

THE IDEOLOGICAL MEANING OF PRIMARY EDUCATION IN
TURKISH MODERNIZATION

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VITA

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ABSTRACT

The Ideological Meaning of Primary Education in Turkish Modernization

Alper Şahin

In this thesis, it was intended to find out the influence of modernization and socio-economic politics of the State on the politics of primary education. The aim of the study is to discover the citizen model that the modern Turkish State wanted to create.

The researcher used a historical perspective to understand the the features of modern primary education policies in Turkey. Therefore three primary school civics textbooks are examined from 1928, 1934 and 1937. By this way the difference between citizenship understanding during various periods is understood. Hermeneutics and content analysis methods are used to examine the textbooks.

The results demonstrated that the education is an important aspect of creating a modern citizen. The nationalism has also important place in the modernization movement. Nevertheless the emphasis on freedom changes its intensity throughout the years from individual freedom to freedom of the country. The State control over public is clearly observable in the textbooks which leaves a small room for self expression.

The content of the civics textbooks aim to shape the future citizen with the following characteristics: nationalist, able to self-govern with limited freedom, gaining strenght with mutual responsibility and solidarity and one who values education.

KISA ÖZET

Türk Modernleşmesinde İlköğretimin İdeolojik Anlamı

Alper Şahin

Bu tez devletin sosyo-ekonomik politikalarının modernleşme ile birlikte ilköğretim politikaları üzerindeki etkisini araştırmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın amacı, modern Türk Devleti'nin yaratmak istediği vatandaş modelini ortaya çıkarmaktır.

Araştırmacı bu çalışmada tarihi bir perspektif kullanarak Türkiye'deki modern ilköğretimin çeşitli yönlerini anlamaya yönelmiştir. Bu incelemede 1928, 1934 ve 1937 yıllarına ait üç ilköğretim yurtbilgisi ders kitabı incelenmiştir. Böylelikle farklı dönemlere ait değişik vatandaşlık anlayışı irdelenmiştir. Bu ders kitaplarını incelemek için hermenötik ve içerik çözümlemesi yöntemleri kullanılmıştır.

Sonuçlar, eğitimin modern bir yurttaş yaratmadaki önemini ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Milliyetçilik de modernleşme hareketinde önemli bir yere sahiptir. Bununla birlikte özgürlük üzerindeki vurgu yoğunluğunu yıllar içinde kişisel özgürlükten ülkenin özgürlüğü tarafına doğru değiştiği saptanmıştır. Toplum üzerindeki devlet denetimi, ders kitaplarında açıkça görülmektedir, bu durum kişilerin birey olarak kendilerini ifade etmelerine az yer bırakmaktadır.

Kitapların içeriği müstakbel vatandaşı, milliyetçi, kendi kendini yönetebilir, sınırlı özgürlükle mutlu, dayanışmacı ve eğitimin değerini bilen bir kişi olarak şekillendirmektedir.

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I. INTRODUCTION

This study is an attempt to examine modernization in Turkey from educational point of view in relation to economic and political transformations from Tanzimat to 1940. The modernization process and modern education have started during 18th century in the Ottoman Empire (Shaw and Shaw,1995). Nevertheless western modernization has taken 400 years (Köker,1995). When the difference was realized by the Imperial bureaucrats it was tried to recover by using different strategies. One of them was modernist transformation in education (Zurcher,1995). First the academies for military and civil servants were established to provide personnel needed for state affairs. Then the secondary and later primary education were established. This educational transformation was an important dynamic for the modernization of the Turkish society. Nevertheless the state as an institution and ideology as a thought system are important actors in the modernization process. Therefore education, modernization , state and ideology need to be examined for the purpose of this study .

The study consists of six main parts. The present part, introduction, includes statement of the problem. In the second part, the literature review, main concepts of the study are discussed to provide a clear understanding for this study under the titles of conceptual background and epistemological background. The first topic is the conceptual background where the important concepts of the study such as education, state, ideology, modernization are discussed. The second topic is epistemological background where the formation of knowledge for this study is presented. In the third part of the study the method is presented. The fourth part includes Political,

Economical, Educational History of Turkey from Tanzimat to 1940, provides a basis to understand the historical development of economy, politics and education and their interactions in order to evaluate the content of the Yurt Bilgisi textbooks in terms of modernization project with an ideological perspective. This part is providing a historical background of the modernist transformation to understand educational policies of the era between 1928-1940. In the fifth part, the analysis of the primary school civics textbooks are done. The discussion of the study is the concluding part.

Statement of the Problem

This study deals with the ideological meaning of primary education in Turkish modernization. The politics of primary education in relation to socio-economical events between Tanzimat and 1940 will be discussed to understand the forces and dynamics underlying the modernist transformation of Turkish society.

The history of modernization in the Turkish geography has a long past, from 18th century till nowadays. Therefore an analysis in politics, in economics and in education without taking into account the concept of modernization will not be deep enough to grasp the process of transformation. On the other hand, ideology is another crucial means of analysis to understand why modernization is so important in Turkey.

The study attempts to understand the relationship between socio-economic and educational politics in terms of modernization. The aim of the study is to answer to the question of "How the modernization ideology with socio-economic politics influences the politics of primary education?". Therefore a historical perspective is

used to understand the features of the modern primary education policies in terms economic and socio-political transformations. To achieve this the primary school civics textbooks are analyzed to find out the meaning of modernization process in education. Besides, the texts are studied to discover the meaning of modern citizenship that is formulated by State. In this respect the difference between citizenship understanding during various periods are studied as well. The reason to do this is to discover the stress on different aspects of modernization during different socio-economic and political periods and their relation to the education of citizenship. Through this way it will be possible to find out the shaping forces behind primary education.

II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In this part four important concepts, education, state, ideology and modernization and their relationship will be discussed.

French revolution was the peak of the Enlightenment which aim to create educated citizens as it was stated in The Declaration of Human Rights (Julia,1988). According to Julia the aim of the revolution government was to transform the society. Therefore the school was a good means for this project (Julia,1988). The goal was to create in the minds of the people the concept of citizenship instead of being subjects of a monarch. On the other hand, French Bougeois Revolution through schools had also started to shape the human capital for future Industrial Revolution. Later in 19th century one of the functions of the schools became to domesticate the masses for the industry of France, Britain (Whitty,1995). On the other hand another country in Europe, Proussia find the primary education as a good means of producing nationalism for the unity of the Germans (Green,1992). Althusser (1994), a French intellectual of 20th century, who was mainly concerned about the State and its ideological apparatus, observed that State uses the education as a means of control of the masses in modern erea. Therefore the study of state, ideology, education, modernization haz a central importance for this study.

A. Conceptual Background

1. Education

Education has been defined by many philosophers and educators in different ways. A general definition suggests it is as a process of teaching and learning (Okçabol, 1994). Another definition of education includes all kind of works for development of individual's intellectual, physical, social, emotional abilities (Akyüz, 1989). Oğuzkan (1997,p.9-10) stresses another function of education, namely socialization. The socialization value of education for Apple (1985) is very important since the economic and political value system of the period shapes the educational programmes. According to Apple, (1985) the educational system has the second place for the socialization of the children after the family. Any attempt to shape the understanding of the youngsters needs to be done in school to standardize their perception and behaviour . Therefore the capitalist society invests a lot to influence this process for their benefits. The need to control masses by capitalist class for Apple is a step on the way of accumulation of capital. The masses are educated in terms of the needs of the dominant class therefore serving to their profits (Apple,1985).

