November 10 as a day of acquittance for laying claim to Atatürk's principles and Atatürk's revolutions and following his footsteps beyond merely being a day of mourning contain a great meaning? (1991 (142): 5)

Başak Çocuk published an article about Atatürk's coming to Ankara. It was stated that Ankara is a sacred city, this sacredness is protected by the Constitution and attempting to change this is a constitutional crime. It stated that the duty of a Turkish child is; "*walking on the Atatürk's path, lay claim to his principles and revolutions and apply them bet improving every day with contemporary methods*"   (1986 (46): 8).

After the foundation of a state nation in Turkey and with the proclamation of the Republic, the points expected from children to politically obey became clearly visible: upbringing nationalist generations who are devoted to Mustafa Kemal and his basic principles and to the consciousness of "Turkism" and these were frequently emphasized in the magazines. As Öztan (2009:172) states, "*The children who born, grow and develop with the Republic are almost regarded as "symbols" and "guarantee" of "national unity and integrity" and "success of the new regime".*"

Children's magazines published in Turkey became one of the most important means to popularize the basic principles of the Republic, bring in the national Turkish identity and values determined in accordance with the objectives of single nation, single flag, single homeland of the secular state created by the newly founded modern Republic of Turkey, adopt the official and national language accepted by the state. It is possible to observe this determination through the children's magazines reviewed above. But when late 1990's and 2000's are considered, the existence of a Conservative-Liberal Turkish Nationalism is visible. Examples in this context begun to increase in children's magazines. In children's magazines a type of nationalism was born which dissociates from Kemalist nationalism with the weight of secular language[22] and from Radical-Turkist nationalism with the emphasis of ethnic

---

[22] Radical Turkist Nationalism can be defined as the part that adopts the radical interpretation of Kemalist Nationalism, which is also qualified as Official Nationalism. In this type of nationalism an

essentialism that sporadically features pagan traditions; kneaded with glory, victory and Turkification; driving Ottoman history forward and regarding Islam as a special unifier of the identity by considering it as a unifying umbrella over the ethnic identities (Uzunçayır, 2015:8).

In 1950's, some changes were observed in children's magazines. Stories more frequently referring to "victories" in the history of the Republic and especially to "military genius", "heroism" and "profound tolerance" of Mehmed the Conqueror were published in these magazines. As Öztan (2009:59-60) states, it is possible to see the portrait of the child who adopts "Republican values" and fascinates with the "successes of his/her ancestors" between the lines during the subsequent periods. As of the second half of 1990's and particularly in and after 2002, by referring to the 550th anniversary of the conquest, conquest-themed children's stories and novels which mostly feature "religious elements" and messages were blown out to say.

The rising conservative nationalism dissolves the identities of individuals and independent groups in a single almighty "nation" which has an existence and meaning beyond the lives of individuals. Such a militant nationalism mostly goes hand in hand with militarism. Military glory-honor and conquest are seen as the ultimate proof of the greatness of the nation. Therefore, when it comes to nation's honor or integrity, lives, problems and ethnical origins of ordinary citizens become insignificant (http://www.ozgurtoplumundegerleri.com/res/Mustafa_Erdogan_Milliyetcilik_Ideoloj isine_Dair). One of the most impressive examples is found in Can Kardeş magazine. The article titled "We Are All Siblings" in Can Kardeş magazine exemplifies the religious fellowship based perception of nationalism processed through "Ottoman

---

ethnical essentialism which appears as racism from time to time comes to the forefront. (Bora 1995: 120)

history" which was gradually increased in 1990's. There was an article titled "We Are All Siblings" in the issue of Can Kardeş magazine published in 1991. The same title was also used on the cover of the magazine. The cover of the magazine was designed in red and white, specific to that issue. Pictures of children living in the eastern region also appeared on the cover.

Figure 1: Can Kardeş, "We Are All Siblings", Issue 21, (11.1991).

The text in the section of "We Are All Siblings" was written from the mouth of a child living in Southeastern Anatolia.

"Thank God we are Muslim. We believe in same God, same book, same Prophet. We all turn towards Mecca and perform prayer. We live in the same homeland. We share the same beliefs and thoughts. Ali in Thrace, Mehmet in Aegean, Emine in Central Anatolia and Zehra in Black Sea Emine are also my siblings ... Their joy cheers me up, their sorrow saddens me. I embrace all of my siblings living in this homeland with the same feelings. Whereas we are all

Muslims in the first place, then this feeling of brotherhood crosses the borders of homeland and overflows the whole Islamic world. Muhammed who tries to gain his freedom by throwing stones at Israeli soldiers in Palestine, Burhaneddin who is wounded by Russian bombs in Afghanistan, Hüseyin who lost his life due to American bombardment which wiped Baghdad off the map are my brothers.... I feel their agony in the depth of my heart.

Dear brothers and sisters, especially in the last few years, saddening events occur in the region I live. Bandits invade our villages and homes and mercilessly kill our mothers, fathers and siblings. I am unable to understand these events. What do they want from innocent people? Our elders tell us that those who want to establish a "Kurdish State" commit these murders. This is also utterly inconceivable for me. What does this savagery have to do with Kurdish State? Will such a state will be founded with the blood of innocent people? Besides, as I have learned from my elders and teachers, the phrase of "Kurdish State" was malevolent. My elders say to me: "We have fraternally lived with Turks for centuries. We have fought together with Turks in the War of Independence. We have repelled the enemy together. We have founded the Republic of Turkey together. We are also owners of this state. We can start a business anywhere we like in Turkey. Promotion paths are wide open. We have raised professors, businessmen, ministers, officers. We already have a state And it is the Republic of Turkey. We are brothers and sisters with people who live within the boundaries of this state. Then how come we need to establish a separate Kurdish state?

These words ease me. They relieve the distress in me to some extent. But not completely. Because again as my elders told me, some of the administrators of

the Turkish Republic inflicted cruelty to our ancestors once. They bombed the

villages. They hanged white-bearded hodjas. They banned call to prayer. They

tortured worshiping people. Women and children couldn't have a moment in

peace. They exiled some of them to deserted places of the country. In contrast,

they didn't move a muscle to develop and improve the region.

But one day, this era was ended. Conscientious administrators who give an ear

to the nation came to power in the country. Then we became happy. Call to

prayer and worshiping were set free. Religious people were respected.

Factories were established, roads were opened, dams were built and factors of

civilization such as electricity and water were supplied to villages at the back

of beyond...(Can Kardeş, 1991 (18): 8).

In the above text which was asserted that written by a child, traces of all

historical developments of the time can be found. At this point it is necessary to

mention the Kurd issue even a bit. Otherwise the analysis of the text will not fall into

place. The Ottoman Empire was a state system based on nation system where groups

from many different ethnicities and religions with different identities lived together.

Even though partial rights were granted to non-Turkish speaking identities but as the

Treaty of Lausanne didn't recognize any other group except non-Muslims as

"minority" (Akgönül, 2008:70), the newly founded Republic of Turkey didn't

recognize the Kurds as a minority, either. It was desired for the Republic of Turkey to

have one language, one religion, one culture and one collective memory. Therefore

one of the most important dimensions of the policies pursued with regard to the

Kurdish issue was force-based assimilation. Even though the state policies in this

respect had some changes from period to period in terms of destruction and denial

dimension, dimension of assimilation survived until today without changing with regard to their general terms throughout this long historical process (Yeğen, 2015).

At the time when this text was written (1984) PKK virtually became active and became the most important item on the agenda of the country. After September 12, 1980 coup, "Kurdish" was banned. Although the ban on speaking Kurdish was removed in 1991, sensitivity and pressure in this regard have continued. Ultimately, a Kurdish statement of Leyla Zana during the parliamentary oath in 1991 lead to a big reaction in the assembly and public opinion and she was called back to the platform and apologized for what she said. It is possible to see all traces and reflections of this process in children's magazines. The phenomenon of nationalism gained further momentum and topics such as "glorious history", brotherhood, unity of language were frequently included in children's magazines. The article named "We Are All Siblings" includes all elements of this period. In the text, emphasize of "brotherhood" was based on "being Muslim" and the Kurdish issue was approached accordingly. The Kurdish issue was associated with the justification that the people living in that region were not free to perform their religious beliefs during the early years of the Republic. The sentences in the text such as; *"But one day, this era was ended.. Conscientious administrators who give an ear to the nation came to power in the country. Then we became happy. Call to prayer and worshiping were set free...* (Can Kardeş, 1991 (18): 8)" such as to prove this assertion.

In the text named "We Are All Siblings" the "Gulf War" was also referred to over "Muslim Brotherhood";

> Whereas we are all Muslims in the first place, then this feeling of brotherhood crosses the borders of homeland and overflows the whole Islamic world. Muhammed who tries to gain his freedom by throwing stones at Israeli

soldiers in Palestine, Burhaneddin who is wounded by Russian bombs in Afghanistan, Hüseyin who lost his life due to American bombardment which wiped Baghdad off the map are my brothers.... I feel their agony in the depth of my heart.

Another attention-grabbing point in the text named "We Are All Siblings" was the mention of the "bandits" called PKK's invading homes and killing people. It is stated that they are doing all these to found a "Kurdish State" but this is meaningless because in reality, there is no such thing as "Kurdish issue" It is stated that Kurds and Turks have the same standards and amenities and these rebels are a few presumptuous bandits[23]. At this point, as stated by Yeğen (2015:223), the "Kurdish issue" was rejected and handled as an issue of "reactionism", "tribal resistance", "banditry" but not as an " of red, not as an "ethnopolitical" issue. And at the same time it was approached in the context of freedom of faith caused by administrators who are qualified as "nonbelievers".

Another example of Conservative Nationalism in children's magazines is found in Türkiye Çocuk magazine. There is a story named "The Secret of Invincible Army" in the section of "A Page from History" in Türkiye Çocuk magazine (2012 (32): 44). Story depicts a conversation of Suleiman the Magnificent with a peasant during a campaign against the Crusaders;

Suleiman the Magnificent asks: "What happened to you? You are drenched with sweat. Did soldiers hurt you?" The Christian peasant answers the Magnificent;

---

[23] Attitude of Prime Minister Turgut Özal who came to power in the same period (1983) when PKK was established is in accord with the attitude of the magazine. Özal referred to PKK as "bandits" in the speech he made in GNAT: "We don't regard to get excited by addressing comments to a group of bandits, the number of whom are not more than a few hundred." "*They are merely 300-400 bandits and take advantage of land conditions". (Özal, 1987:742).*

I came here to report my satisfaction not to complain. It would be injustice not to congratulate such a soldier, such a commander...After your soldiers left the vineyard, I found a pouch tied to vine. When I opened it, there was money in it. When I looked carefully, I saw a bunch of grapes was plucked. I realized that the money was left as the price of the grapes. As long as you have such moral soldiers, you cannot be overcome (Türkiye Çocuk (2012 (32): 44).

The Christian peasant at the conquered village congratulates the Magnificent and his soldiers and utters his admiration. In response the Magnificent summons the soldier who ate the grapes and orders him to be sent away from the campaign. *"A victory cannot be won with a soldier who eats ill-gotten food."* This story emphasizes that the Ottoman army doesn't eat ill-gotten food and they were appreciated even by the Christians. And later on in the same story, a priest says the following about the Ottoman army;

The soldiers were looking for a fountain to quench and perform ablution. When they find a fountain nearby a monastery and meet their needs, the priest beautifies a couple of nuns and sends them to the fountain. When the soldiers so the women approaching, they left the fountain, turned their backs and they didn't look at the beautified women. Witnessing this from a distance, the priest immediately wrote a letter to the commander of Crusaders: "How can you cope up with this army? They don't look at the ill-gotten, they make nothing of property. They sacrifice all their properties and belongings and fight for Allah. They are nice to everybody and don't tyrannize. If you fight against them without wiping these qualities out, it is obvious that you will lose your lives and properties. Don't toss yourselves to death! (Türkiye Çocuk, 2012 (32):44)

Ottoman soldiers are being praised through nationalism and conservatism as they don't look at beautiful women and care about the property. Not looking at the beautified women is presented as a virtue. And it is a priest who speaks highly of soldiers. A man of cloth from another religion says "They fight for Allah" with regard to Ottoman army. While a historical victory, "a glorious history" is depicted here, it is also seen that "historical success" and religious values intertwine. Similarly in the children's magazine "Öncü", a different conquest or war story is depicted under the title of "From the Window of History" in every issue. For example; The conquest of Istanbul.

Figure 2: Öncü Dergisi, "Tarihin Penceresinden", Issue: 2, (02.1995).

In Can Kardeş magazine, the conquest of İstanbul was depicted in the section

titled "Huge Plane: Ottoman":

> Let the grandpa history hold your hands and take you on an excursion in the
> magnificent lives of our past... Let our grandpa history introduce himself as a
> grandchild of Ottomans... Our ancestors, who founded such long-lasting states
> as it was never done by any other state in history, also founded the Ottoman
> state which extended over Asia, Africa and Europe... During these campaigns,
> the people who were not happy with their administrations were not resisting to
> Ottoman army. Because they knew that the Ottomans never tyrannized any
> community. In fact the people said "We prefer Ottoman imamah to headgear"
> during the conquest of İstanbul. The month May is also the month of İstanbul's
> conquest. We owe gratitude and appreciation to our ancestors for coming from
> Central Asia and gave this beautiful land to us as a gift. The best way of
> thanking them is knowing our history very well (Can Kardeş, 2007(208):5).

In the above text the Ottoman is named as our "grandpa" and the children are told that they are "grandchildren of Ottomans". While the Republic period was emphasized as "disengagement from Ottoman" before 1980's, in 1980's and especially in 1990's, the phrases of "Glorious Ottoman" and "Grandchildren of Ottoman" were used more frequently in children's magazines, in conjunction with the rise of the conservative notion. A similar statement was also found in Türkiye Çocuk magazine (2011 (1010): 30), "*All of us have more or less information about the Ottomans, who are our grandfathers, isn't it so dear friends? Besides you can learn this information from the history section of your magazine*". There are stories about the Ottoman in the section of "History" in every issue of the magazine. The facts that didn't change in these stories are components like "bravery" and "heroism". Along with these

components, the word "conquest" is another word used quite a number. The below

texts are examples of this.

> The conquest is not an invasion. It is the desire to carry the humanity to a
> country of love and freedom. It is spreading our wings to happiness.
> Unlocking the locked hearts is actualized with conquest. And conquest means
> "opening", "initiating". We are in such a need of the spirit of conquest in a
> world where the chaos, uneasiness and reign of materials rule. The
> understanding of conquest will gain our people speed and power of making a
> move, will keep the feelings of resolution and sacrifice alive. Let us promote
> our victories so that "our youth would taste of making sacrifice in the cause of
> their beliefs"... (Can Kardeş, 2007(208):7).

It is asserted that the word conquest means opening and initiating. But the

primary meaning of the word "conquest" is "occupying a country or a city by

fighting" (www.tdk.gov.tr). However, the action of conquering is presented as a

solution to the "chaotic" world in the above text.

> The following text depicts the Plevne War:

> "Plevne. Important territories in the Balkans during Ottoman period... The city
> heroically defended by Gazi Osman Pasha in... I can't help telling you a
> memory which somewhat reflects the heroism of Gazi Osman Pasha and his
> gallant soldiers... The glorious history of the Defence of Plevne begun with
> this thought and intention is still in the limelight and in our hearts. " (Türkiye
> Çocuk, 2011(1010):60).

History of Turkish child is being constructed as a childhood full of victories

from the Ottomans until today. As expressed in the previous text the request from children is simple: "*Our youth should be able to experience the pleasure of sacrificing in the cause of their beliefs"*. So, the youth should have the mentality to "sacrifice" and act "gallantly" for this country! It is also requested from them to lay claim on "national history" and "their religion" and protect them. The article titled "The State That Does What Was Said" published in Türkiye Çocuk dergisi (2012(1021:46) is an example of this. This story is about Beyazid Khan's threatening the Doge of Venice, Gugliemo Monteferlo who got a libelous painting made. It is depicted the Doge was frightened by the Sultan's threat and said "*Please apologize to the Sultan on our behalf and tell him not to harm us*".

The timing of depicting the story of the Doge who got a libelous painting made about Islam and Ottomans is not coincidental. In this period, a caricature drawn by Bahadır Baruter in "Penguen" humor magazine published in Turkey was sued with on the grounds of "humiliating Islam" and got a reaction from the conservative segment[24].

It is clearly visible from the children's magazines reviewed in the study that the core elements of nationalism are still continued to be embraced but an insight different than the Kemalist nationalism which constituted the official ideology of the state for a long time was tried to be given them. Accordingly, as stated by Saraçoğlu (2013: 55), unlike Kemalism's various forms and insights, nationalism has been built based on the concept of "nation", "common" Islamic cultural elements and the Ottoman past in during 1990's and especially during the AKP period. It is seen that

---

[24] Some headings featuring this issue in the news channels are as follows: Habervaktim: "**Penguin attacked Islam! -** Sacred of Islam is insulted. Here are the horrific lines. " 8sütun: "**The real infidels are among us** - Turkey contains the real infidels within itself in spite of the people who protest the caricatures including insults to our Master the Prophet published in Denmark." EnSonHaber: "**A caricature insulting Allah and religion in Penguin** -Reactions are snowballing."

the weight of envision of "nation" identified with "Turkism" in the official discourse has been strikingly decreasing for the benefit of Sunni Islam which characterizes the Ottoman past. The "historical national interest", an important core element of nationalism, is described as having the political power of the Ottoman Empire considered to represent the rampant period of the nation again. In this part of the examination, the increase in the stories of heroism depicted through the Ottoman State is evidencing the changed nationalism. In children's magazines, the characteristics of the Ottoman period were frequently depicted through prominent personalities such as Ottoman sultans, administrators and artist of the time. While the powerful times of Ottoman Empire were remembered with "longing", it is mentioned between the lines of texts what should be done to go back to the "glorious pages of history". It is intended to make the reading children adopt this situation by gaining them the "virtuous" behaviors stated in the texts.

To sum up, instilling the facts like war, bravery, heroism to children didn't change in the changed concept of nationalism but identities of the heroes in the stories have changed. The emphasis on nationalism by the new heroes in children's magazines, is fictionalized in relation with Islam and conservatism. The changing heroes in children's magazines present the category of "nation" on the basis of "common culture" constituted by Islam under the decisiveness of its Islamic and conservative world view. This "common Islamic culture" driven language emphasizes the past of the Ottoman State which represents the rampancy of Islam as the common past of the nation. At the same time, reversing Turkey to the respected and powerful days of the Ottoman period is presented as the goal to be achieved. In line with this thought, AKP has referred to the year of 2071, in 2012. They have declared that the desired "ideal generations" will be created and thus the continuity of the power from

generation of generation will be ensured.[25]

Ultimately the texts in children's magazines shifted from being "children of the Republic" to being "grandchildren of Ottoman". When the reflection of this change on children is probed, it is seen that the only thing that doesn't change is the constant military discourses that the children face with. Even the increase in the dose of the "violence" in children's magazine is noteworthy.

Children's magazines often feature stories and comic strips involving violence. The desire to create a "National Identity" mentioned above is supported with violent discourses. In these stories written in a nationalist tone, an alternative enemy is created and then fought against this enemy in a paranoia. Those who remain outside the "Turkism and Islam" are immediately recognized and alienated.
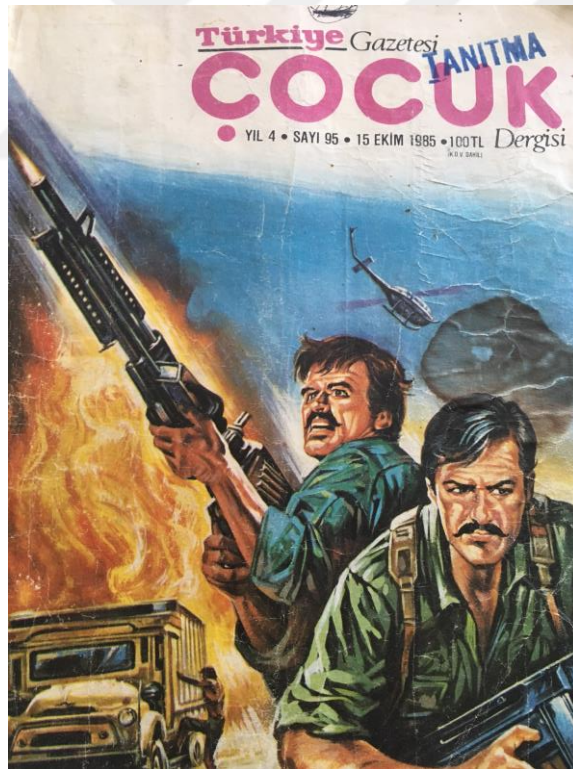

Figure 3: Türkiye Çocuk "Cover Picture", Issue: 95, (10.1985).

---

[25]Tayyip Erdogan made the following speech in 2012; " We have another goal after achieving our goal of 2023, the hundredth anniversary of our Republic. And it will be the 1000th anniversary of this foundation. Target is 2071 dear youth. If my Lord grants, we will build 2023 and you will build 2071" (https://www.akparti.org.tr).

For example, in the cover image of the above Türkiye Çocuk magazine, is about Israel's "Wooden Leg Operation" towards Tunisia. The conservative magazine frequently emphasizes the concept of "Muslim Brother" and grieves over the Muslims who had lost their lives during this attack. On the cover of the magazine, there is a picture of war. They did not hesitate to use a picture of war in a children's magazine. Violent images evoke the drive of violence inside the children (Yavuzer, 1998: 244) and they begin to feel hatred for nun-Muslims. There are quite a number of stories that depict "Turk and Muslim hostility" and "immorality" of non-Muslims to children. As can be seen below, the example quoted from Türkiye Çocuk (1988) magazine is remarkable.
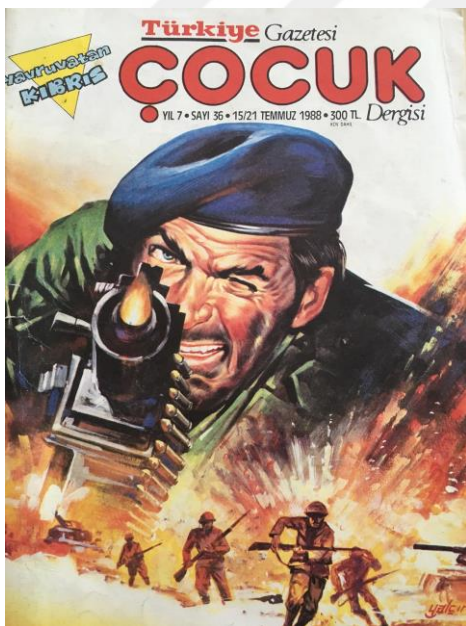

Figure 4: Türkiye Çocuk "Foster Land Cyprus Cyprus, Cover Picture", Issue: 36, (07.1988).

As you can see in the above picture, there is a man on the cover of the magazine, who shoots with a gun. It writes "Foster Land Cyprus" next to the picture

on the cover. In the magazine, two pages have been spared for the title of "Foster Land Cyprus" and the anniversary of 1974 Cyprus Peace Operation is commemorated:

> They were children, too ...But while we enthuse and sing songs on the way to school in our homeland, they were unhappily watching Greek Cypriot children coming back from school with whom they live together and were weeping inwardly. They were children, too ...But while we go to sleep with our father's kiss, and wake up with our mother's caresses here, they were sleeping with their murdered fathers face in their heads and wake up at the sound of the firing rifles on their mothers. They were Turkish children, too ... but while we were singing our national anthem under our star and crescent flag by swelling with pride, they were watching the torn flags and groan under the tyranny of Greek Cypriots. It is the year of 1973 ...The big massacre in Cyprus ...These bloody incidents that took place on this beautiful island of Mediterranean Sea made even the people living far away sensitive against the Turkish community suffering from merciless and cruel attacks of Greek Cypriots. Despite the fact that the issue was discussed by United Nations and by NATO Council, the expected tranquility and peace was not possible in Cyprus for a long time. Innocent Turkish Cypriots became the target of barbaric attacks of Greek Cypriots (1988, (36): 8).

Here again, the national identity is emphasized and a violent language is used. Greek Cypriots are called "merciless" and "barbaric" and "Turkism" is referred to with statements like "while we were singing our national anthem by swelling with pride". Later on in the same article, a scene of cruelty is depicted under the title of

"Spare the Life of My Child". Murdering of a mother and child by Greek Cypriot soldiers is depicted in all details. In this story Turkism is underlined with phrases like "Turkish mother" and "drenched in red blood" and Greek Cypriots are otherized with phrases like "the ugly laughter of Greek Cypriot soldiers."

As seen in this example, the "others" become the target in children's magazines. As Dijk (2002) points out social prejudices and stereotypes towards "others" are repeatedly expressed and naturalized via mass media tools like children's magazines. The belief regarding "others" is generated by the discourses of mass media. Hence daily life becomes an area where racism is always reproduced by the influence of media, and "others", ethnic and religious minorities become subject to constant humiliation in daily life. These attitudes and behaviors towards the "others" gradually take a fascistic form (van Dijk, 2003: 53).

Another remarkable example is the story of Zeynep and her mother:

One of the soldiers walks up to Mother Halime and tears off her necklace made of golds. When that soldier grins while he was feasting his eyes on the golds hanging on the chain, without regard to the bloodshed from her neck Mother Halime hurriedly embraces her daughter, Zeynep and screams from her heart: "Kepp the golds but spare my girl!" Before she finishes her words, a roaring bullet from a rifle enters Zeynep's back and exits from her chest and enters her mother's heart. And while the Greek Cypriot soldiers burst into an ugly laughter, a Turkish mother and her die in red blood by rolling on the floor in a close embrace (Türkiye Çocuk, 1988, (36):8).

As seen in the story of Zeynep and her mother, nun-Muslims are depicted as "heartless", "morally weak", "*barbarian and as immoral as to steal the necklace of*

Mother Halime". Also as in the text (Türkiye Çocuk, 1988:8) about Cyprus operation, Greek Cypriots are introduced as "villains" who watch for an opportunity to show their grudge against Turks and Muslims.

As observed in the above text, in the conservative-nationalist publications for children which gathered pace especially towards 1990's, articles tightly devoted to official ideology through the wars in history have been written and "Turkism" and "Islam" are glorified. As noted by Öztan (2009: 4), the common points of these publications, where nationalist acceptances are repeated and militaristic values are dignified are reproduction of xenophobia and violence. It is easy to see that the said tendencies can induce the existing tensions and hostilities to children through anger and prejudice. Besides, along with the themes such as death, murder and fight were used in terms of "violence" in the magazines, they way they are conveyed to children is also important. As in the above text, description of the fear when a person is about to die, depiction of bodily reflexes upon a fatal wound or conveyance of being in a death agony in blood when they are shot, laying bare where the ruptured organs are shot up, explanation of where and how the shed blood paints at great length create a deeper impact on children than merely saying "he/she was shot and died".

Figure 5: Türkiye Çocuk "Hızır Bey", Issue: 95, 1985.

The picture above is taken from the comic strip named "Hızır Bey". The battle scene is illustrated. In this section, Hızır Bey fights against a foreign enemy named Messer Gatti. He runs towards the foreign enemy with a spear in his hand. It is seen that he takes his enemy down from his horse who says"*Do you want to die Turco*," without letting him talk again. The hero in this comic strip, Hızır Bey is known as "Ottoman Eagle". In the below section (Picture 6) "Hızır Bey" is fighting against another foreign enemy named Karakova this time. As with most of these stories, although there are too many foreign enemies, *as if supporting the saying of*"one Turk worth the whole world", the Turkish hero of the story fights against "an army by himself" and always wins. As Çoban states, the racist approach acts as if it purified itself from all hitches and it aims at giving a lesson to and correct "others".

Figure 6: Türkiye Çocuk "Hızır Bey", Issue: 95, 1985.

Another hero of children's magazines like Hızır Bey is "Koç Murat". These sentences from "Koç Murat" are attention-grabbing;

> All murder-spirited monsters who came from Europe to shed Muslim Turkish blood begun climbing to the hill. It was very difficult for two siblings to get away from them... They call us barbarians but they are all monsters (Türkiye Çocuk, 1993, (26):36-40).

Here those who came from Europe are called "the ones who came to shed Muslim blood" and as "monsters". And the "Brave Turk" courageously fights against all foreigners by himself. In this part the enemy is sometimes Greek Cypriots and sometimes Serbians but nevertheless, they are all foreigners and non-Muslims.