On the other hand, Apple (1985) also claims that the value of the education comes from its ability to free the mind of the people from the manipulation of the others. This view of education was shared by Freire (1970) who believed that the education has the function of conscientization for the masses. Conscientization means gaining

the ability of freely thinking by using education as tool to decide upon the destiny. Freire (1970) suggests that for the democratization of the society, the educational opportunity must be provided for everyone. For him education should not aim to control the public but equip them with the power to rule their destiny by using the knowledge.

This multifunctional structure of education (a means of manipulation as well as a means of conscientization) gives a prosperous area of discussion to the academicians. For instance, the manipulation of education to control the masses was widely discussed by Bowles and Gintis (1976) in their book "Schooling in Capitalist America". In their study they show the strong interference of economical power centers to the educational policies in order to protect and increase their profits. Education is a process of transfer of culture to the new generations as well as transfer of production skills and their development (Carnoy and Samoff, 1990). This process facilitates the selection of the best person for the best job therefore form a pool of abilities and skills. In other words education for the capitalist class has the value of providing the necessary work force. The control of education in this case has two important functions: one is to guide the masses to serve for the benefits of the dominant class the second function is to use educated masses as a pool of competing work force to reduce the costs of production.

Nevertheless, according to White (1990) the goal of education in an industrial society should be the development of personal freedom. He also stresses that the personal well being does not necessarily mean personal autonomy. The development of individual identity is a process towards self-understanding which leads to personal

autonomy (White,1990). Briefly, for White modern education is a project of personal freedom.

Thus, education can be understood as teaching and learning process aiming the development of intellectual, social, emotional and physical abilities of the individual for his or her autonomous operation in modern world though this process is highly manipulated according to the needs of the dominant classes.

The question at this point is how the education can be used to manipulate the masses. Taxel (1989) claims that the children's literature provides good samples of the socialization process according to the present value system of the society. For Taxel (1989) the curriculum is a serious example of the manipulation of education by the state which is dominated by the capitalist class. The education is managed not directly by capitalism but by the state. State apparatus controls the curriculum and its value system compatible with the dominant class. The reproduction of the present social system is easily done by education which is available for everybody. That is to say education for the power owners is seen as a secure way of reproduction of the status quo in the society.

In Turkey education is an important issue since it is considered as an important part of the modernization. Especially establishment of modern education has a long history. Starting from higher education and going towards primary education, modern education in Turkey differs significantly from western counterparts in terms of its foundations. Compulsory primary education started in 1824 (Shaw and Shaw,1995). Eventhough it was religious, it formed the basis for the modern primary schools

since it was legislated by Sultan as a compulsory duty for the public of the capital city, İstanbul (Akyüz, 1989). With a strong history of development primary schools are the basis of modern public education (Kafadar,1997). Since public education is spread out all over the country throughout time it is also an important means of ideological apparatus in Althusserian terms. Primary education is the main means of creating a citizen for the country because it includes all the future citizens. The curriculum and rituals as Taxel (1989) pointed out help the process of creation of the new citizen . Therefore, as Freire (1970) claims the education is one of the main areas of struggle between the classes. The struggle is to shape the future citizens and power areas. Thus educational issues need to be searched in order to understand the dynamics of their contents and structures.

Therefore to understand the content of Turkish primary education as a project of modernization of the society the Vatan Bilgisi books will be studied in this work. The study of the textbooks in fact is considered as an important means of search for the hidden agenda of dominant classes in education as Taxel (1989) mentioned. Thus this work analyzes the content of primary education in terms of Yurt Bilgisi textbooks which are supposed to educate a good citizen for the country.

2. State

There are different views about its history and functions. Historically, Hüsnü Aksoy (1994) differentiates two kinds of State theories. On the one side Marx and anarchist State theoreticians establish a historical link between the State and societies with social classes. On the other side, social democrat and liberal theoreticians suggest a State

which was established by free citizens through a social contract. For the first view the State takes part on the side of the powerful class, on the other hand second view claims that State is impartial, having an equidistant position to all groups or classes. According to Oppenheimer (1997) State is a means in the hands of the prince to govern. On the other hand, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau believe that the State is formed by a social contract among people (Aksoy,1994). The contract transfers some rights of the citizen to the institution in condition to provision of some common benefits (Aksoy,1994). In the liberal ideological perspective for Mill, the duty of the State is not to interfere the lives of the individuals but just to protect them from any harm (Macridis, 1980).

These conflicting views were even present at 18th century. Famous philosopher of Enlightenment Rousseau (1982) although was a theorician of State of social contract, claimed that this contract works for the benefit of those who are holding the economical and political power in the society. Rousseau (1982) stresses that State by its nature can not be impartial.

Marxist paradigm, later on 19th century, was somehow on the footprint of Rousseau. Marxist conceptualisation suggests that State is formed by the classes which were born by the social division of labour and it belongs to those who are holding economical power (Aksoy,1994). Although this analysis was forseen by Rousseau a century before, it had to wait Marx to be refined. Aksoy points out that for Marx State is an apparatus in the hands of the capital owners to establish their hegemony on the society. Similarly, when Macridis (1980) explains the Marxist view of State, he stresses that it is an instrument in the hands of capitalist class protecting their rights

and suppressing the working masses for the benefit of the formers . According to Marx the State interferes to the lives of individuals in different ways using different methods to manipulate or drive them to the fields which allow capital owners to behave as free as they can (Macridis,1980).

In his book *Political Power and Social Classes*, Nicos Poulantzas (1992) worked on Marxist State theory and talked about its limited autonomy when he tried to understand the manipulative power of the State over the masses. For Poulantzas, the State need to present itself impartial in front of the society so that it will be able to justify the legitimacy of the power of the capital owners without provoking the masses. In fact it is needed by the masses to believe that the State is impartial for an easy manipulation. For this purpose State's limited autonomy is accepted by the capitalist class (Poulantzas,1992). Eroğul takes a very close position to Poulantzas in terms of understanding the functions of the State. State has three conflictual characteristics in the capitalist world (Eroğul, 1990). First one is to satisfy the needs of the capital owners through laws and regulations which rationalize actions vis a vis masses. Second persuade working class to delay its needs or partly satisfy them. Eroğul (1990) suggests the last characteristic of the State is the protection of self-existence from the pressures of both public and capitalist class.

For the purpose of this study State analysis by Poulantzas will be discussed here and then a logical relation will be established to understand the function of education in the capitalist society. Chronologically in his book , Poulantzas first discusses that education has a political function if it is controlled by dominant class. But this control cannot be done by capitalist class since it may be challenged by the workers.

Therefore another arbitrary institution is required to take this responsibility from the capital owners. This is the job of the State. Politically education is important for Poulantzas since it reaches to youth and as Eroğlu puts, persuade them to delay their needs, rationalize capitalist power in their part and on the other hand of the issue protects capitalism from their reactions. Finally establishes a meta position for the State in the eyes of the future working class.

In his second analysis Poulantzas discusses Lenin's duality of State. Lenin theorized that State as an institution has two features, one is 'State apparatus' the other is 'State sovereignty' (Poulantzas,1992). For Lenin State apparatus has two components which are 'the content of State' (such as ideology, politics etc.) and 'the structure of State' (such as personnel, administration, army etc.). State sovereignty on the other hand implies power holder social class. Poulantzas sees the reflection of the distant but intimate relation between high rank bureaucrats and capitalists in the education when he mentions about the political functions of education. As Eroğlu and Poulantzas will agree, State manipulation of labour class works through State structure using state content for the benefit of the state sovereigns. In other words ideological manipulation of the masses is planned by high rank state officers executed by State personnel for the benefit of the capitalist class.