.

Figure 7: Türkiye Çocuk "Gazanfer and Serhat", Issue: 95, 1985.

The above visual illustrates a fight against Serbian enemy in the part named "Serhat and Gazanfer". As seen in these stories, the concept of enemy is fictionalized in terms of "absolute good" and "absolute bad" and the parameter of "absolute good" is determined as "nationalism". The otherized enemies are positioned as absolute bad and traitors. An example of this is the comic strip named Turgut Reis (Dragut) published in Can Kardeş magazine. In this comic strip Doğan Bey, who fights for Ottoman says the following about Greek Cypriots: " *They have been eating our bread for years but when they get the opportunity, they suddenly become enemies...On top of it, if priests embitter this, then* what would happen, will happen". The Greek Cypriots are depicted as a group who live together with Turks for years and turn into a group of "traitors" as soon as they get an opportunity.

According to Sever's (2013:81) assessment, violence is presented as the only way to solve a problem by depicting the heroes achieve their goals by using violence and by affirming violence with the messages conveyed in the work. Besides, directing

this violence towards another race and religion through national identity otherizes those who are not "Turks" and inoculate the mentality of "Turks don't have friends other than Turks" to children. One of the clearest examples of this thought is the article published in the first issue (Hello) of Türkiye Çocuk magazine. In this article, it is stated that other countries and the people living there had their eyes on Turkish territories throughout the history. It is expressed that other countries become further hostile towards Turkey each passing day and if the youth begins to enjoy themselves and does nothing else, they will be doomed to be prisoners of another nation. "Backstabbing" and "enemies' biding their time" manifests itself as a paranoia.

> When we browse through our history from beginning to end, nothing has changed in terms of the states that have always been our enemies and have their eyes on our territories. Instead of dying away, grudge and hostility unfortunately keep growing. If you, the youth who will be the administrators of Turkey in the future, grow up ignorant of this, sleep and kick up your heels, this means that you are ready to lose, be defeated and be prisoners of other nations (1994(29):1).

Nationalism is being imposed on children by way of violent stories and as stated by Oskay (1996; 195), violence used against the "others" is legitimized in conjunction with normalization of fascism in mass media.

5.4.2 Construction of "Muslim Childhood" with Religious Discourses

The conservatism-based publications like Can Kardeş (1980) and Türkiye Çocuk (1981) which were reviewed in the study increased in number after 1980's. As shown in the section above, it was often emphasized that the key element of national identity is "religion". Besides, as it will be examined under this heading, stories about

"love of religion", "religious miracles" and "requirements of religion" are offered to children via magazines and they are informed. Sometimes stories are made out of religious information and sometimes they were presented as news like the following one in the "Can Newspaper" section of Can Kardeş magazine (1984(54):8-9): *"An imam cannot be appointed to the newly built mosque"*:

"An imam cannot be appointed to the new mosque built by a charitable citizen named Hacı Memiş. The community is so sad about it and they expect understanding from the authorities to appoint an imam.

In this news in a children's magazine, the citizen who made the mosque built is qualified as "charitable". In the Can Newspaper section of another issue of the same magazine, this time a news was reported under the heading of "A mosque friendly charitable".

A person called Hacı Mustafa Zombaba won the affection and respect of the community due to the aids he made to mosques. Hacı Mustafa Zombaba built two mosques and four minarets until today on part of his inheritance from his father. The people of Adıyaman say "May God destine everybody to spend his money like Hacı Mustafa Zombaba" (Can Kardeş, 1991 (21): 30).

Another news was reported under the heading of "Yeşilçam Covers Itself". In the text, an actress playing the part of a woman wearing a head scarf states that she will also wear a head scarf in the shortest time;

I hope I will also wear a head scarf in the future. I liked the topcoat I wore in the film so much and I will buy a topcoat just like it. I will be covered as the woman I played. I promised myself about it. Even though I have an irregular

life, even though I am a theater actress, I have always desired to get married,

make a regular life for myself and live my religion and beliefs. This is why I

left the theater (Can Kardeş,1991(21):5).

The sentence in the text, "Even though I am a theater actress" expresses being

a theater actress as a defect. It is presented that being a theater actress is a fact against

"living her religion, marriage and a regular life. And emphasizing that the woman

should "quit being an actress" just because she wants a regular life is almost

confirming this argument.

As stated in the first place, the phenomenon of religion sometimes processed

over the news and informing texts and sometimes as stories published in the section

of "Pleasant Illustrated History" in TRT Çocuk (2012:3) magazine. TRT Çocuk

magazine mostly spares the section of "Pleasant Illustrated History" to religious

subjects or stories. For example, under the title of "Welcome O Ramadan" the ridge

masters are introduced:

Ridges have witnessed the experienced sufferings. İstanbul is under

occupation and the following line by Yahya Kemal between the minarets of

Hagia Sophia is watched in tears with exclamations of "Amen": "Make them

win because this is the last army of Islam". When the wages of ridge masters

and money for lamp oil were suspended in 1928, these light masters who

enlighten Ramadan disappeared in time and the interest was gradually

decreased. Let's finalize this subject with the words of a European traveler

who visited İstanbul at the end of 18th century and saw the ridges: "Turks,

who deserve to be liked and respected all around the world almost collected

the stars from the skies and inscribed sentences between the minarets.

Thinking about doing this and being successful proves how successful they are in terms of civilization (TRT Çocuk (2012:3).

The expression of ("*Turks almost collected the stars from the skies and inscribed sentences between the minarets. Thinking about doing this and being successful proves how successful they are in terms of civilization")*is presented as an indicator of civilization. The disappearance of ridge masters is presented as the result of the implementations of the administrators in 1928.

Another interesting story is the section titled "Who Make Up Groundless Theories" of Can Kardeş magazine and its visual is below. In this text, the people identified as "smart" are presented as those who don't believe in the theories of existence proposed by science and believe that everything was created by Allah. If the children who read this magazine want to be on the smart side, they should pay homage to the thought of "everything was created by Allah" and should not believe in "groundless theories of science" in the matter of how the mankind came into existence. So much so that the scientist Lamarck is not regarded as a scientist due to his argument the thought that "the living creatures have emerged on their own". In other words, because he didn't accept the "truth" that the "living creatures were created by Allah. Also in the picture below, a monkey kicks Darwin who suggested that mankind was evolved from monkeys and says, "*You even didn't any good for humanity*".

Figure 8:Can Kardeş "Who Make Up Groundless Theories"", Issue: 45, 1984.

The text in the section of "Who Make Up Groundless Theories" is as follows;

> Some of them found their creator by using their minds and some believed in
> groundless things. The so-called evolutionary theory is the product of such
> groundless thought. Thousands of hardly believable evolutionary theories have
> been suggested. Even though they seem logical at first glance, when examined
> they are proved to be wrong. Lamarck laid the foundation of these theories
> which are merely myths.[3] This scientist named Lamarck asserted that the
> living creatures were emerged by themselves due to some ill-suited
> assumptions unbecoming for a scientist. Then Darwin followed him. Darwin
> denies the creation of man and asserts that man is ape-descendant. Life was
> initiated by the owner of the universe and living creatures were sent to the
> earth by Him. He is mighty enough to create all kinds of living creatures as He
> wants. He created hundreds of thousands different living creatures. This is the
> real truth and there cannot be any other (Can Kardeş, 1984 (45)).

It is possible to find other examples that support the above article in the
magazine. In the section titled "Garden of Heart" of Türkiye Çocuk magazine, the
argument that everything is created by Allah is emphasized as follows:

Dear children, we know that the real owner of everything in the world is Allah SWT. He bestows all these blessings on us. Everything is for our own good, for us to live well and be comfortable in the world and in afterlife."" (Türkiye Çocuk Dergisi, 1988 (36): 12).

In most of the texts it is regarded that "Allah" owns everything and the impotency of mankind is emphasized. In the section titled "Summary of Servitude" in Can Kardeş magazine, the "impotency" of humans against Allah is depicted:

It would not be wrong for us to say that humans are like children on earth. We are impotent and needy, so everything was put under our order. Sun doesn't rise and set under our command. We do not make the rainfall. Plants do not give fruits and vegetables because they listen to us. Animals don't give us their flesh and milk because we make them listen to us. We don't have the power to do any of these. We are simply impotent, weak and poor. Seeing all of these, our Lord put everything in nature under our order, put them into our service because he loves and takes a pity on us (Can Kardeş, 1991 (21): 7).

In the text, the impotency of humans against Allah and the thought of everything was created by Allah is narrated by exemplifying over children. Human beings are likened to children before Allah and children are defined as "impotent and needy".

Another way of expressing "religion" in children's magazines is conveying the events in a miraculous manner. For example in the section titled "Weeping Dry Log", the story of a log which wept because the Prophet was about to leave Medina during the construction of the first prayer room in Medina.

Our beloved Prophet stepped off the pulpit. He came to the log. When you put his hand on it, the log stopped weeping. The Muslims who witnessed this also begin to weep. Our Prophet turned to the congregation and said: "I embraced and comforted it. Otherwise it would continue to weep due to my parting. By the order of our Prophet a pit was dug under the pulpit. This log was buried there. The weeping of a dry log is also a clear miracle of our Prophet (Can Kardeş, 1991 (21): 79).

As seen in the above example, a "miraculous" story about the Prophet (such as talking and weeping of lifeless objects) has been idealized and the effect on children was tried to be reinforced in this way. Another example in which faithfulness is idealized is the story titled "Dear mother, I shall not apostatize even if I die". This story is about His Holiness Sa'd and his mother. The mother tries to persuade her son to apostatize from Islam and tells him that he will be without food and water if he doesn't. Upon this His Holiness Sa'd says: *"Cross my heart mother, just so you know, if you have a thousand lives and each of them leaves you one at a day, I shall not apostatize from my religion. Either eat or don't eat!"*(Can Kardes, 1984 (45): 12).

In this story His Holiness Sa'd runs the risk of the death of his mother for not apostatizing from his religion and declares that in the cause of "religion", one can give up the "mother", the most precious and valuable entity of everybody. Thus the idea that there is no entity which is more "sacred" than Allah is reinforced.

Another point that draws attention to convey "religion" to children is the phenomenon of "heaven" and "hell". Children are told that "Allah watches them everywhere" and that they shall be punished (hell) or rewarded (heaven) as a result of their actions. The story titled "He loved him the most" is a good example of this:

Our teacher loves that friend of ours more than any of us. They do not want to show it, but it's possible to understand it from his behaviors. What difference does he have from us ... " When these talks were made from time to time, this didn't escape the notice of teachers. In order not to allow duality and preserve the love between them, he gathered up all students one day and gave a chicken to each of them as a gift. And said: "*Each of you goes in different directions. Carve the chickens in a place where nobody sees you and bring them back!* ". Students scattered around. And found the most desolate for them and carved the chickens. Five minutes had passed and they all came back with a carved chicken in their hands. Finally, the student whom the teacher loves most came back. He brought the chicken back without carving. "*My son, why did you bring the chicken back without carving it*? " Upon this question of his teacher, the student gave an embarrassed answer. "*Sir, I have gone everywhere but couldn't find a place where nobody sees me. Wherever I went, my Lord was with me. He was seeing me. When I realized that it is impossible to find such a place, I brought the chicken back alive..*" They repented. They apologized to their teacher and friends, they said their goodbyes. Let us behave and talk as He wants and loves as Allah SWT sees us all the time (Türkiye Çocuk, 1988 (36): 12).

In the above text, the teacher asks the children to go to a place where no one sees them and carve the chicken, but the "favorite student" cannot carve the chicken because he believes that wherever he goes, Allah sees him. At the end of the story, the children are advised that Allah can see them everywhere and they should behave as He wants. In another story a bird which stops eating is depicted. The bird understands

that it will be separated from its loved ones when it dies and stops eating and tries to make itself understood by the Prophet. The Prophet says that if the bird dies without leaving the path of Allah, it would go to heaven and will be together with everyone it loves in this world. This story also reinforces the belief that Allah has eyes everywhere and "heaven" is offered as a reward. (Can Kardeş, 1991 (21): 8).

Figure 9: Can Kardeş "How to Pray", Issue: 21, 1991.

In the above visual, the Prophet tells how to pray when he visits a patient and heals the patient with his prayer. He is angry with the patient who wants to be "punished" in this world instead of Afterlife.

"Punishment" is a frequently used concept in the examined magazines. Allah is presented as an entity who punishes the humans due to their misbehaviors. The opposite of punishment is presented as "going to Heaven". Allah constantly watches people and gives people two choices as the results of their actions; "Heaven" or "Hell". The samples taken from the magazines examined in this context are as follows;

Hodja recites bismillah to a child and when the child also recites, Allah makes

a bill to be drawn up for the mother and father of the child and hodja to go to Hell (Türkiye Çocuk, 1994(13):13). Those who want to receive an invitation to Heaven should always recite bismillah when doing anything.

Those who visited the Bird Paradise saw that all birds are dead and worriedly asked the attendant: "Why all these birds are dead? What kind of bird paradise is this?" The attendant responded very calmly: "Because the dead birds go to paradise, that's why (Can kardeş, 1991(21):22)"

The punishment is considered by children as falling victim to society's wrath and the fear of going to hell as a result of an unacceptable behavior in a Muslim community (Mardin, 1983:13-14). The reward is presented as going to Heaven. The basis of religious education is on this plane.

5.4.2.1 Presentation of Charity and the Feeling of "Being Thankful"

Neoliberalism is not a phenomenon that can be considered separately from conservatism. To distinguish these two from each other means not seeing that neoliberalism cannot be established without an authoritarian reflex (Gambetti, 2009: 152). In this period where neoliberal politics and conservatism are blended, unlike classic conservatism, the role of the state diminishes and these functions are laid at the doors of families, religions, traditions or civil institutions (Akça, 2003). Thus, as discussed in detail in the chapter of "Capitalism and Children", of the study, fighting against poverty, unemployment or child labor and exploitation is reduced to charity aids made through religion, tradition and morality or to institutions like UNICEF, and

ILO and their aids. This demonstration of charity which is popularized over the media is presented to big masses (Mutlu, 2009, Türkmen, 2008). Thus media ensures all inequalities to be legitimized and accepted an act of Allah.