In his book 'Modernity and the State' Claus Offe (1996) proposes that Marxist theory of State has a disenchanting effect on Liberal State theory. On the other hand he claims that State is an arena of struggle among different political powers and the strength of the State is the linear function of the actors' power in this arena. He also suggests that State is less and less powerful since its function of unification decreases

due to many social organizations working against decision taken by State (such as green peace, passifists etc.) and some other economical organizations forces for their own benefits.

Offe claims that modern State is falling apart since there are many conflictual demands from various groups. Nevertheless State is providing resources to make them survive since State needs support of the individuals. In this sense State as a impartial metaorganization fails to function properly. In his book Offe shows clearly how the limited autonomy of the State is problematic in 21st century. This point is crucial due to the fact it makes obvious for the capital owners the manipulation of the State is less needed. In a sense the hidden limited autonomy of the State is on the way of becoming revealed. This process needs to be carefully observed and discussed to redefine the positions of the profit groups.

In this case State as theorized by Polantzas having a limited autonomy even more limited nowadays, will form the State theory of this work. For theoreticians of Frankfurt School, State needs to shrink for the benefit of the democratic groups in the society (Offe,1996). In this study this process of change will be disregarded. Even it may be an important perspective to use to analyse political issues of last decade, the aim of this work is to discuss more recent years of the modernization in Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic.

3. Ideology

Ideology is one of the important concept for this study. For the studies of educational process and structure ideology has an explanatory position. On the other hand education forms a playground for the ideological works. Therefore in this study the meaning and functions of ideology will be discussed followed by its dynamics.

a. Definition and Functions of Ideology

i. Definition:

The Convention, the last period of French revolution, is the first time the word ideology appears (Mardin, 1997). According to Hawkes (1996), first used by Desstutt de Tracy in 1790 "Ideology" as "science of ideas". Tracy wanted to make clear every idea so that any confusion and misunderstanding would be prevented. This shows the continuum between enlightenment and French Revolution in terms of their care for positivistic mind and reason (Hawkes, 1996). This positive meaning was first criticized by Marx (Mardin, 1997) pointing out that rather than excluding any confusion, ideology itself creates confusion and misunderstanding (Hawkes, 1996). According to him ideology exists for the benefit of a power group and it helps to hide the conflicts between the classes in the society (Mardin, 1997). For Marx, ideology is an instrument of manipulation in the hands of the dominant class. This alternative understanding of ideology shows the change of the meaning in a period of 60 years, from, Tracy to Marx.

Macridis (1980) in his book had given seven different definitions for this concept and had formulated his own. Those definitions are contradictory with each other therefore

is a delicate issue to give a comprehensive definition. For example a definition suggests that the ideology is distortion and falseness whereas another defines it as consciousness, in another it is dream an unrealizable quest (Macridis, 1980). Due to those differences Macridis (1980) defines ideology as a set of ideas used by a group of people to understand the outside world and act upon their information.

A closer definition by Şerif Mardin (1997) on the other hand suggests that ideology is an attempt to generate new meaning maps for the societies which have lost their traditional meaning maps due to modernization.

This view is negated by Eagleton and Habermas according to Lorraine (1995). Both philosophers stress the mythical aspects of ideology which excludes the reason therefore modernization. From his perspective, Eagleton (1996), defines ideology as a 'contribution to the meanings and values for the reproduction of the ruling power besides the relationship between political opportunities and narratives'. Eagleton criticises the rational view of ideology as a conscious and well articulated belief system because it neglects its affective, mythical and symbolic aspects. Therefore for Eagleton perceiving ideology as a cognitive map means neglecting its political properties. At this point Eagleton underlines what Macridis called *affect* function of ideology which glues together the members of the group. According to Eagleton to develop group cohesiveness myths and symbols are crucial and what the ideology does is the provision of these myths and symbols. Similarly for Habermas (1993) ideology is a myth building process where science and technology are used as means (this will be discussed in detail in the Mechanisms of Ideology).

Briefly definition of ideology is the definition of a process. Ideology as a clear understanding of ideas at the very beginning turned to be manipulation of ideas criticized by Marx, then organized, systematic understanding of the world added with emotional and affective dimensions. In this study "Ideology" is taken as a manipulative meta-narrative where rational (ideas, systems, organizations, etc.) and irrational (symbols, myths, etc) aspects are discussed by the scholars and its reflections are needed to be investigated in the daily life for its better understanding.

ii. Functions:

Eventhough ideology is criticized strongly by Marx an important marxist Lenin uses the term with a positive connotation. What Lenin understands from ideology is "systematic thoughts" and therefore suggests that it may be used to improve the conciousness of the working class rather then hiding the conflicts (Mardin,1997), in this sense he is closer to Tracy then Marx. At this point discussion concentrates around the usage of the term rather then its meaning . According to Eagleton (1996) ideology is an epistemological term and the conflict between Marx and Lenin lies in their different stresses of the functions of the ideology. Therefore it is better to find out about its functions.

Macridis (1980) examines the functions of the ideology under six headings which are solidarity, mobilization, organization, expression, manipulation, communication and affect. Solidarity and mobilization, functions of ideology, which provide a common ground for the followers as well as they show what is different and alien and taking the action against or for. Organization on the other hand helps to find the means to accomplish those common goals. Expression is a function which gives ways to show

the needs, hopes, wants. Manipulation is a delicate function since it requires a part of the group directs the rest for their own purposes by using ideology. Communication is the provision of a language for a group of people who get together for a common purpose. Affect function, finally "is to provide emotional attachment" among the group members (Makridis, 1980, p.8). According to those characteristics common ideas keep the individual in group and offers security through solidarity. Group is also a powerful means of expression if it is well organized it may even create communication channels. Affective aspect of the ideology helps to mobilization even to manipulation of the society in some situations.

For Makridis, functions of the ideology has a common purpose of forming a group and sustain it around a system of ideas for the benefit of the group or for the benefit of the elites. This view is also valued by Uras (1996). When he analyses the functions of ideology, Uras comments that they make different ideas compatible in a thought system and reduces the conflicts in the society. According to Uras (1996) ideology : a) homogenize conflicts within the thought system, b) stabilize or suppress the conflicts in the society. For him main function of ideology is the reduction of the stresses between the classes, therefore making the ideas similar in the thought system and cover the conflicts in the society. This helps the continuity of the ideology and its producer, power elites. In this respect Uras' view is bringing out the conflicts and tensions for a better understanding of the function of ideology in the society.

In this study the functions of ideology will be formulated under two headings of Uras by five functions of Makridis. This means that a critical position is taken for the analysis of ideology though not as a wrong belief systems but way of manipulation

where manipulation function has a comprehensive effect as: a) ideology homogenizes conflicts within the thought system by manipulation of solidarity and mobilization, organization, expression, communication, affect, b) ideology also stabilizes the conflicts within the society by manipulation of, solidarity and mobilization, organization, expression, communication, affect.

b. Dynamics of Ideology

In this section the means that ideology uses and its mechanism of operation is discussed.

i. What Ideology uses:

Mardin (1997) suggests that ideology offers a new language to the modern society instead of the traditional one. Therefore as mentioned early in this section by Mardin (1997) ideology has a value of a cognitive map. Habermas (1993) and Eagleton (1996) both agree that ideology, as a means of interaction, is purposefully distort the ideas to manipulate masses. Uras (1996) discusses this distortion as ideology creating its own language to filter the truth. For Hawkes (1996) the relationship between subject and object is created by representations in the language. Therefore any manipulation in the language results manipulation of the subject and object relationship (vice versa is possible as well). In other words manipulation of language for example redefinition of the positions will be able to hide the conflicts between object and subject. This is what Uras defines as filtering through ideology. This filtration process according to Uras is a process of transformation of conflicting ideas to homogenous ones by re-defining their positions towards each other.

According to Eagleton (1996) the re-definition or manipulation is done in three areas of the language which are: lexical (how the words are used), syntactic (in which order the words are used) and grammatical (how the sentences are organized).

Briefly ideology uses language as a means of manipulation of the ideas as the scholars mentioned here above meticulously showed the mechanism. The researcher at this point stresses that the language has a general meaning which is more comprehensive than tongue. The language is any communication means produced by human beings, verbal as well as visual such as plastic arts, architecture, cinema.

ii. How the Ideology operates: its mechanisms:

According to Uras (1996) ideology has two functions. On the one hand it stabilizes its own internal conflicts , on the other hand it hides the economical conflicts in the society. This process is realized by the manipulation of object and subject relations through the language as Hawkes (1996) suggested. The operational mechanisms of this manipulation is discussed by Habermas effectively.

Habermas agrees with Uras about the manipulative functions of language and he makes a detailed analysis to understand how the social conflicts are hidden by ideology. This analysis brings him to the discussion of dynamics of ideology.

For Habermas (1993) in a civilized society hiding the social conflict occurs in two steps. First step is usage of technology in two ways a) creation of needs and their provision- meticulously discussed by Baudrillard (1997)- b) creation of technocrates to solve the problems which are defined as technical. The second step on the other

hand directly relates to the individual. Its role is to procure the fidelity of the individual to the system. The fidelity, in fact, is established by recompensation of personal needs.

At this point it is helpful for a better understanding to discuss more these two steps. According to Baudrillard (1997) current society is a society of consumption. Production, specifically distribution are not problems any more as they are suggested by Marxist theory. To create, maintain and improve consumption are key factors for the capitalist societies therefore technology is used for these ends. For example in an advertisement a better detergent is suggested as needs for the mothers to protect their children from germs and this is approved by such and such universities. Not only the language of the advertisements but also all malls and market places are in our homes now through television. Visual and verbal message codes creates a need for consumption (Baudrillard,1997). The later point of the first step on the other hand, isolates the social problems from the society and leaves them to the hands of the experts, to the technocrats. For instance economical problems are solved by economy professors, no need for a lay person to think and take action for them, anyhow all the information you get mix up the mind and paralyses you (Baudrillard, 1997). Second step, bounding the individual to the system through toffies, such as creating cheaper holiday opportunities abroad, getting credits for your expenses etc. All those for Baudrillard are the handcuff for the individual in the capitalist society.

The rationalization, explanation and facilitation of everyday life by technology is done by omnipotent positivist science (Habermas,1993). By doing this, positivist science is used for pumping the consumption by creating needs as well depoliticize society by

leaving social and economical problems to the technocrats. Capitalism uses science for its rationalization purposes, that is why there is an substantial economical support behind science and technology (Habermas,1993) .Habermas (1993) takes a further step and suggests that, nowadays Science and Technology have taken the role of the religion of premodern times, by explaining anything and everything for the masses (popular science helps in this respect for the masses to be familiar with the concepts). Positivist science has also an image of being impartial which persuades the masses for its objectivity. In this sense science and technology are the only truth that human beings can reach. Habermas is against this conceptualization and believes that this only helps the depoliticization of the masses by sterilizing political conflicts. At this point Habermas and Uras are closer to each other. What Uras calls the concealment of the social conflict is performed by using science and technology according to Habermas.

Briefly, how ideology operates, is an important subject to understand the ideology. Therefore the dynamics of ideology are discussed in terms of science and technology for the purpose of this study. Habermas in this sense is an important guide who shows direction for a better understanding. Besides Uras, coincides with Habermas in this study for a better portrayal of the situation.

A general summary of this part 'Ideology' includes : 1) definition of ideology as manipulative meta-narrative 2) its functions as homogenizing conflicts within the thought system and stabilizing the conflicts in the society by manipulation of a.solidarity and mobilization b.organization c. expression d.communication and e.affect. 3) these functions operates by using language and their dynamisms are provided by science and technology.

4. Modernization

The third key concept of this study is modernization which will be discussed in this part of the study. The purposes of this section, hence, are : first to clarify the meaning of modernity, nation-state, capitalism and modernization in order to form a reference point for discussion, second to consider criticisms on modernity, to be able to identify the place of Turkish modernization in the larger context.

a. Modernity and Modernization.

Modernization is a popular subject of discussion among the intellectuals of our times. As an invention of western world modernization needs to be reformulated for Turkey. Therefore, first the meaning of modernity will be explained as a basic concept here. Then a discussion on modernization will be done.

i. Modernity:

Alain Tourraine (1994) in his famous book 'Criticism of Modernity' claims that modernity is not a process of change but an approach to the rational, scientific, technological and administrative activities in society. Again Tourraine suggests that modernity is an iconoclast action against myths by separating and limiting the interference of religion into the daily life. Similarly Thompson (1992) points out that modernity is the process of differentiation of daily life from religion. In other words mystical and mythical ideas are judged and destroyed by rationality. The formation of

modernization as it is very briefly described here by Touraine and Thompson has taken 400 years in the western world, according to Köker (1995).

A very brief two historical examples will be helpful to understand this process called modernity. As a first modern thinker Descartes (1983) differentiated world and otherworld, and he explained the mechanisms of worldly intellect in his book "Discours on the Method". According to Descartes (1983) observation and questioning the nature to find out its principles of functioning is very important. He believes that the pure and clear reality behind these principles will give the basic truth so that with this human beings will be able to challenge the nature and control it. Therefore, to reach the truth, he suggests a cautious scepticism where the intellect will be the touchstone of all doubts. That is why Touraine claims that the life was organized around of beliefs in mediaval times in contrast to modern times where it was shaped around the intellect. In this sense, in modern times the nature and its laws form a genuine model for the life of the human beings. A very good example of this is "Emile ou L'éducation" by J.J. Rousseau (1922) where he defends to return to the model provided by the nature for a good education. He specifically suggests that the child must be grown up in a free environment where he will practice all his abilities protected from any danger by his caretaker without any intrusion to his natural childish world. Rousseau, suggests that through this freedom the child will be able to do observations and practice his skills and learn how to deal with life. That is why he postulates that the child needs to be master of himself, and he reduces the role of the teacher to a facilitator rather than an omniscient authority. By suggesting his educational model Rousseau tries to provide an area of intellectual freedom for the individual, and his model based on the nature since the human beings had to struggle

with that. They need to understand its principles of functioning properly. At this point the two examples given from the history of early modernism strongly stress the replacement of beliefs and divine rules by intellect and nature. That is to say human acts replaces the heavenly order.

By the same token, Touraine (1994) points out that the function of divine rules were not sufficient to legitimize the omnipotence of the monarchies, since the rational criticisms was shaking them from their roots by taking away their heavenly provided ruling rights. This process was materialized during the French Revolution. Especially, the second and the third steps of the modernization namely: the Politics and Ethics on the one side, Individuation and Personal Rights on the other, play important role in the formulation of human made rules instead of the divine ones. The Declaration of Human Rights during French Revolution is the obvious example of the course.

Eventhough modernity proposes a prosperous world, Harvey points out another aspect of it: creative destruction. He postulates that, modernity needs to be devastating since more place is needed for the new. Therefore demolition is an unseparable part of the modernity he claims. Horkheimer (1994) supports Harvey in terms of destructiveness in the core of modernity by giving the example of Nazi policies during WWII. By using rational methods Nazis destroyed a huge amount of people. Therefore Horkheimer criticise modernity, capitalism and nation-state due to their conflicting suggestions of prosperity on the one hand but destruction on the other.