In Turkey, especially after the elections held on November 3, 2002, the policies, foundations of which were laid with the March 2009 local elections replacing the state with charity, weakened the public obligation regarding social rights and carried social problems outside of labor market. While poverty and hunger increased due to neoliberal policies AKP, which is the implementing power party of these policies succeeded due to the reflection of emotions like "gratitude', " loyalty " "gratefulness" on ballot boxes (Çelik, 2008). Nowadays the rise of religion or defining national identity on the basis of religion are encouraged all around the world as the most effective way of reducing labor cost (Bora and Erdogan, 2003). Thus conservatism and neoliberalism are kissing at this point. The way in which a person voluntarily keeps himself more open to exploitation and lesser wages is possible by extreme exposure to religious agitation to a large extent. In this context, it is frequently emphasized in children's magazines that poverty is destiny and helping the poor is the greatest "good deed". On the basis of this discourse helping each other is explained with references of 'duty' and 'debt' instead of voluntarism and contains the feeling of 'deprivatized mercy' (Öztan, 2009: 87). Citizens should unconditionally cooperate with each other in every field for the 'continuation' and 'welfare' of their nations. It is seen that this perception was also reflected on children's magazines of the period.

The issue of children's rights fell within the magazines and information about UNICEF was given. For example in Can Kardeş magazine, ten articles of the World

Declaration of the Rights of the Child were published. In the column titled "Did you know these?" information about UNICEF is provided.

Did you know that UNICEF had published the World Declaration of the Rights of the Child adopted by the General Assembly of United Nations for a happier and better childhood, that it is necessary to address this at the schools on World Children's Day and that it would be fun for you to prepare something and make a presentation to your friends? (Can Kardeş, 2008 (225): 9)

There is a section about the Declaration of the Rights of the Child in Türkiye Çocuk magazine. In this chapter, it is emphasized that all human beings are equal without any discrimination:

Pursuant thereto everybody is equal before the law without any discrimination of gender, race, color, language, religion, age, nationality, thoughts, national or social origin and wealth (Türkiye Çocuk).

"Children's Rights Days" is mentioned also in Can Kardeş magazine:

In many parts of the world our child friends can be obliged to work. Or they can't fully live their childhood. Being aware of this situation, United Nations announced the Declaration of the Rights of the Child covering 10 countries in 1959. (Can Kardeş, 2008(226):9).

Öncü Çocuk magazine published the following text under the title of "World Children's Day":

The purpose of the World Children's Day is attracting attention to healthier growing, well upbringing and receiving education of children. People's happiness depends on the happiness of you, the children. The United Nations General Assembly released The Declaration of the Rights of the Child in 1959. This declaration states that the abandoned children should be protected, children should be loved, primarily children should be saved in case of a danger and children should be benefited from social security. (Öncü, 1996 (15): 10).

In the above texts it is mentioned that everyone is equal and children "are obliged to work" and that recognizing the situation, United Nations took a precaution. Their being obliged to work is regarded as their bad fate and political economic side of the problem is not mentioned. Whereas it was mentioned in the section of "Capitalism and Children" of the study, release of a declaration by United Nations, the aid campaigns don't get to the root of the problem and address the issue in the context of "charity" and the problem of laboring child cannot be solved.

Children's rights, charity, being thankful and justice mostly were the subjects of stories in children's magazines. The concept of justice is handled within the frame of "being content with what you have", "not to revolt". In other words, "a sense of acceptance". The story titled "Lion, Wolf and Fox" in Başak Çocuk magazine (1989 (82): 14-15) is a good example. Lion, wolf and fox go hunting together. In this story the lion, "B is defined as "sultan" when he said *this kind of an army is a burden for this kind of a sultan but helping others is greatness*" and he was approved as the authority of the forest. When they are about to share their hunt, the lion summons them all:

-O wolf, share them among us and let's your sense of justice.

-Sultan of the forest, you are the mightiest and so the wild ox is yours.

Medium size goat is mine. Let fox get the rabbit. "

The lion said "You stupid wold. How can you talk like this? Who are you to request a share and see yourself to get above the fox?" and knocks the wolf down at one claw. Then he turned to fox: "Come on, now you share them!"

Fox said "Our almighty sultan. What does "share" mean? We know our place before you. The ox would be merely your breakfast. And goat is a nice lunch.As for the rabbit, it would be your appetizer in the evening.

-The lion looks at the fox with admiration and says; "You beautiful fox, you. You have made the sun of justice shine. But I am curious. From whom did you learn to be this fair?"

Without a second thought, the fox replied: "From what happened to wolf!"

In the above story, the fox saw what happened to wolf and dreadingly, he wanted to give all the hunt to the lion. The lines at the end of the story are important: "*This is what happens to the smart..'*" This sentence qualifies taking a lesson from what happens to wolf as "smartness" and the sentence of "*If he cannot draw a lesson, others would draw a lesson from him"*emphasizes that if he doesn't accept the authority and submit, then he would be the one from whom others would draw a lesson. With this story it was emphasized that children should completely obey to the ruler, put the ruler's interests before his own and believe in the justice of the ruler.

In another magazine, there is a story about a rabbit who thinks himself as the sultan. The animals living in the forest qualify this wish of the rabbit as "foolish". At

the end, the rabbit can't become the sultan of forest and an owl who watches

everything from a distance says the following to children;

> Dear children, the story of a rabbit who aspires the sultan ends here.
>
> Everybody should accept himself/herself as is. If he/she tries to behave or be
>
> seen as superior to he/she is, he/she would be a laughing stock as the rabbit in
>
> our story or it ends up badly for him". Don't ever attempt to do what you
>
> cannot do, okay? (Milliyet Kardeş, 85).

The state of rabbit who wants to be the sultan among more powerful animals

is defined as "foolish, bad, funny". It is conveyed that the weak have no chance to rule

and when they try to do this before the strong, it would be a futile excitement and they

would have the worst of or be a laughing stock, those who do this job should be

respected. With this story, the existing dominant political systems are implicitly

approved. At the same time, it reminds the myth of Schiller (1993:19), the

"unchanging human nature". According to mind manipulators, neither human nature

nor the world change. No matter how the situation and conditions change, future

activities of individuals will be the same. As it is in this story, the position of the weak

looking rabbit in the forest will not be changed and believing otherwise will be

regarded as "foolishness".

In Başak Çocuk magazine a story titled "Stupid Rabbit" is published. In this

story, there is a rabbit who seems himself different than other rabbits and this rabbit

was called "stupid" in the text.

> "No, I am not your twin" said the foreign rabbit laughingly. There are dozens
>
> of other rabbits who look like me and you behind this hill. I'm no different
>
> than all other rabbits. And so do you! '

But I don't want to be just like everybody else! ' yelled our stupid rabbit. The things he heard upset him so much, he run away and hidden in his den. And never left his den again. " (Başak Çocuk,1984(22):13).

The tales published in the magazines adorned with alluring illustrations lace the order to the newly formed conscious of the children. Tales are the educational materials which convey social norms, values, fears, illusions, mental confusions and full of various lessons (Dinç, 2008). The common feature of the above tales is the thought of "rulers are superior to us" and "thinking otherwise is being a stupid rabbit". We cannot resist to anything with our weaknesses. We have to obey the existing authority and trust the "fairness" of dominant power as in the story of fox and wolf.

There is a story named "Bird and Hunter" in Türkiye Çocuk magazine. This story underlines the importance of being content with what we have. In the story the bird advises the hunter not to be sad about lost opportunities. The bird says that she has a pearl weighing 10 drachmas continues *It would make you and your family rich but unfortunately it was not your chance. You made me fly away"*. The main theme is written at the end of the story as follows:

You also may miss many opportunities in your lives. Don't get sad! Say "it was not my chance" and continue to look for other opportunities (Türkiye Çocuk, 2011(31):33).

In addition a lesson is given to hunter with regard to not being cross with his life far from the richness and not being greedy. That is, we again face with "being thankful". Another example is the story named "The Woman Whose Children Don't Live" in Can Kardeş magazine. In this story a woman gives birth twenty times but she

cannot take care of her children and they all die. The night she revolts at Allah, she sees the heaven in her dream. And sees that all of her children are there. Seeing this, the woman says*"I accept what comes from Allah with great pleasure"* (2009 (228): 13). In this text the woman revolts at not being able to take care of her children and all of them dying but at the very moment, she was banned from claiming her rights or revolting within the frame of religious emotions and at the end, she is grateful. Seeing her dead children in "heaven" is regarded sufficient to be grateful. An article titled "Children's Right and Islam" is published in the same magazine.

> A child deserves the best of everything. Because he/she is created beautiful and nice. A nice name should be given to him/her. This is one of the duties of the father on his child.One of the primary duties of mother and father provides a good education and upbringing for their child. They will always make love, compassion and mercy available while they do this. Like adults, children also have equal rights. All humans were born from the same mother and father, his holiness Adam and Eve. Color, language, race, origin, family and clan cannot be a superiority criterion. Our Lord states in Koran that the most honorable persons are those who are most devoted to His commandments. Then there should not be any discrimination between children and everybody should be accepted equals.Parents are entrusted with bearing the costs of their child's needs of food, clothing, sheltering and treatment. If the child has no parents or if they are poor, this duty will be assumed by the state. The rich are also advised to take care of children, especially if they are orphans. Foundations, charity organizations should be established to protect them and they should be supported in every respect (Can Kardeş, 2009(228):13).

In this text, meeting the basic needs of children is primarily attributed to families. Provided that they are unable to do this, it is stated that the state should step in. Taking care of orphan or poor children is addressed as being a charity by the rich and it is expressed that "foundations and charity organizations" should be established in this respect. At this point, helping the poor is left to "alms" by the rich and various aid organizations as stated above.

Another "charity" story is published in TRT Çocuk magazine. The story of "Tamboura Player Arif Ağa" is published in the section of "Cute Verbal History". Tamboura player Arif is a poor musician and one day he was thinking *"We don't have any money, what should I do?How can I earn money to have a good bairam* with my family?" A "smart" friend of him gave him an advise*: "What are you upset my dear! Go to Veli Efendizade. He is so rich and so many guests visit him in his mansion during Ramadan."* His friend tells him to go to Veli Efendizade and he will receive too much aid in return for playing tamboura for him. That's what happens at the end of the story. Veli Efendizade rebuilds the old house of Tamboura player, clothes his children and gives him money.

> On the first day of Ramadan a charitable, clean-cut man named Veli Efendizade rented a house nearby the family and moved there. He clothed them one-by-one. He catered their needs for a month. Then he had your ratty house demolished and got such a beautiful house built (TRT Çocuk).

In the above text the solution to the poorness of the tamboura player is a "charitable" rich man. "Charity" is dignified and by associating it with "religion", it is regarded as a "good deed" that the rich should do. However the "charity" which is

dignified in children's magazines cannot go beyond being a "fake magnanimity" according to Freire (1998:24-25). And this way, existing injustices are eternalized.

5.4.3 Evolving of saving child into consuming child

in 1930's, the impact of World Economic Crisis was reflected on the children's magazines published at the time. When children's magazines of the time are examined, it is seen that children were tried to be indoctrinated with a national economy consciousness and in order to obtain a contribution to overcome the crisis, the consciousness of children was tried to be developed. The magazines of the time such as Olgun Çocuk, Çalışkan Çocuk, Çocuk Duygusu, Çocuk Dünyası, Şen Çocuk have published articles to create the consciousness of savings (Doğdu and Duman, 2015:203). In still this period, the Industrial Promotion Law enacted in 1913 re-implemented with a broader scope in 1927 (Gülerman, 1987:47). One of the best examples of this reflection on the magazines was the news reported in the section titled "There Are News from My Beloved Country" of Çalışkan Çocuk magazine: " *The foundations of new factories which will enrich our country are laid. We will produce paper in our country and a bottle factory is also opened*"(Doğdu, 2007:95). It is possible to increase the number of these examples when the magazines published in that period are examined.[26]

When we come to the years covered in the study, the 1980's, neoliberal policies implemented after 1980 also affected media like every other field as

---

[26] For detailed information, See. Mustafa Doğdu, **Tek Parti Döneminde Ülkemizdeki Çocuk Dergilerinde Yurttaşlık Bilincinin Oluşturulması (Formation of Citizenship Consciousness in Children's Magazines in Our Country in One Party Period)** Dokuz Eylül University, Institute of Education Sciences, Unpublished Postgraduate Thesis, İzmir 2007, Duman D. and Doğdu M. (2015) "**Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Çocuk Dergilerinde Tassaruf Bilinci Oluşturma Çabaları (Efforts for Establishing a Savings Consciousness at Early Ages in Children's Magazines of Early Republic Period)**", Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Araştırma Dergisi XV/31

mentioned in detail in previous chapters. Its structure and ownership situation became rather different than the traditional one. The visualization of media commenced with 1980's became further apparent in 1990's. During this period, advertisements appeared in children's magazines more frequently and the foundations of consuming child were laid (Ungan, Yiğit, 2014:196). Advertisements appeared in children's magazines towards the end of 1980's were widely increased in number in 1990's and 2000's. Within this process, the transition from children who were requested to "save" to children who desired to be "loyal consumers". For children in the first phase of income step, the objects produced by multinational companies, most of which are hazardous to human health are presented as vital needs via publications and also, advertisements of sub-products related with cartoon heroes became more frequent. So much so that, as mentioned by İnal (2009:43) the revenue generated from the sale of numerous sub-products such as bags, clothing and toys became many times more than the box office revenue of the animated movie. Capitalism and advertisement policies of mass media acted as the spokesman of big companies under the domination of capitalism and aimed at spreading the understanding of "consumption, speed and pleasure" created by them (Çağan, 2003).

It is possible to analyze this situation through the children's magazines reviewed in this study. First of all, when Kumbara and Başak Çocuk magazines published by İş Bank and Ziraat Bank between the years of 1978 and 1983 are reviewed, it is possible to observe the change within the said process. Even though it is seen that the advertisements in these magazines were published later and in limited number compared to others, the main reason was that they were obtained from banks for free. For example there were no other advertisements than of Ziraat Bank in the early years of Başak Çocuk magazine. However, it is possible to find the traces of

consumption-oriented childhood. There was an article series in Başak Çocuk (Başak Child) magazine and its name was "The Adventures of Başak Child". In this series, Başak Child was traveling in time and going to past by putting money into his piggy bank and going up to people who were involved with the events in "national history" and involves himself as an observer in the storyline. In later years though, Başak Child began traveling all around the world without putting money into the piggy bank as seen in the below picture. He turned into a child who keeps hold of the world and travels around the world instead of saving money.