Harvey elaborates his idea of creative destruction, in the field of economy as well. For him capitalism uses a lot the effect of destruction for the production of goods and creating new needs. Market economy functions according to the abuse of the products to replace them. More consumed the products more they are produced. This cycle repeats itself every time to stimulate the consumption.

To sum up the destruction aspect of modernity Offe's model may be suggested. For, Claus Offe (1996) destruction of conventional has four components which are, material production, cultural reproduction, politics, public policy. Briefly, material production involves market principle, organization and technic supported by scientific research and teaching. Cultural reproduction on the other hand, is innovative and stress the meaning of transitoriness. Politics, requires democratic liberal political system where freedom of choice is important. As a last Public policy functions as a blade, to cut off the traditional customs and habits by using positivist view of law. In a sense the very existence of modernity requires these four aspects of destruction, in the market, in cultural life, state affairs and laws in daily life. It can be also claimed that positive law or innovative art are for rationalization of destruction.

To put all these discussions in order Agnes Heller in her book "A theory of Modernity" (1999) provides a good framework. Heller (1999) postulates two constituent and three logics of modernity. The two constituents of modernity are: 1) dynamism of modernity, 2) modern social arrangements. The three logics of modernity are: 1) technology, 2) division of social positions, functions and wealth, 3) political power.

The dynamics of modernity from its constituents are briefly, challenge of justice which refers to seeking justice in all aspects of the life, since the abolition of heavenly laws. This search creates an ongoing activity among the members of the society. The second dynamic is changing technology and science. This process creates circulation of knowledge in the community. The third dynamic is elimination of distinctions which is a continuing struggle within the civil society. The standardization course needs renovation and an effective follow up.

The second constituent of the modernity is social arrangements. Heller (1999) theorized that in contrast to classical social arrangements where every individual's position in the society was defined from its birth. This is defined by the individual's performances, abilities and functions in the modern society. That is why the freedom of the individual is by nature. On the other hand Heller agrees that people do not start to life with equal opportunities that is why there are theories of justice to compensate the gap. At this point there is an explicit referral of Heller to first dynamic of modernity, struggle for justice.

In her theory Heller (1999) mentions the three logics of modernity. She claims that these three logics intend to provide a framework for the better understanding of the term.

The first logic is technology. According to Heller, technology in modern sense has a role of problem solving. This is not only used in the science but mainly in politics (very similar position with Habermas). She claims that technology in its deeper sense is not technological, it is a way of thinking about the manipulation of the nature and

its resources. In fact modernity, as it was discussed earlier in this part postulates human beings are the masters of the nature. In modern world not the religious discourse but the technology provides the explanations. From a similar vantage point Heller denies the science since it has an authoritarian, closed and conservative structure which contradicts with itself as a tool of information and knowledge production.

The second logic of modernity is division of social positions, functions and wealth. For Heller in modern economies, capitalist or communist, the positions are accessible for all citizens in contrast to pre-modern societies where all positions are allocated to certain families, and obtained by birth. Provision of equal opportunities differs between communist and capitalist systems. Communist states use strict equalitarianism, though meritocracy is utilized in the capitalists ones. Especially in the capitalist system the allocation of positions in the society is done mainly through educational system in which one can gain new skills. Combined with his or her aptitudes the new skills lead to position and wealth. Therefore observable, measurable and functional results of the education are needed for a better competition.

The third logic is political power. Heller (1999) suggests that in modern society political power bases its legitimacy on to the Constitution. Political power dominates the mechanisms of redistribution of resources, therefore there is a vital struggle to obtain and keep it. That is why the constitution needs to be legitimated by traditions and science-technology. The strength of political power will be consolidated by traditional rules and science recognized by everybody and . The struggles are formulated under the hadding of ideologies!!! (Heller, 1999).

At this point the ideas of Heller and Offe may be compared. Eventhough both agrees about the freedom in the modern politics and role of science as a tool of policy making they contradict about the role of traditions in the policy making. Offe suggests that positivist law cuts off traditional customs and habits from public policy, on the other hand Heller points out the importance of traditions to legitimize the constitutions. This is an important conflict within modernity on the one hand modernity denies traditions on the other hand when they are used by modernity as in the example of Heller when they are required.

Another dimension of modernity "time" is discussed by Habermas (1998) in "Philosophical discourse of modernity". He states that "Modernity can and will no longer borrow criteria by which it takes its orientation from the models supplied by another epoch; it has to create its normativity out of itself"(p.7). For Habermas the idea of transitoriness in other words being concerned with "now" shows how modernity is concerned only about itself. Çiğdem (1997) postulates that modernity has the ability to think about itself to reflect and change. That is why time is crucial, nothing is left to history, as Çiğdem states history of modernity is history of today.

In this respect, flow of time is important and it creates dynamism as well as tension among the people since nobody wants to be late than the others to reach the resources (whatsoever the resources of that time) to survive.

In this section where modernity is discussed, major aspects of this concept are underlined. With a brief overview those features of modernity take place between

individual and society. Starting with intellectual freedom of the individual as Touraine (1994) pointed out it comes to political freedom for masses (Heller,1999). On the one hand modernity is for destruction of conventional on the other it is used as a means of manipulation. It is a very dynamic process containing conflicts between rational and irrational, control and freedom, avant-garde and conservative, as all discussed by Touraine, Offe, Harvey and Heller. It seem these conflicts creates the dynamics of modernity discussed by Heller.

As a conclusion, modernity requires rational interference of the human beings into the nature, to control and to get more from it but not only from the nature but also from the other humanbeings . This process on the other hand contains conflicts and is destructive to survive . This destruction and contraversy create the dynamism in modernity. In this sense transitoriness, the now in its essence is destructive and conflicting since the limited time do not allow best resolutions. Time is destructive and contradictive in itself.

ii. Nation-State:

For Smith (1998) nationalism was a liberating and strengthening power in 19th century, since it brings together the pieced groups of people having same language, religion, custom and clan around economy and polity in order to deal with imperialism and colonialism. Smith (1998) defines nation-state as a “ conceptual community founded on common language and common symbolic history”. Gellner (1992) as well suggests that two people belong to same nation if they share common thoughts, signs culture and recognize each other as sharing same nationality. Smith (1998) points out that nationalist argument has three premises: first, a nation has

explicit and specific character, second, the interest and values of this nation has a priority over any other values and interests and third, independence of a nation begins from national sovereignty. Smith and Gellner stresses the importance of common culture as a main factor for nation building.

Another important point of Smith is that the nationalism can only emerge in modern sovereign State where equal rights and duties are shared among the citizens. The bound between monarchs and commons in encient régime is replaced, in modern times by the bound between a concept called "nation" and citizens. The new system brings the abolution of differences between the ruled and ruler. (Gellner, 1992). Therefore this new bound requires the free will and decision of the equal citizens for any arrangement in the society . That is why Smith stresses the worth of equal rights and duties as well as the importance of values and common language. Those are the qualities of the new bound between a nation as a concept and citizens. Another crucial stress by Smith is on the State as the protector of these qualities of the bound. Meaning that State protects the value system, customs and the language of the free members of the society. The emergence of modern State in a way as the protector of the same nation people from the heterogenity is one of the main factors. The other factor suggested by Smith is the economical unification of the market within the nation-state.