Figure 10: Başak Çocuk "Bald Boy" Issue: 46, (12.1986).

Figure 11: Başak Çocuk "France", Issue 155, (03.1996).

Another attention-grabbing element of the adventure named "Başak Child Travels Around the World" is the emergence of a global childhood consciousness. The illustrated child is a child who is curious about the world and visits different countries and tries to become familiar with them. As a result of neoliberal policies after 1980 and globalization, children became involved in the world of adults (child labor, child prostitution, child pornography, child consumer, etc.). One of the obvious examples of this can be found in Kumbara magazine. Kumbara magazine began its publication life in 2010 again, after it took a break in 1992. But the appearance of the new magazine is rather different than the old one. Two pages of the magazine are spared for the advertisement of the books published by İş Bank Publications. Moreover there are advertisements of "Piggy Bank Fund" of İş Bank in every issue.
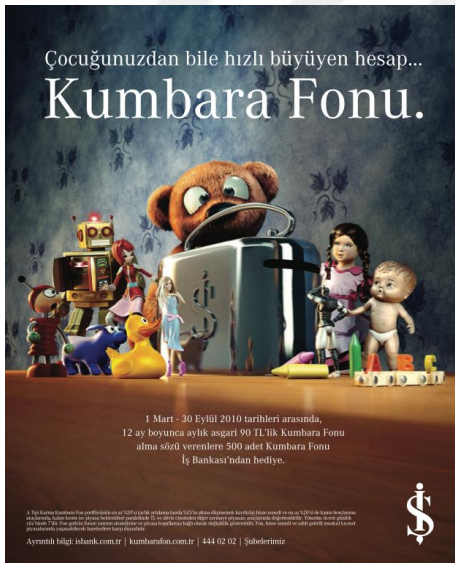

Figure 12: Kumbara Magazine, Issue 1, (2010).

Piggy bank campaigns of the past which were implemented to make the children have the habit of saving money and using piggy banks ended and piggy banks turned into "piggy bank fund". It is seen that İş Bank aims at children with its

"Piggy Bank Fund"[27]. İş Bank seeks for loyal customers of the future with the seeds it spread with "Piggy Bank Fund".

Another magazine that spares its pages for advertisers is Milliyet Kardeş. Milliyet Kardeş Magazine, which started to be published in 1977, has started to include ads on its pages with the 33rd issue. The most prominent of these is the "Signal", which is published like a comic strip in every issue. In the section titled "Adventures of Cırcır Ali and Friends", the adventures of talking toothbrush Signal and Cırcır Ali are depicted. The talking toothbrush Signal saves Cırcır Ali's teeth in every episode. Signal, which is a toothpaste brand turned into a hero for children. Thus, as described by Inal (2009: 43), children identify the cartoon heroes with themselves and they would like to buy to see these characters throughout their lives.

The cover and majority of the content of Milliyet Kardeş in 2000's there are advertisements, gifts for children, posters of famous people and banners of children's movies. As seen in the below picture, product advertisements including Disney characters are frequently seen in the magazine. For example, the below shoe advertisement. Children's favorite Disney characters are placed on the shoes and they are made attractive for children.

---

[27] İşBank Securities Manager Rıza Kutlusoy (http://www.capital.com.tr, 2005), states that they began to specifically separate their child customers with "Piggy Bank Fund" and the continuation of the relationship to be established with children whom they consider as the adults of future at this age is very important for the bank.

Figure 13: Milliyet Kardeş Magazine, Issue: 1, 2010 Figure 14: Milliyet Kardeş Magazine, Issue: 5, 2004.

Another field where Disney heroes are used is the jewelry industry. Goldaş brand produced accessories for children *with Disney heroes on them* and introduced them with this motto: "It's just the right time to be a child". It advises the children to make their parents buy these products by using the weakness of families feel for their children (Milliyet Kardeş, 2003 (12): 5).

TRT Çocuk magazine shows similarities with Milliyet Kardeş magazine in appearance. Most of the time illustrations of cartoon heroes are used on the cover of the magazine and gifts regarding these heroes are given along with the magazine.

Figure 15: TRT Çocuk Dergisi, Issue: 5, 2011

Türkiye Çocuk magazine published in 1981 for the first time also included advertisements in its pages in 1990's. The advertisements for children have a broad range from candies, chocolate and ice-cream to credit cards.

Figure 16: Türkiye Çocuk Dergisi, Issue: 26, 1993

It seems that, like other children 's magazines, the appearance of Türkiye Çocuk magazine was also changed completely in 2000's. As in other children's magazines, more lively and eye-catching covers were used and gifts were given to children along with the magazine. İhlas holding, the owner of the magazine, has frequently included advertisements of its other businesses. For example; İhlas Kuzucuk Thermal Hotel, Aura, İhlas Armutlu Holiday Village ...
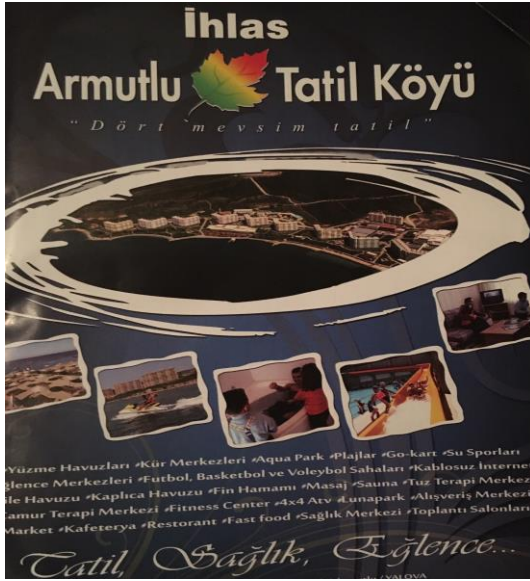
Figure 17: Türkiye Çocuk Dergisi, Issue: 1019, 2011

One of the reviewed magazines, the National Geographic Kids magazine,
which places an ad on almost every page and bombards the children to induce
consumption. Some of the advertisements in the magazine are of products and brands
belong to Doğuş Holding Group as in the case of Türkiye Çocuk magazine. There are
also a number of advertisements, including advertisements for children's films that
come to the theaters and products related to comic heroes. The images below are
examples of advertisements in the National Kids magazine.

Figure 18: National Kids, 2012.

In the above image, both an animated film for children now showing and the book and computer game related with the film are advertised. Pictures of the characters of the children's films now showing are either placed on the cover or in its pages or given as posters. Popular child magazines published today are launched in cooperation with subsidiary industries as in comic strips and cartoon films. As seen in the above example, products related to the characters of the film are launched. An obvious example of this is in the image below.
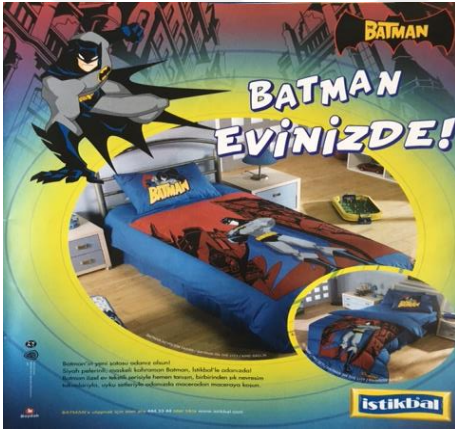

Figure 19: National Kids, 2005.

It is also possible to find the ads of "Garanti Bank Mini Bank" of the same group of companies in National Kids magazine, which belongs to Doğuş Group as in Başak Çocuk and Kumbara Çocuk magazines. As in the previous examples, again the children are targeted as the audience. And children's favorite cartoon film characters are used in the bank's advertisement.

Figure 20: National Kids Magazine, 2006

The children, who became the target audience of the banks, are surrounded by the advertisements of piggy banks and mini bank created for them and exposed to stories about saving money. For example in the section named "Penny Saved is Penny Earned" of Öncü Çocuk magazine, the story of a child who saves money in his own bank account and helps to his mother and father with the money he saves. The child saves money in his own bank account with his own initiative and acts to buy any products he sees the ad of and likes, without asking for money from anybody. He even supports his elders who are financially in a bad situation.

> Then I remembered my money in the bank. I had enough money to cover the first installments of a bicycle. I reminded this to my dad and we went to back together and withdrew my money. From there we directly went to a store selling bicycles ...Then I suddenly thought that it was not the right time to buy a bicycle. I told my father that I didn't like the bicycles. So we stopped by a few stores. My dad made nothing of my attitude but he couldn't be cross with me. When we went back home, I said I will buy a bicycle next summer and quickly handed my money over those two persons whom I love very much. I

went to my room leaving those moist eyes that are proud of me behind. (Öncü, 1997 (57): 33).

The relation of children with money is established by games along with advertisements and bank accounts at early ages. The game of building a "five-star hotel" advertised in Milliyet Kardeş magazine is a good example of this.

Figure 21: Milliyet Kardeş, Issue: 1,2010

The motto of the game includes discourses like "are you ready to win lots of money?" or "be the king of five-star hotels". Here, children are given the chance to earn a lot of money and consequently to be a "king", which is a "superior" rank. In accord with capitalism, individual wealth is promoted in children's games and various elements such as wasting each other to be rich, overcoming their competitors with various tricks and defeating them are presented as absolute musts on the pathway to victory. A similar example similar is the test section in Milliyet Kardeş magazine. In this section a test is prepared for children and they are told to mark the option they feel most comfortable with. The test doesn't have right or wrong answers.

I found two hundred and fifty thousand lira while walking on the street:

a) I take it

b) I hesitate in fear that someone might see me and I don't take it

c) I don't take it. What is two hundred and fifty thousand lira?

Those who have a lot of money are:

a) Rich

b) Smart

c) Very lucky

You are penalized and your father will not give you allowance this week How do you feel?

a) Restricted

b) Insecure

c) Broke

One of your class friends has his/her birthday and your friends collect money to buy a gift:

a) I say I forgot my wallet at home.

b) If there is some amount of money left to manage on until the weekend, I would also participate.

c) I prefer to buy something special. " (2003 (3): 17).

In this test, behaviors of a child who finds money on the street are limited with three options. The child would either take the money, or will not take it in the fear of being seen by someone or will take no notice of the money as he/she finds the amount not much. Those who have a lot of money are defined as rich, smart and very lucky. These options are completely compatible with neoliberal teaching. Because those who

have money are presented to children as rich, smart and lucky. In this context, those who don't have money are poor, retarded and unlucky. The facts of richness and poverty are reduced to being "smart" and having "luck". Being "unlucky" and "retarded" lead to a compulsory poverty and this "fate" persists thus and so. However, as mentioned in detail in the chapter of "Capitalism and Children", "poverty" which is presented as a fate is actually the result of unfair distribution of resources at the beginning and lack of equality of opportunity. Unluckiness and fate are a strategy used by the system to establish itself and being internalized.

The frame of mind of the child who grows up with neoliberal doctrine when he becomes broke (as seen in the above test) is reduced to three options: restricted, insecure and broke. In this context, the child must absolutely have money to be able to feel free and secure. Consequently a child type who consumes more, be happy as they consume, greedier, materialistic, selfish and loses their physical abilities comes to existence.

Finally, there is an interview with Secretary of TSI, Rüstem Alksoy in Öncü magazine. The interview is about consumption and consumer child:

In recent years, the contribution of your children to shopping has increased considerably. Particularly when the children of working parents come home from school, they are faced with meeting the needs of household. Until the elders return home, some of them do some shopping for the house. Thus, children gain a consumer identity at an earlier age than their elders ...Öncü, 1995 (2): 36.

In the above text, it is stated that the role of children in the world of consumption is grown. It is underlined that children are becoming more effective in

the world of consumption at least as much as their parents. However, as seen in the reviewed magazines the strengthening of children's consumerism is influenced more by the consumption ideology pumped to the children with KIA, rather than by the working of children's parents. Children are seen as consumers who would be encouraged to consume and gain the habit of certain consumption especially by producers and advertisers (Pembecioğlu, 2006) and media appears as a powerful tool to create and augment the "consumer child". Under the name of entertainment and education,[28] a profound impact is created on children's culture via new heroes created every day and accompanying subsidiary products through children's magazines (under control of multinational companies), which are considered as a leisure activity.

Consumption habits acquired at early ages are considered as the foundation of consumption behaviors in the future. Thus it is expected that brands communicating with children will easily establish stronger ties with them in future (McNeal, 1999: 16). For this reason, children are seen as a powerful target audience to be persuaded (Aktaş, 2011: 116). While children's lives are determined by problems such as poverty, wars and environmental disasters in the world, motives like market forces, competition and profit also became effective. Half of the children in the world are forced to work in dishonorable jobs (Sormaz, yüksel, 2012: 998) and the other half became victims of consumption ideology, as seen in the above examples. It is clear that the concept of "saving child" constituted by the modern society in hundreds of years is replaced with "consumer child" in neoliberal society (İnal, 2009:43).

---

[28] Developing within the frame of capitalist production understanding within the scope of globalization, multinational companies pump consumption through the products they produce and transfer their own ideologies and life and entertainment cultures to underdeveloped and developing countries in line with their own interests (Mora, 2008:8). Their siege of the entertainment/free time domains along with communication make us see the world from their window and accept it just like that.

5.4.4 Phenomenon of "Successful Child"

It is possible to say that there are different categories of childhood in recent years. These categories certainly does not contain all children but there are mainly two groups of childhood live. The first group includes the children who never enjoyed their childhood and find themselves in poverty and within the labor market at early ages. The second category might be called "eternal childhood". Children in this category grow in a cultural environment where capitalism, consumption society and child-centered family form discussed in this chapter has gradually become widespread, empathy for people who are not like them, social awareness and sensitivity are disappeared and the concept of "self" is placed in the center of the world (Balta, 2005:192). Children who are raised to be the "most equipped and most successful" individuals of employment market are being subject to "ethos of success" at every opportunity and prepared for the capitalist business environment like adults.

In terms of neoliberal ideology, a successful child should follow the technology closely and equipped with capitalist productivity. The "productivity" mentioned here is different from the inherent productivity of children. Capitalist productivity materializes a specific subject and need within the system. But the productivity of child involves every subject and circumstance. Capitalist production involves invention of a need as a result of bio-political analysis of the life as a whole. Whereas, childish productivity corresponds to creative productivity at every moment of life. Capitalist production includes a consumption economy which remains standing due to continuous production of innovation (Şentürk, 2015).