The formation of common culture, language and equality for a nation-state is explained in the book "Imagined Communities" by Anderson (1995). In this book Anderson discusses the transformation of empires to nation-states. His comment is that the nationalism of the empire on the one hand strenghtenes the ties between State

and its founder nation on the other hand loosens the ties between the dominee nations. In this respect Anderson stresses the value of the language as Smith (1998) and Gellner (1992) in the formation of nation-state. The rise of nationalism among the ethnic groups required from the part of the empires the imposition of their language and culture to the society in order to homogenize it. Anderson specifically emphasizes the role of education to achieve this end. From the same reasons Smith (1998) shows the ethnic groups' stress on their language and culture, by using education . Anderson supports his argument that the nationalism was mainly led by literate elites, who were not only local aristocrats and religious people but also petit bourgeois and petit bureaucrats. For the Ottoman Empire soldiers may be included to the list as well.

In summary nation-state requires freedom, common language and culture, and consolidation of these factors through education. This is to achieve the control of the society and economy by the bourgeoisie with the collaboration of petit bureaucrats and soldiers.

iii. Capitalism:

In the "Genel Ekonomi Ansiklopedisi" (Ancyclopedia of General Economics, 1988) capitalism is defined as " economic regime in which the production means owned by private individuals". In this sense capitalism requires: a. profit augmentation, b. private ownership, c. market economy where money and credits are freely circulated. On the other hand, Adalı (1996), emphasizes that nation state within a clearly defined frontiers and transformation of peasantry to industrial workers is the necessity of the capitalism. That is why the freedom of the citizens is important , through this freedom, one can own, freely move, transport and sell his or her labor, in contrast to

ancient régime where the freedom was only for the aristocrates. Again Anderson's (1998) stress on language is important since it facilitates the communication of bourgeoisie in the national boundaries protected as well by the nation-state laws.

Briefly, capitalism as an economical system, needs on the one hand protection of nation state and science and technology on the other for the production, distribution, consumption of the goods as well as the manipulation of the society as Heller (1999) already demonstrated.

iv. Modernization:

Harvey(1997), defines modernization as the economical and social progression where positivist science, capitalist socio-economies and technology shape the dynamics of this movement. According to Harvey modernity is the philosophical discourse of modernization. Similarly Çiğdem (1997) discusses modernization as “institutional infrastructure of social modernity and it includes industrialization, market economy, scientific revolution, technological progress and nation-state formation”.

Both scholars' points suggests that the modernization is the application of modernity to the daily life through market economy and nation-state. Similarly for Kasaba (1998) modernization is the transformation of social life accompanied with market economy and nation-state. In fact modernity, capitalism and nation-state formation go in hand and construct the modernization (Kasaba,1998; Smith 1998). In this study as well the modernization is taken modernity in philosophical background, nation-state formation in political and capitalism later socialism in economical one.

b. Criticisms on Modernization

The important question is now how modernization is happening in the non-western world, if it is happening. It should be said that the products of modernity such as industry, technology and science has resulted from changes based on the intellectual patrimony of previous centuries. On the other hand non-western societies when they met westerners in the 19th century were also faced with their products, services and power (mass production, transport and colonization). The markets and lives of third world country citizens were invaded by those products. Just after this invasion the third world markets collapsed. This situation caused on the one hand economical depression and on the other hand the demand for consumption and wealth but neglected the cultural background. At this very point the history of modernization of non-western countries starts.

The intellectuals who were concerned about why modernity is limited to the western world, tried to understand modernity by observing the so called developing countries (Köker,1995). These scholars used a different epistemological view than conventional ones. Refusing the positivist paradigm they postulated the "Social Foundation Theory", according to which modernization is a specific expression of social reality. In fact, Western Modernity is not the only way of modernization. Every society will find its own way of modernity, there is no universal law for this end. In fact if modernization had strict laws it would contradict with the differentiation concept of itself. Therefore the dictation of western type of modernity will be a very conservative application in the developing countries (Köker,1995).

Briefly, modernization is a process of change. Although there is no recipe for this what is expected from modernity is to provide an atmosphere for ability of differentiation. The denial of the different will result in the conservation of the status quo which means that insisting on one and only one way of modernization is conservatism and contradicts the very definition of modernity. This differentiation process, in a sense, is one of the features of the cultural background of modernity. Thus, modernization in education is not only the application of modern methods or techniques but also as Tourraine (1995) suggests the liberation of the mind from traditional, a differentiation process. At this point Göle (1998) stresses that the modernization in the third world need not to follow the footsteps of the Western model as is forced to do so in Turkey and China by denying the all the ancient customs and values by replacing them with news. Her point is the inability of transformation of the traditions through the modernity. The researcher comments that eventhough capitalism and nation-state aspects of modernity is constructed modernity part of the modernization, meaning all the cultural and philosophical part of the modernization failed. The reason of this failure as Göle (1998) emphasized is the inability to transform what the culture brings through rationalism, but using Western model word by word.

Thus in this study, modernization in education is worked through Ottoman Empire to Turkish Republic, in order to see modernization efforts in the mirror of the state vs public interaction.

5. Modernization, Education and Ideology: An Evaluation

In this part modernization will be discussed as an ideology to form a conceptual framework for the study. According to Köker (1995) those who interpret modernity in positivist terms consider capitalism and liberal democracy as the final steps. This formulation is in fact produced for the underdeveloped countries (Köker,1995) . Nonetheless what third world countries expected from modernity -capitalism and liberal democracy- was the wealth that they miss. Although this process looks so simple in principle, establishing capitalism and founding liberal democracy in practice produces many problems. On the one hand capitalism will work, on the other hand the oppressed masses in the economical system will claim their rights in the parliament. It is a hard task to perform. Therefore liberal economy in the positivist sense reduces the voice of political liberalism sometimes by force sometimes by softer methods.

Without using force, persuading the devotion of the masses requires to gathering them around a promising ideal: "modernization". For the ideals and explanation of the world produced for them , the masses without raising their voices will work for their future generations. The only remaining problem was to find the way that will reproduce this status quo.

Briefly, modernization as a meta-ideology has the role to gather and activate masses around a myth of prosperity and wealth as Macridis and Eagleton previously stated. At this point modernity becomes a myth itself by losing its iconoclast role through the reframings of the language (or manipulation of the language) by nation-state and capitalism. This process is conceptualized by Köker (1995) as transformation of

modernity to conservatism. Modernity as a value system postpones its basic postulations of rationalism, freedom and equality.

According to Althusser (1994) the political power uses the institutions in society as ideological apparatuses of State to reproduce the status quo. The reproduction of the labour for Althusser (1994) needs to be done not in the institution itself. In other words capitalist state requires establishments which will be able to control the workers without the direct interference or appearance of the "patronage". For this purpose the State organizes two kind of forces, one of them is the repression apparatus of the State like government, army, police, courts and the other is the ideological apparatus of the State like religion, school, family (Althusser, 1994). In this sense the role of the education as an ideological apparatus functions as a system which makes compatible the priorities of the dominant class with those of the masses. Althusser (1994) stresses the replacement of the religion-family couple by family-school, which are the modern in the sense of their influence on the masses. The value of free mass education provided by the state lies in this process.

Similarly, Andy Green (1990) in his book *Education and State Formation* postulates that :

" State formation refers to the historical process by which the modern state has been constructed. This includes not only the construction of political and administrative apparatus of government and all government-controlled agencies which constitute the 'public' realm but also the formation of the ideologies and collective beliefs which legitimate state power and underpin concepts of nationhood and national 'character'." (p.77)

This postulation from Green pinpoints has two functions: one is the state as an administrative apparatus and the second is state as an ideology producer. In this respect Green in his postulation, as it was suggested by Poulantzas, stresses not only the structural form of the state but also its means of manipulation such as ideologies.

In fact, Althusser's point on ideological state apparatus is the common ground for the administrative and ideology producing functions of the State. Poulantzas, Althusser and Green agree that state through its institutions produces thought systems say ideologies to secure its existence.