TRT Çocuk magazine gives information regarding technology in almost every issue. They spared two pages for "nanotechnology" in one issue. Four different games teaching nanotechnology are advertised. It is stated that it is necessary for children to know nanotechnology and nanotechnology is the future. It was expressed that children should follow the technological developments and those who cannot develop would not "occupationally" exist in the future (TRT Çocuk, 2011:6).

"Money" lies in the origin of technological researches in capitalist order. Many of the supported R&D projects are based on fast production and more sales. Every scientific development from nanotechnology[29] (tons of nanoproducts) to genetics (cloning, artificial organs), from space works (space tourism) to electronics are regarded as valuable as their financial yields. Therefore natural progress of science and technology has undergone a change. While disciplines like history, archaeology, astronomy (as long as there are no international conflicts) are regarded trivial, disciplines like nanotechnology became the pupils of money sources. The attention of children is forwarded to these "money making" disciplines.

There is a section named "Crazy Inventor Nuri" in TRT Çocuk magazine. In this section, *a robot made by humans is illustrated under the slogan of* "the robot who can take care of your pets when you go on a holiday in summer". The message in the text is that lives of the robot owners will get easier and also, customers of the makers of the robot are ready. What is expected from children is following technology in this direction and produce what they would sell. It is emphasized that they will have

---

[29] Developing countries spend tens of millions of dollars for nano technology researches. **People's Republic** of China is the third country after**USA**and**Japan**which makes the highest number of patent applications in this field. Because these countries want to catch this new "revolution" **instead of industrial revolution**they have missed. (http://www.birgun.net/haber-detay/nanoteknoloji-ve-devrim-2-3253.html).

"success" by doing so. In another episode of "Mad Inventor Nuri", there is an "entertaining school project". In this project a school is designed to enable children to be successful and have fun at school. At this school there is bungee jumping for their entertainment, sandbags to blow off steam when they are stressed and a motivation stand and a baby bouncer for entertainment and motivation before they take important exams. Children become familiar with the concept of "stress" at early ages. Because stress begins at early ages in the capitalist system. Children deal with an unending stress due to "competition" and "exam" to be "successful" and have "a good future". As the solution of the stress experienced by children, "sandbag" and "motivation stand" are placed at the school mentioned in the above text. The stress of the children is glossed over with superficial solutions. Because the main thing here is raising the children as actors sensitive to the market economy as İnal (2013:265) mentions. Ultimately, there are some phrases used in the curriculum of the Ministry of National Education such as "Economically trained manpower","investment in information", "investment in human resources", "complying with the competitive environment in international markets"(Ministry of Education Curriculum, 2004:1-2).

Choice of profession is another subject reflected on children's magazines. Two pages are spared for publicity of professions in Öncü Çocuk magazine (1997:30). Civil, mining, mechanical and industrial engineering are introduced. "Choice of profession" is also involved in another issue of Öncü Çocuk magazine. Importance of choice of profession is emphasized (2011:4-5):

> When choosing a profession, people actually choose a certain lifestyle and working environment for themselves. Choosing a profession in accordance with one's abilities and desires would make an individual happy and also the said individual works productively and increase his/her contribution to

national economy. Because the chosen profession affects whole life and happiness of individual...You must have witnessed that there are so many people around, who are not satisfied with their jobs, changing their jobs ever so often and don't know what kind of an education is required for a job. This shows the importance of choice of profession for the individual and society. Therefore a series of studies are being conducted by experts beginning from nursery class as all around the world. Because it is very important for you, the youth to be accurately informed and directed when choosing your profession as you will take over the future.Another reason for the emergence of vocational counseling guidance and review of individual-profession relations is getting familiar with the individuals and raise them for their future field of business by considering that talented and skilled people would cause fewer work accidents in industrial and technical jobs.

There are two remarkable elements in above text. Firstly, it is emphasized that not being successful when they get a job and frequently changing jobs are caused by choosing the "wrong profession". It is stated that if the right profession is chosen, the individual could find an appropriate job and be happy. However, full employment is not possible in the capitalist system. As Şen (2009:418) mentions, there should always be an army of unemployed as a threat element over the employed in the capitalist system. Otherwise it would not be possible for capitalists to control the labor process at workplace or national level. In order for the employers to have control over the labor process, they should be able to fire the workers any time they want and replace them with people from the army of unemployed. Therefore, choosing the "right profession" is not the main factor of finding a job and being happy

at work. However educating the children in this direction will make them think that the "failures" they would experience in the future would be due to their choices.

Another remarkable point in the text is work accidents. It stats that skillful individuals will have less "work accidents" and the vocational guidance counseling is important in this context. As stated in the "Child Labor" section under the "Capitalism and Child" heading of the study, there are so many "work accidents"[30] in Turkey. Flexible working and deregulation brought by capitalism narrow the scope of social security on one hand and it also means avoidance of implementation of basic working rights (Şen, 2009:419). Flexible working practices conflict with the goal of providing humanely jobs to everyone. The reason for the increase in work accidents is economic as well as legal. Employers prefer the cost of paying compensation to the worker or his/her family to bearing the cost of occupational health and security and become a part of the "murder economy" (Altan, 2012). Whereas the cause of "work accidents" is reduced to the skill or competency of individual and it is defended that the individual has a work accident due to his/her own fault. The main element for the creation of a "hegemony" with regard to work accidents is the "common sense" it is tried to be (Gramsci, 1997:278) formed. A common sense is being formed regarding the "work accidents" are the consequences of the individual's own incompetency without even considering the truth that they are resulting from the economic system. But is clear that "work accidents" are no different from openly committed murders. At this point it would be more accurate to call them "work murders" instead of "work accidents".

As mentioned above, the greatest criterion for the success of technological developments, imagination and new inventions is presented as "money". It is possible

---

[30] According to statistics, 1454 workers have lost their lives due to 62 thousand 903 work accidents happened
in 2010 (SSI, 2010).

to augment the number of examples that would support this argument. In National Kids (2012:8) magazine, there is a section named "Super Inventions". In this text the "success" of the inventions are determined over people buying them and their ability to "facilitate" the human life. And technological inventions are marketed as new products; *"Forget about your nightlight. Now all you need is this pillow. "*

In a section named the "Virtual Cafe" in National Kids magazine, technological products and games are introduced to children. A virtual cafe is designed children. Robots serve to children in this cafe. Game consoles are referred as "art wonders", underground cabling is regarded as an aggravating and old-fashioned technology and it is said that*"there will be no such thing in your game room equipped with wireless connection"* . Children are illustrated being fairly happy in the room equipped with technological devices. This is exactly what is expected from children; they should be completely compatible with technological developments which require money and don't feel out of them (National Kids)

Another element emphasized on the path to success is Imagination. However the imagination intended here is not an opposing imagination but one which predicts to be successful in the existing system. There is a gigantic bureaucratic device aiming at destroying all possible alternative envision of future outside the system. As Graeber (2008) mentions, this device indoctrinates the belief that public opposition shall never and by no means be successful and cannot manage to generate alternatives. This neoliberal mechanism which ensured the physical destruction of a political generation and also made it to be mentally subjected to remain "without an alternative" especially after September 12th,1980 operates like clockwork (Bora, 2010:29). In this process, the neoliberal hegemony included the word "imagining" in its own vocabulary and frequently emphasized that those who can imagine, can actually do.

This is to say that the ability to imagine is reduced to doable and even to what should be done from the viewpoint of capital and power (Baumann, 2003:26). There is no better future; what's imagined is what can be done today and here. "Imagination" is addressed in children's magazines within these limits. An example is the section named "Let your imaginations be imaginations" in Can Kardeş magazine.

> Secondary education of the young son of a wandering horse tamer, who goes from one farm to other, from one race to other to tame the horses is interrupted due to his father's job. When he was a seventh-grade student, his teacher asked him to write a composition about what he would like to be and to do when he grows up. The boy couldn't sleep all night and wrote a seven-page composition about his goal to own a horse ranch one day. He depicted his dream in finest details. He even drew the sketch of the 200-acre ranch he imagines. He marked the locations of buildings, stables and racetracks. He also added the detailed plan of a 1000 square meter house on the 200-acre land. The seven-page composition he submitted to his teacher next day was definitely the voice of his heart ...A big "0" was written with red pen on his composition and a warning saying "come, see me after class". The boy asked his teacher: "Why did I get "0"?" "This an unrealistic dream for a boy at your age," said his teacher. "You have no money. You are from a wandering family. You don't have any resources. Establishing a horse ranch requires a lot of money. You need to buy the land first. You also need to buy breeding horses. It's impossible for you to succeed this. If you rewrite your homework after you set realistic goals, then I will look over your grade ... The boy answered his teacher: "You do not change my grade and let me not change my dreams ... (Can Kardeş, 2008:13).

In the above text the boy dreams of owning a ranch and a huge house. But his teacher doesn't find this "dream" realistic, as he doesn't have money. But the boy doesn't give up his "dream" to be rich and it is advised not to give up their dreams to other children. Right at this point, it is possible to find the emphasis of neoliberal discourse as to "what is dreamed or imagined can come true". Dreams of children are reduced to what the system promises and synchronized with them.

In Kumbara Çocuk (2010:52) magazine it is said that "*Dear children, the greatest power to carry this country to future is your imagination. This is why we make our biggest investments in you as the biggest bank in Turkey.*" Here too, imagination is associated with capital again. İş Bank's "Piggy Bank Fund" is ready to enable children to realize "what they dream". Imagination of children is imprisoned by capital and power. There is even no harm for children to sell stars as their dream. In a story named "I Sell the Stars" in Başak Çocuk (1989:9) magazine, a boy begins shouting "I am selling the stars" and sells the stars to people for money. At the end of the story he says; "*Next time I will sell those haughty and arrogant big stars by auction*". In another story a child who advises his/her father about business is depicted; "*My toys are not sold very well recently. Maybe I need to shut down the factory.* " The child takes his/her father to the zoo and advises him to make toys for the incoming chimpanzees and thus he saves the factory from going bankrupt (Başak Çocuk, 1984:22). As in this story, a "successful child" is also "quick-witted". And everything is permissible on the pathway to "Success". With this mentality, Milliyet Çocuk (2004:46) magazine teaches the children the tricks of computer games. In the section named "Game Tricks", how to cheat to overcome their opponents is spelled out. All tricks are permissible on the pathway to victory.

And finally, one of the most-dos of a "successful child" is knowing different cultures and being open to them. The magazine which dwells on this subject most is without any doubt, National Kids. The magazine definitely included the cultures of other countries' children and introduced them. But while doing this, it also legitimizes the "colonization" of the children living in "underdeveloped countries". For example in "Children of the World" section of National Kids (2006:24) children of Masai/Africa are told. After telling about the local culture of the country, it is stated that the country is an English colony; "*Maybe the best advantage of the English colonialism in the country is enabling the children to attend school. Children learn their mother tongue at schools and also slightly open the door of the science world.*"

While a country's being a colony is not mentioned here, "colonialism" is presented as a charity. It is stated that English colonialism provided schooling for children and introduced them to science. The elements which turned them into colonies are not even mentioned. Another example is Tibet. China's invasion of Tibet is depicted in the magazine as follows; "*But when Chinese army invaded Tibet, Tibetian culture took major blows. It was positive in some respects: Cities were provided electricity and amenities of modern medicine were developed.*"

In spite of major blows that Tibetian culture took, China's invasion is accepted. Because what's important here is being acquainted with what is "modern". The fate of individuals and countries that cannot follow technology and science sufficiently is illustrated like Tibet and Masai. And transfer of concepts like technology, science and democracy to these countries by the center countries is an inevitable charity. Here technology and science functions as a stick held by neoliberalism instead of being means of liberalization.

As can be understood from children's magazines, the "successful child" in neoliberalism is the "entrepreneur or businessperson of future", a "competitor" without borders and extremely "individualist"" .

CONCLUSION

In this study the social, economic and cultural changes in Turkey are examined through children's magazines and in this direction, it was tried to analyze what kind of a "childhood" was intended to create in various periods. For this purpose the period from 1980 to 2012 was focused on. But in order not to break the storylines off their historical contexts, the period before 1980 was also referred to when needed. Children's magazine which aspires the free times of children were scanned from a critical perspective and economic, political and cultural reflections of the period were addressed. Because although the concept of childhood points out a biological period, it appears before us as a concept which would be shaped by social, cultural, political and economic powers or a changeable social and historical concept (Şener, 2007). As can be seen in the study, the understanding of childhood had different meanings and different social reflections in the historical process. Therefore when reviewing the "demands" from childhood over children's magazines, it is not possible to ignore economic, political, cultural and social dimensions.

1980, where the neoliberal policies begun to be implemented was chosen as the starting point of the study. Thatcher came to power in England with 1979 elections and Reagan came to power in the USA, in 1980. These figures who were the first implementers of neoliberal policies have persistently laid emphasis on the decrease of individual freedom as a result of increased number of bureaucratic state institutions. In this period, the Fordist production model laying the function of providing resources for production and investment to capital gave way to a more flexible accumulation regime, post-fordism. The market was put forward as the main

variable and presented as the one and only condition of providing individual freedom (Çelik, 2008:250). As mentioned in the study, the concept of "civil society" was fetishized as an element of neoliberal ideology in this process, presented as the only source of liberalization and democracy and used in the legitimization of the new right. The fact of "freedom" was reduced to economic freedom.

In parallel with all these developments, the impact of neoliberal policies has also reflected on media. Privatization and deregulation applications were initiated. The media which was transformed by privatization and deregulation policies was also commercialized and intensified. As a result of the jumps in communication technology, this transformation in neoliberal functioning contributed to ideological transformation by changing the type of production and the power of media to provide domination and sustainment of neoliberal ideology (Çelik, 2008:252). Media serves to the reproduction of dominant ideology in the social domain. By producing a series of common sensory values and mechanisms that reproduce the process of the ruled classes' consent to be dominated by their free will and legitimize this by way of a constant and consistent ideology towards social structure, media institutions function in a hegemonic way (Shoemaker, Reese: 1997). This hegemonic function is also clearly observed in children's magazines. All existing economic and political dominant discourses in the agenda of the period are reflected on children's magazines. Beside this, there is another element observed in children's magazines; media keeps opposing thoughts out of social communication process, marginalize them and presents them as threats to social existence (Tehranian, 2002; 60). As seen in the review section of the study, dominant discourse alienates elements that it regards as threats and turns them into enemies. As a result of uniformity and militarization imposed upon the society (Tersiz, 2008; 144), the society/children become apt to

violence as can be observed in children's magazines. Thinking itself superior to alienated segment and engaging in violence is being normalized.

The changes in the economic, political and cultural field along with 1980's have also changed the texts in children's magazines. The children who were seen as citizens of the future as of the Republican period have been subjected to many stories and doctrines that are decorated with nationalist and militarist motifs based on "Turkism" with terms like "Brave" and "Valiant". During 1980's and 1990's these stories were clearly transformed and the concept of the "symbols of the Republic" gave way to a fact of nationalism predominantly through longing for Ottoman, Turkism and Islam. Children's magazines, which were previously used as one of the most important means to make the main principles of the Republic become widespread; bring in the national Turkish identity and values which have been determined in accord with the one nation, one flag, one homeland objectives of the newly founded Republic of Turkey and infuse the official and national language accepted as base by the state into the society transformed into conservatively nationalist publications towards the end of 1990's and during 2000's. As seen in the analysis part of the study, the contents of children's magazines shifted from "guardians of the Republic" to "grandchildren of Ottoman". However the only thing that never changed in every circumstance is the militarist discourses in children's magazines. As stated above, the created heroes are constantly fighting against the enemies from another country or religion (Serbs, Armenians, Greek Cypriots...) in children's magazines and it is emphasized that "Turks and Muslims" should always have their guard up against these enemies. In children's magazines, the fight against the "Enemies" continues in a state of paranoia. The necessity of "Turkish children" to

be on the alert and in case of any slackness, the enemies are lying in ambush were emphasized by different statements.

Another feature of "childhood" blended with nationalist discourses that reflects on the magazines is being "consumption oriented" in a way to embrace neoliberal ideology. The visualization of media commenced with 1980's became further apparent in 1990's. And in this period, advertisements in children's magazines have been more frequent and the foundations of consumer child are laid. Advertisements appeared in children's magazines towards the end of 1980's were widely increased in number in 1990's and 2000's. The number of pages spared for informing the children became less than the number of pages used for advertisement and entertainment. In this process the transition from the "saving" childhood to the childhood desired to be "a loyal consumer" was actualized. Media appears as a powerful means for creation and augmentation of "consumer child". Under the name of entertainment and education, a profound impact is created on children's culture via new heroes created every day and accompanying subsidiary products through children's magazines (under control of multinational companies), which are considered as a leisure activity.

Advertisements about cartoon characters designed by multinational companies are frequently seen in the reviewed magazines. The vast majority of children's magazines have become famous trademarks of the leading companies of media-entertainment industries at a global level and they are full of toys, comic strip characters known by children in every country. At the same time there are adventure posters of famous cartoon characters and advertisements of companies targeting children as the audience with regard to cartoon animation characters. Children are seen as loyal consumers of the future it is underlined in the reviewed magazines and

in the statements of the owners and authorities of the magazines. While children are directed towards consumption via increased number of advertisements in children's magazine, the relations of children with money is reinforced with stories and games on bank accounts they should open on their name, earning money and competition.

Neoliberal politics which became effective during 1980's and afterwards were not only economic but they have also organized every realm of life and radically changed the economic and social policies to the fullest extent. In this context, it was possible to observe all changes in policies of conservatism, family and education along with economic policies and acceptances in children's magazines. For example, conservative discourse in children's magazines emerges as a complement of neoliberal policies. Conservative discourse is used as a means by which contradictions of neoliberalism can continue. In this context the number of conservative magazines increased and the children are suppressed especially with concepts of "heaven/hell (reward/punishment)". Besides, a deep feeling of "fatalism" has been conveyed to children. Children are indoctrinated with senses of "charity" and "thankfulness". Children's magazines frequently featured the activities of "charity" organizations and stories of "charitable" people. The solution of poverty is sought in donations of the rich or in "Social responsibility projects" by institutions such as UNICEF. The child doesn't question the reasons for his/her poverty and accepts this as a fate. A rich child, on the other hand, accepts his/her richness as an advantage of fate and spiritually satisfy himself/herself by aiding the poor. As a consequence of economic-political dimension of neoliberal policies, children are involved in definitions that appear to belong to adult world.(child workers, child pornography, child prostitution, juvenile delinquency, child consumers). However, all these problems of childhood are dissolved in the sense of fate. As it is mentioned in the study, it has become

widespread throughout the world, especially in recent years, to make people dependent on people and institutions by helping them get used to poverty rather than permanently solving the problems caused by poverty and problems arising from poverty. In this context children's magazines contribute to the legitimacy of the images of "charitable state", "charitable company", "charitable civil society" and "charitable individual". At the same time problems of "child labor" or "work murders" are reduced to individual incompetency. It is stated that work murders are caused by choice of profession or individual faults and children are warned to be careful "in this matter".

Another concept frequently reinforced in neoliberal ideology is being successful. It is expected from the child to be the "most equipped and successful" individual in the business world and get ready for the capitalist work environment like an adult. At this point children are cautioned to be "individualistic", "competitive" and "entrepreneur" in children's magazines. Children are directed to money-making games such as building hotels instead of games which require physical skills or endeavors and in each one of these games, those who make the most money are regarded as "successful". "The criteria of "being successful" for children were completely attuned to the market economy. The most important criterion in scientific articles or articles introducing professions featured in children's magazines is being beneficial for "labor (employment) market". Consequently emergence of a childhood that doesn't know nature, whose physical skills are missing, besieged by virtual heroes, indifferent/fatalist, obedient, in compliance with demands of consumption wheel, easily shaped and devoid of creativity is not surprising.

Neoliberalism seriously causes destruction in today and future of children. Children have to struggle against neoliberal policies and conservatism. However, as

seen in the study, the domain of children's struggle is not limited to these. There is also a suppression effort to repress and frighten against a possible resistance. This effort is revealed in children's magazines, sometimes in the form of a threat that those who will stay out of the system will have a bad and broke life and sometimes in the form of fear from heaven/hell. Therefore, childhood also has to deal with this intimidation and oppression.
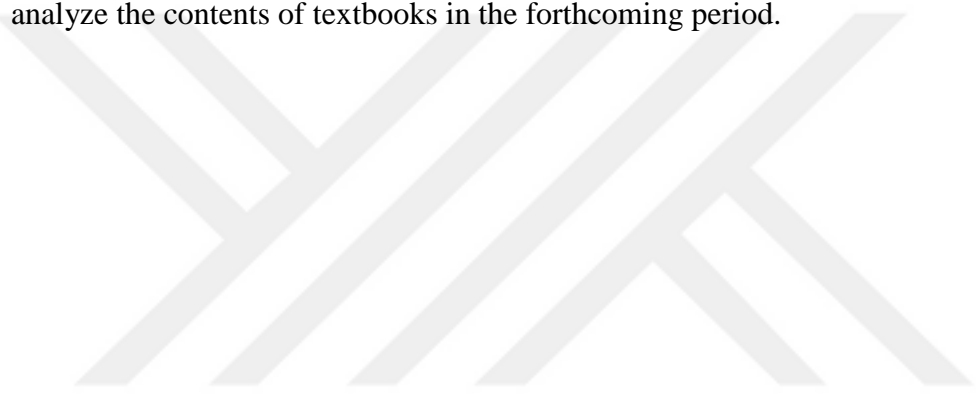
It is clear that although childhood is tried to be presented as a separate social category involving people of a certain age, it is not immune to the destruction of adult humans against the threat of neoliberalism and conservatism today.

In this context the analyses made over children's magazines confirm the hypothesis of the study. As can be understood from the section of the analysis, dominant ideologies are transferred to and infused into children via children's magazines. As Althusser (2003:130) states, reproduction of dominant ideology means reproduction of material, political and ideological circumstances of the existence of dominant class. As can be seen from the review of children's magazines published between the years of 1980 and 2012, every class replacing the previous one presents its own interests as the common interests of the members of society to achieve some certain goals (Erdoğan and Alemdar,1990: 178).
Therefore children have been under the influence of the dominant class in all periods.

Each one of the reviewed magazines contributed to the reproduction of dominant discourse or discourses by which they are influenced by using different shapes and strategies in children's magazines. Dominant ideologies are sometimes hidden behind a fairy tale or a story and sometimes behind games and advertisements. In general, children's magazines don't feature opinions and elements that are against the dominant discourse or they were alienated as "bad" and "wrong" opinions.

There is a certain consequence of the review of children's magazines; consciousness of children are shaped through children's magazines within the frame of dominant ideology based on economic, political and cultural facts that Turkey had experienced. As a result of this study, an insight was provided with regard to the period between the years of 1980 and 2012 in Turkey and the profile of "desired child" for every period in parallel with the periodical changes that took place in Turkey was generated. It is intended to complete this result obtained by reviewing the magazines which are a free-time activity of children after school with another study to analyze the contents of textbooks in the forthcoming period.

REFERENCES

Adaklı, G. (2001). Yayıncılık Alanında Mülkiyet ve Kontrol, *Medya Politikaları*, (D. B. Kejanlıoğlu & Çelenk, S & G. Adaklı, der). Ankara: İmge.

Ahioğlu, N. (2008). Türkiye'de Oyun Ve Oyuncak Kültürü. *Folklor Edebiyat. (55)*, 14. Ankara.

Akgönül, S. (2008). *Türkiye Rumları*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları

Alemdar, K., & Erdoğan, İ. (1994*). Popüler Kültür ve İletişim*, Ankara: Ümit Yayınları.

Alemdar, Y. & Gıyasettin, A. (2003). *Çocuk Edebiyatı*. Ankara: Akçağ yayınları.

Althusser, L. (2003). *İdeoloji ve Devletin İdeolojik Aygıtları.* (Alp Tümertekin, çev.) İstanbul: İthaki Yayınları.

Altubaş, B. (2016). *Kapitalizm ve Paternalism Kıskacında Çocuk* http://egitimsen.org.tr/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Kapitalizm-ve-Paternalizm-K%C4%B1skac%C4%B1nda-%C3%87ocuk.pdf#page=96 adresinden erişildi.

Alver, F. (2004). *Neil Postman' in Çocukluğun Yok Oluş Sürecinde İletişim Teknolojisi Eleştirisinin Eleştirisi .* 2(2) 129- 141 http://dergiler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/23/666/8492.pdf adresinden erişildi.

Baudrillard, J. (2008). *Tüketim Toplumu*. (Hazal Deliçaylı &Ferda Keskin, çev). İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları.

Belsey, A., (1994). Yeni sağ, Toplumsal Düzen ve Yurttaşlık Hakları. *Mürekkep,* (6), 3-12

Besley, A.C. (2003). Hybridized and Globalized: Youth Cultures in the Postmodern Era. *The Review of Education Pedagogy and Cultural Studies, 25* (2). USA: Routledge.

Birtek, F., & Toprak, B. (1994). Türkiye'de Siyasal İslam'ın Yükselişi ile Neo-Liberal Yeniden İnşanın Oluşturduğu Çatışmalı Gündemler. *Mürekkep*, 4-16.

Bowles, S. (1999). Eşitsiz Eğitim ve Toplumsal İşbölümünün Yeniden Üretimi. (Kemal İnal, çev), *Eğitim ve Yaşam-Eğitim,Bilim ve Kültür Dergisi.* (13), 14-18.

Bumin, K. (1983*). Batı'da Devlet ve Çocuk*. İstanbul: Alan Yayınları.

Corcuff, P. (2009). *Bireycilik Sorunu*, (Aziz Ufuk Kılıç, çev). İstanbul: Versus Yayınları.

Çoban, B. *Medyanın Milliyetçi Söylemi. Medya, Öteki ve Şiddet.* http://www.academia.edu adresinden erişildi. Dizisi 252(76). Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları.

Eagleton, T. (1996). *İdeoloji,* (Muttalip Özcan, çev.) İstanbul: Ayrıntı.

Ekzen, N. (1999). Medya ve Ekonomi:Türk Basın Endüstrisinde Yoğunlaşma-Toplulaşma-Tekelleşme Yapısı. (A. Kaya, der). *Medya Gücü ve Demokratik Kurumlar*, İstanbul: Afa ve Tüses.

Elkind, D. (1999). Çocuk Ve Toplum Üzerine Denemeler. (Demet Öngen, çev.) *Araştırma Ve Uygulama Merkezi Yayınları,*(3). Ankara.

Ercan, F. (1998). *Eğitim ve Kapitalizm*. İstanbul:Bilim Yayıncılık

Erdoğan, İ. (2002). Tekelleşme, Medya ve Medya Pratikleri. *Toplum ve Hekim.* (11), 417-424.

Erdoğan, İ. & Alemdar, K. (2005). *Popüler Kültür ve İletişim,* Ankara: Erk Yayınları.

Erdoğan, İ., & Alemdar, K. (2002). *Öteki Kuram*. Ankara: Erk.

Ergur, A. (2003). Üniversitenin pazarla bütünleşmesi sürecinde akademik dünyanın dönüşümü. *Toplum ve Bilim*. (97), 183-214.

Ertem, B. (2009). Türkiye- ABD İlişkilerinde Truman Doktorini Ve Marshall Planı. Balıkesir Üniversitesi. 12(21), 377-397. http://sbe.balikesir.edu.tr/dergi/edergi/c12s21/makale/c12s21m24.pdf adresinden erişildi.

Eştürk, Ö. (2006). *Türkiye'de Liberalizm: Turgut Özal Dönemi Örneği*. Mustafa Kemal Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü. (Yayınlanmamış tez). Hatay.

Firestone, S. (1979). Cinselliğin Diyalektiği, Kadın Özgürlüğü Davası. (Y.Salman, çev). İstanbul: Payel Yayıncılık.

Fraklin, B. (2007). *Çocuk Hakları*. çev.Alev Türker. İstanbul:Ayrıntı Yayınları.

Gambetti, Z. (2009). İktidarın Dönüşen Çehresi: Neoliberalizm, Şiddet ve Kurumsal Siyasetin Tasfiyesi İ.Ü. *Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi.* (40), 143-164.

Gittins, D. (2004). The Historical Construction of Childhood. *An Introduction to Childhood Studies*, (Kehıly Mary Jane, Ed). (1) 25-38, England: Open University Press.