Basing on these assumptions at this point it will be critical to overview the development of modern education and state relations in some western countries. Therefore, discussing German, French, American and British educational development will be stimulating.

The basis of German education lies in the Protestant Lutherianism, according to Green (1990), specifically its stress on learning. In early 18th century due to social and economical change a big number of young people were landless and jobless. The regression of patriarchal authority and traditions forced the state to take precautions against the young masses (Green,1990). For this purpose state find the resolution in education. Education replaced the fatherly traditions as well as it provided skills for youth to be used in the industry. But these were not the only purposes of very centralized and disciplined German education. The other idea was to use of the education for the unification of German states under the banner of nationalism and for this purpose the stress was on the learning of German language (Green,1990). Briefly

education and learning which has a basis in the protestant religion used by the State through centralized and authoritarian system to direct the energy of the excessive young masses to nationalism and industry and for this and German language was an important means.

French education on the other hand according to Green (1990) has a merchantalist and militarist characteristics even in pre-revolutionist period. Eventhough it was given by religious people, the state control over education was always present. Green (1990) also mentioned that French education is the first centralized and nationalized educational system in Europe. Especially the vocational and and military education were always strongly supported by the state which was controlling very closely.

Though in the early periods of the Revolution equalist educational policies were carried out, through time and elitist education emerged (Green,1990). This elitist education was concerned with the education of common as devoted republican and skilled worker therefore required them only primary education in french language, an important bound among the citizens. On the other side Lycée was created for the education of the elits who were expected to take place in administrative, economic and military realms of the Republic. Later secondary education was created to facilitate the "passage" from lower class to elite.

The similarities between German and French educational policies lie in their stress on nationalism, national language, industrial skills, centralized and strongly controlled system. At this point it is meaningful to remind Poulantzas' and Althusser's view

about the state and its ideological manipulation through education, say nationalism and industrialization, capitalism.

As previously stated at the very beginning of modern Western education was to produce a good citizen and a docile laborer through primary education (Witty, 1995). Traditional education was exclusively elitist, modern education on the other hand was directed to the masses aiming to form the faithful citizens and docile workers. This goal requires continuity of capitalist politics therefore the creation of the traditions of the new ideology. As Hobsbawm suggests (in Deringil, 1991), primary school becomes the institution where the tradition in modernization is created and reproduced (for instance: flag ceremonies, National Days ceremonies). Traditions help to regulate the daily life of society when they new codes are required. The example is seen in the French revolution, the New Regime used schools to establish new traditions in contrast to the Ancien Regime which had used the church for the old traditions (Julia, 1988).

On the other side of the issue, it should not be forgotten that modern education also served to free the mind from scholastic thoughts. Nevertheless new traditions form the new boundaries of the mind. The modernity in this sense takes place in the intellectual life of the society. In other words, nationalistic and capitalistic forces are always struggling with modernity as a system of thought, though time to time in this process one of them outstep the others.

To explain how the dynamics of modernization work in education it is necessary to name a few processes. The official and hidden curriculum, ceremonies and all kind of

symbols are part of this new tradition and they are effectively used to transmit these new practices to younger generations.

Besides these advantages, Apple (1982) stresses another pragmatic function of the school by keeping a huge number of young people in buildings and preventing them from causing any problems in the society as it was the case in German education. In this way they are stopped from annoying the power owners. It may be concluded that modern education has its conservative aspects in order to reproduce the status quo. In this sense modern education as Althusser stressed especially school as an institution is an important means of engineering of society, an althusserian words an "ideological state apparatus".

From another point of view, Freire (1970) questioned the place of education in society. He pointed out that school is under pressure from internal and external forces, such as parents, teachers, State and Unions. In this sense the power in schools is not only the political one but social power is another source of tension. For Freire, school is not an area of struggle of powers but an area where different ideas confront and produce new ones.

It can be concluded that even though primary education is an apparatus in the hands of the power owners due to its own dynamics it does not always produce the results expected in Freireian sense.

Up to this point ideology and modernization has been discussed from an educational perspective. From now on a specific subject Turkish modernization and education will be considered from the previously presented background.

B. Epistemological Background of Methodology

Historically there are two traditions of knowledge. One has its basis from Plato the other from Aristotle. Campbell (1990) points out that according to the Platonic tradition knowledge is not provided by the outside world but the thoughts of the person. On the other hand Aristotle's claim rests on the observation of the outside world and obtaining the knowledge from there. The Aristotelian tradition highly influenced the natural sciences starting from the British empiricist Hume especially when in the 19th century Auguste Comte established the principals of positivism (Hançerlioğlu,1996). In that century social sciences such as sociology and psychology were influenced by positivism for example the basis of psychological measurement was founded at that time by Binet. On the other hand the Platonic tradition challenged the positivist view of knowledge. Dilthey (1998) stressed the importance of understanding and the individual's own point of view in research in contrast to empiricism. Similarly, following Dilthey, Husserl in his phenomenology claimed that a subjective mind receives impressions from the outside world and evaluates them (Campbell,1990). Through the subjective impressions one can know the object, claims Husserl (1995). This position embraces the hermeneutics described by Dilthey (1998)

as analysis of the text by the researcher to understand the author. According to Gadamer (1995) hermeneutics is for the understanding of the world in the present context. In other words the communicational gap due to misunderstandings is recovered by comparing different understandings and forming a common ground for the meanings. In a sense hermeneutics as a method is embedded in phenomenology which stresses the importance of personal experiences to understand the outer world and hermeneutics interprets the outer world's symbols to come up to a common land of understanding.

Martin and McIntyre (1995) name these two positions as naturalism and anti-naturalism. The naturalism stresses the importance of explanation and prediction of social phenomena by means of laws, on the contrary antinaturalistic tradition suggests that the position of the social sciences should be directed to the understanding of meaning and its method should be interpretation. Campbell (1990) claims that objectivity in social sciences has already lost its value since relativity and uncertainty had been discovered in physics . In other words, even in pure sciences -where the ultimate goal is to explain and predict- there are no universal laws thus there is no need to force social sciences to be objective where the interference of human action is inavoidable and crucial. This view, in fact strengthens Dilthey's position where he is concerned with understanding as a subjective action. Dilthey (1998) describes understanding as recognizing the inside through capturing the outer symbols by our senses. Thus, as a matter of fact phenomenology forms the philosophical base of this work. In relation to phenomenological epistemology hermeneutics appears as the method to be used in this work since it deals with the texts as sources of symbols of

the outer world and tries to understand those symbols by interpretation and to put them into a meaningful context.

Hermeneutics and content analysis methods will help to understand what are presented in the texts. Therefore the next step will include the presentation of these methods.

Descriptions of hermeneutics and content analysis

Hermeneutics: According to Morrow (1994) 1930's were the highest times for the positivism in Western thought throughout 19th century the tradition of philosophical idealism was maintained by some philosophers. Follesdal (1995) suggests that hermeneutics was originally a method used to interpret theological or legal texts which are difficult to understand. In the 19th century through the works of Ast, Schleiermacher and Dilthey its scope was extended to cover the interpretation all kinds of texts (Follesdal,1995; Outhwaite,1987). According to Gadamer (1995) hermeneutics serve to the effective communication between people. In this sense Gadamer (1995) points out that hermeneutics tries to discover the meanings in the text and relate them to each other to find out how the text conceptualizes the world. In other words each text's view of the world is discovered by hermeneutical practice. The text needs to be interpreted since the writer's view is subjective as the reader's and interpretation brings them to a common understanding. The definition of hermeneutics in 'The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy' (Bo,1996) suggests that it is not only the interpretation but the analysis of the interpretation of the material which cannot be worked by empiricist methodology. In this sense the hermeneutical

circle, first developed by Schleiermacher, is the specific way of interpretation of the part which in turn is compared with the whole and this process repeats itself again and again. Through this technique the consistency of interpretation is secured. The text is understood by interpreting every part in the light of other parts and the whole, in a developmental process. By this way the understanding between writer and reader is secured.