Gramsci, A. (1997). *Hapishane defterleri*. (Adnan Cemgil, çev.) İstanbul:Belge Yayınları

Gülalp, H. (2001). Globalization And Political İslam: The Social Bases of Turkey's Welfare Party. *International Journal Middle East Studies*, (33), 33–448.

Gültekin, B. & Yıldız, E. (2009). *İletişimde Çocuk Figürü*. Ankara: Nobel Yayınları.

Güven, İ. (1997). *Küresellşeme Ve eğitim Dizgesine Katkıları*. 147-159 http://dergiler.ankara.edu.tr/dergiler/40/127/874.pdf adresinden erişildi.

Hablemitoğlu, Ş. (2009). Küreselleşmenin Bedelini Çocuklar Ödüyor. *Bağımsız Özel Sayı*, (1), 7. İstanbul.

Harvey, D. (2006). *Neo-liberalism as creative destruction*. 88 B (2), 145–158.

ILO (2004). *Uluslar arası çalışma örgütü çocuk işçiliğinin sona erdirilmesi uluslar arası programı: Türkiye'de çocuk işçiliği sorunu.* https://www.csgb.gov.tr/media/5831/ilomobilya.pdf adresinden erişildi.

İnal, K. (2007). *Çocuğun Örselenen Dünyası*. Ankara: Sobil Yayınları.

İnal, K. (2007). Modernizm ve Çocuk-Geleneksel, Modern ve Postmodern Çocukluk İmgeleri. Ankara: Sobil Yayınları.

İnal, K. (2007). *ModernizmVe Çocuk*. Ankara: Sobil Yayıncılık.

İnal, K. (2009). Eleştirel pedagoji. AKP ile Eğitim Nereye 2002-2008. *Eleştirel Pedagoj Politik Eğitim* 1(1), 1-10. http://www.elestirelpedagoji.com/FileUpload/ks7397/File/elestirel_pedagoji_sayi_1.pdf adresinden erişildi.

İnal, K. (2009). *Türkiye'de Çocukluk: Nereye!. Çocuk ve Medya* (Selda Akçalı, der). Ankara: Nobel Yayın Dağıtım.

İnal, K. (2012). Kürt sorunun önemli bir boyutu olarak dil. *Eğitim bilim ve Toplum 10*(37). http://www.egitimbilimtoplum.com.tr/index.php/ebt/article/viewArticle/459 adresinden erişildi.

Jenkıns, I. (1993). *Yazılı Kaynaklar ve Arkeolojik Buluntular Işığında Antik Devirde Çocuk Eğitimi.* (Hasan Malay, çev). İstanbul: Arkeoloji Ve Sanat Yayınları.

Kaufman, N. & Rizzini, I. (2004). *Globalization and Children Exploring Potentials Forenhancing Opportunities İn The Lives Of Children And Youth*. Newyork: Kluwer academic Publishers.

Kılcı, Ş. (2009). *Tüketim Toplumunun Bir Formu olarak, Çizgi Filmlerde Çocukluk Ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet Temsilleri; Barbie, Bratz ve Winx Club*. (Yayınlanmamış Tez). Kocaeli Üniversitesi, Kocaeli.

Köker, L. (1992). *Demokrasi Üzerine Yazılar*, Ankara: İmge Kitabevi.

Köker, L. (1999). Kimlik Krizinden Meşruluk Krizine: Kemalizm ve Sonrası, *Toplum ve Bilim, (71)*, 150-167.

Köker, L. (2008). *Demokrasi, Eleştiri ve Türkiye*. Ankara: Dipnot Yayınları.

Küçüker, E., & Gürbüz A. (2012). Türkiye'de Uygulanan Dış Kaynaklı Eğitim Projeleri Nasıl Bir toplumsal Dönüşüm Hedefliyor. *Milli Eğitim Dergisi*, (194).

Kymlicka, W. (2004). *Çağdaş Siyaset Felsefesine Giriş*, (Ebru Kılıç, çev.) İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi.

Lindberg, N. (2013). Türkiye.Küreselleşen Dünyada ve Türkiye'de Çocukluğun Durumu. *Kastamonu Eğitim Dergisi. 21*(1).

Mardin, Ş. (2007). *İdeoloji,* İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Mardin, Ş. (2012). *Din ve İdeoloji*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınevi.

Marshall, G. (1988). *Sosyoloji sözlüğü*. Osman Akınhay, (Derya Kömürcü, çev.) Ankara:Bilim ve Sanat Yayınları.

Marx, K., & Engels, F. (1992). *Alman İdeolojisi*, (Sevim Belli, çev.) Ankara:Sol Yayınları.

McLaren, P. (2003). *Revolutionary Pedagogy in Post-Revolutionary Times: Rethinking the Political Economy of Critical Education*. (Darder, A. Baltodano, M.& R. D. Torres, der). New York & London: RoutledgeFalmer.

Neydim, N. (2004). *Popüler Çocuk Kitapları ve Medyasının Çocuk Kültürüne Etkilerine Sosyolojik Gerçeklikler Açısından Bir Bakış*. http://www.ogretmen.info/makale/17.pdf adresinden erişilmiştir.

Oğuzkan, F. (1974*). Eğitim Terimleri Sözlüğü*, Ankara:Türk dil Kurumu Yayınları.

Onur, B. (2005). *Türkiye'de Çocukluğun Tarihi.* Ankara: İmge Yayınları.

Onur, B. (2007). Sunuş, Toplumsal Tarihte Çocuk Sempozyumu, *Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları*. (4), 23-24. İstanbul.

Onur, B. *Çocuk, Tarih Ve Toplum*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi.

Orçan, M. (2008). *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze Modern Türk Tüketim Kültürü*. Ankara: Harf Eğitim Yayınları.

Önür, N. (2002). *İletişim ve Toplum*. Ankara: Alp Yayınları.

Özal, T. (1984). *Başbakan Turgut Özal'ın Konuşma, Mesaj, Beyanat ve Mülakatları*. 13.12.1983–12.12.198. Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi.

Özdemir, M., Ç. (2007). Toplumsal Değişim Karşısında Aile ve Okul. *Türk eğitim Bilimleri Dergisi. (5)*2, 185-198.

Öztürk, Ö. (2006). Emperyalizm Kuramları ve Sermayenin Uluslararasılaşması. *Praksis. (15),* 285.
Parlak, İ. (2005). Kemalist İdeolojide Eğitim Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Tarih ve Yurt Bilgisi Ders Kitapları Üzerine Bir İnceleme. Ankara: Turhan Kitapevi.

Parsons, T. (1951). *The Social System. Glencoe*: Free Press.

Poulantzas, N. (1992). *Siyasal İktidar ve Toplumsal Sınıflar*. (Şen Süer, Fevzi Topaçoğlu, çev). İstanbul: Belge Yayınları.

Rawls, J. (2007). *Siyasal Liberalizm*. (M. F. Bilgin, çev). İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi.

Recep E. (2011). Modern Çocukluk Paradigması. *Journal Of Worlds Of Turks. 3*(2), 85-97. www.dieweltder.terken.org adresinden erişildi.

Savran, S. (1996). Küreselleşme mi Uluslararasılaşma mı? *Sınıf Bilinci. 16*(1), 37-79.

Sayılan, F. (2006). *Küresel Aktörler (DB ve GATS) ve Eğitimde Neo-Liberal Dönüşüm. Haber Bülteni,* 44-51. http://www.jmo.org.tr/resimler/ekler/1e03cc77d4bbd6b_ek.pdf adresinden erişildi.

Schiller, H. (2005). *Zihin Yönlendirenler*. (Cevdet Cerit, çev). İstanbul: Pınar Yayınları.

Scholle D., J. (1999). Eleştirel Çalışmalar. İdeoloji Teorisinden İktidar/Bilgiye. *Medya, İktidar, İdeoloji,* Mehmet Küçük (der). Ankara: Ark.

Shoemaker, P., &Resse. S. D. (2002). İdeolojinin Medya İçeriği Üzerindeki Etkisi, *Medya Kültür Siyaset.* (Süleyman İrvan, der.) Ankara:Alp Yayınevi.

Sıgmund, Paul E. (1967). *The Ideologies of Developing Nations*. New York: Praeger

Sormaz, F. (2009). *Çocukluk İmgesi, Oyun ve Oyuncak: Sosyo- Kültürel Bir Analiz*. (Yayınlanmamış Tez). Kütahya Üniversitesi, Kütahya.

Storey,J. (2000). *Pöpüler Kültür Ve Çalışmaları*. (Koray Karaşahin, çev). İstanbul: Babil Yayınları.

Sucu, M. (2005). *12 Eylül Yasakları*. İstanbul: Günizi Yayıncılık.

Şaylan, G. (2005). *Değişim, Küreselleşme ve Devletin Yeni İşlevi*. Ankara: İmge.

Şengül, S. ''İslamcılık, Kürtler ve Kürt Sorunu'' http://s3.amazonaws.com/academia.edu.documents/44445289

Şimsek, H. (2001). XIX Yüzyıl Çocuk dergiciliği Ve Eğitsel İşlevleri Üzerine. *Milli Eğitim Dergisi*. (151).

Şirin, M., R. (1994). *Çocuk Edebiyatı*. İstanbul: Çocuk Vakfı Yayınları,

Şirin, M., R. (1998). Çocuk Yüzlü Yazılar. *Aydınlığında Eğitim Dergisi*. (5), 57 İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık.

Şirin, M., R. (1998). *Çocuk Yüzlü Yazılar*. İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık.

Şirin, M., R. (2006). *Gösteri Çağı Çocukları, İletişim Toplumunda Medya Sarmalı*. İstanbul: İz Yayınları.
T.C Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Talim Ve Terbiye Kurulu Başkanlığı. (2005).

Programların Yaklaşımı. http://www.meb.gov.tr/ttkb/programlar.html/ adresinden erişildi.

Tan, M. (1989). Çağlar Boyunca Çocukluk. *Ankara Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Fakültesi Dergisi. 1*(22). 71- 88. Doi: 10.1501/Egifak_0000000859.

Tan, M. (2006). *Çocukluk: Dün Ve Bugün. Toplumsal Tarihte Çocuk*, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.

Tanıl, B. (1995). *Milliyetçiliğin Kara Baharı*. İstanbul: Birikim Yayınları.

Tanıl, B. (2010). *Türk Sağının Üç Hali.* İstanbul: Birikim Yayınları.

Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (TÜİK) (2006). 2006 Yılı Çocuk İş Gücü Anketi Sonuçları. http://www.tuik.gov.tr/VeriBilgi.do?tb_id=26&ust_id=8 adresinden erişildi

Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (TÜİK) (2012). Yoksulluk analizleri. http://www.tuik.gov.tr/VeriBil- gi.do?tb_id=23&ust_id=7 adresinden erişildi.

Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu-TUİK (2012). Adrese Dayalı Nüfus Kayıt Sistemi Sonuçları. http:// www.tuik.gov.tr/VeriBilgi.do?tb_id=39&ust_id=11 adresinden erişildi.

Ünder, H. (1998). *Kemalizmin Işığında Atatürk Döneminde 1923-1938 Eğitsel Değerler*. (yayınlanmamış tez). Ankara Üniversitesi, Ankara.

Üstel, F. (2005). *Makbul Vatandaşın Peşinde, II Meşrutiyet'ten Bugün Vatandaşlık Eğitimi*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Üşür, S. (1997). *İdeolojinin Serüveni. Yanlış Bilinç ve Hegemonyadan Söyleme*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi.

Van Dijk, T. A. (1991). Haberlerin Söylem Olarak Disiplinlerarası İncelenmesi. Çolak Ö. & Şahin E, çev). http://www.nefretsoylemi.org adresinden erişildi.

Wyness, M. (2006). *Childhood and Society-An Introduction to the Sociology of Childhood, New York*: Palgrave Macmillan.

Yağcı, Ö. (1999). *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Edebiyat Çevirileri Seçkisi.* Sanat ve Edebiyat Eserleri

Yalçın, A. & Aytaş, G. (2005). *Çocuk edebiyatı.* Ankara: Akçağ Yayınları.

Yaman, S., H.(2004) *Eski Harfli Dergilerden "Çocuklara Mahsus Gazete Tahlili Fihrist-İnceleme-Metin*. (yayınlanmamış tez). Şelçuk Üniversitesi, Konya.

Yapıcı, M. (2000). Eğitim Ve Yabancılaşma. *Uluslararası İnsan Bilimleri Dergisi. (1).* Ankara: Sol Yayınları. http://www.jhumansciences.com/ojs/index.php/IJHS/article/view/98/97#.UoiUC2Rm V04 adresinden erişildi.

Yardımcı, S., & Aslan, Ş. (2008). 1930'ların Biyopolitik Paradigması: Dil, Etnisite, İskan ve Ulus İnşası. *Doğu Batı, 11*(44), 131-149.

Yeğen, M. (2009). *Müstakbel Vatandaştan, Sözde Vatandaşa; Cumhuriyet ve Kürtler. Çağdaş Türkiye Tarihi Seminerleri 2008-2009.* http://www.obarsiv.com/cagdas_turkiye_seminerleri_0809.html adresinden erişildi.

Yıldırım, H. (2006). Doğan Kardeş Dergisi'nde yer alan metinlerin tür, içerik ve anlatım özelliklerinin çocuk eğitimi açısından incelenmesi (76-150. sayı).

Yiğitbaşı, K. G. (2014). Türkiye' de çocuk Dergiciliği: TRT Çocuk Dergisi Örneği, (5), 37-56. http://sosbilder.igdir.edu.tr/Makaleler/1246021811_04_Guran_(37-56).pdf adresinden erişildi.

Yörükoğlu, A. (2007). *Değişen Toplumda Aile ve Çocuk.* İstanbul: Özgür Yayınları.

Zengin, A.,Y. & Zengin, N. (2000). *Çocuk Edebiyatı.* İstanbul: Başer Ofset.

Zürcher, E., J. (1995). *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi.* İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

CURRICULUM VITAE
DENİZ BERKER

Personel İnformation:

Birth Date	13.06.1986
Birth Place	İzmir
Marital Status	Evli,

Education:

High School	M.E.V Özel Avni Akyol Lisesi

Degree	Marmara Universty Communication Faculty Radio, Television and Cinema Department

High School Degree	Galatasaray University Communication Strategies and Public Relations

Master Degree Doctorate

Yeditepe University

Faculty of communication

Doctorate Program of Media Studies