In other words the communication between two subjective worlds is established by hermeneutical approach. Therefore, an important point in the interpretation according to Follesdall (1995) is the simplicity and comprehensiveness of the interpretation among the competing ones. According to him philosophers of science prefer clarifying interpretation therefore they prefer simple and comprehensive ones this process is called Occam's Razor. According to Palmer (1988) the understanding process is mainly concerned with language as a means of transfer of information. Therefore deciphering the codes in the language requires experience which all human beings have somehow (Palmer, 1988). In other words as Thompson (1995) points out the truth is disclosed when the text is examined. On the other hand the consistency of the decoded material needs to be secured by comparing it either by other materials or with interpretations of others (Palmer, 1988). The comparison of the interpretation of the text by itself is formed by hermeneutical circle as Follesdall (1995) already pointed out.

Content analysis: The content analysis presupposes that the text has the deeper meanings than manifest one and this may be discovered by systematic qualitative analysis (Bardin, 1991). According to Bardin (1991) content analysis is the ensemble

of the techniques to decipher the content of the message by a systematic and objective process to understand the conditions which produced that message. In other words he clearly puts that the content analysis is a group of technics to analyse the communications. Bardin (1991) stresses the importance of the contemporary circumstances which produces the message since according to him the aim of the content analysis is to find out production conditions of the texts. In this sense content analysis requires categorizing and frequency analysis of the interested messages but this is not sufficient because their meaning is understood only by comparing them with the general impression of the text and contemporary context (Bardin,1991). He gives the example of school textbooks content analysis for the understanding of the educational policies of the time. For Bardin to understand a text, its content needs to be analysed therefore he suggests that the two functions of content analysis, to see and to prove are used. In the content analysis process when the data gathered under clusters which enriches the understanding of the meanings the text starts to be seen by the reader. In other words the symbols are discovered. Content analysis on the other hand help to prove the hypothesis by providing a sustainable data to the researcher Bardin (1991). Bardin concludes that these two functions of content analysis are complementary to each other. He also points out that content analysis is an empirical method since it transforms verbal data to numerical and therefore measurable one. Thus according to Bardin the interpretation is stronger if the the categories and their measurable frequencies are taken taken into account.

Hermeneutics and content analysis are in fact complementary because content analysis gives concrete material to interpret. Therefore the interpretation is healthier since it includes qualitative data which are on their own meaningless. Using these two

methods complementarily is very helpful for the researcher who is dealing with the texts, since the interpretation of the text will be done according to systematically divided categories and frequencies which in turn compared with each other to find out the deeper concerns of the texts. The use of these two methods together helps to make a multidimensional analysis of the period from Tanzimat to 1940. Hermeneutics serve to understand and interpret the historians perspectives and content analysis helps to examine the textbooks which reflects the economic, political and educational transformation understanding of the period. Combined with historical material, content of the primary school civics textbooks are more understandable in terms of the modernist transformation in the society.

III. METHOD

The aim of this study is to understand modernization process in Turkey in terms of socio-economical, political and educational interactions. For this end the reflections of the interaction were searched in the area of primary education. The reason for that was a specific part of the primary education is dealing with formulation of citizenship under the course of Yurt Bilgisi (Civics). Thus the search on civics is expected to provide a sustainable information on how the modernization ideology with socio-economic and politics influences the politics of primary education.

To understand the dynamics of the modernization process in Republic Turkey a historical perspective is used. The Tanzimat period was taken as a start point since it prepared the basis for the constitutional democracy in the Empire. On the other hand the stress of the study is on the period between 1908-1940 since it includes the major transformation of the society. Due to the language problem this study content with the primary school civics textbooks published in latin alphabet.

In this part of the study the research method is presented. In the introductory part the reasons of the preference of the present research method will be given in accordance with the purpose of the study. This will be followed by the discussion of the epistemological background of the methods. The presentation of the two research methods, their use in the study, data analysis and research questions will be given after the epistemological background.

A. Introduction

The method of this study is a qualitative one. In order to understand the modernity and ideology, as defined in the Conceptual Background part of this work, and their reflections in education throughout the years, it will be researched through the primary school Yurt Bilgisi textbook due to the fact that Yurt Bilgisi textbooks are the main sources for: first, the socialization of the students, second educating them according to citizenship values. Through this analysis the conceptualization of Turkish modernization and the way it is communicated to society through primary education will be revealed.

First, the researcher, will deal with the epistemological background with a historical overview. The second part will include the hermeneutics and content analysis as research methods. The last step of this part will present the research questions of the study.

B. Analysis of Data

The literature review of this study discusses the dynamics of Turkish modernization in terms of education and its relationships with socio-economical politics. In other words a review of literature is not simply dealing with related reading materials but tries to interpret the meaning of Turkish modernization in the field of education. Therefore it forms the first step of data analysis. The historical background in the review of literature not only provides a chronological time perspective but also forms

an arena of comparison of economical, political and educational decisions and also help to establish an understanding of continuity between consecutive periods. The continuity between periods is specifically important in order to understand Turkish modernization as big and longterm project covering many generations' contributions.

At the same time the analysis of another group of data based on the primary school Yurt Bilgisi textbooks or their equivalents between the period of 1928-1937 will be carried out. The reason for selecting Yurtbilgisi Bilgisi textbooks is that they are the main and obvious tools of education for creating socialized citizens. The textbooks will be grouped for every educational program period. The reason for doing this is the fact that there were political changes nearly every era influencing education. Therefore examining and comparing the textbooks of every period will provide important material to understand the modernization movements during the Republic.

Setting up the categories is the first step in content analysis. There are two group of categories in this study namely thematic and syntactic. Thematic analysis requires finding out about pre-determined subjects in the text. It is done under three main categories: Social, Ideological, and Socio-economical values. Social values will have four sub-categories namely, Individual, Family, Community and Society. The ideological value will have two sub-categories: Kemalism and Other Ideologies. Finally Socio-economical value will have three subcategories which are Capitalism, Statist Economy and Socialism. These values specifically chosen since they recover different aspects of the social, political and economical life as well as an overview of the textbooks provided a guideline for the existance of these values in civics courses.

Besides, these categories have not been created by chance on the contrary they find the roots of their very existences in the review of literature where it is observed that contributing to society as a social value, Kemalist Ideology and Capitalist economy are consistently stressed. As a principle of hermeneutics and content analysis as well as the existence of some concepts in the text the absence of some others is equally important for interpretation and understanding. Categories and sub-categories are the main means of comparison of the different concepts within the text to understand the conditions of the production of these books as Bardin (1991) suggests through which the researcher intends to answer the questions of this study.

The frequency of the materials in the texts will be put under the headings of the related category. The frequency analysis will give a basis for the interpretation of the texts by providing a profile of accumulation of concepts. Clarity of the interpretation is crucial in hermeneutics, therefore the interpretations in the hermeneutic circle will be simple and comprehensive among the competing ones. That means the simplicity of categories and subcategories and their basis in literature provides basic ways to observe relationships and differences as well as antagonisms which in turn facilitates simple and comprehensive interpretations. To facilitate this process the analysis of the symbols in each category and their relations and the analysis of the evolution of narration in the text will be carried out. In doing this the hermeneutical circle interpretation of parts and the whole and their comparison will produce a developmental process throughout the work. In other words the comparison within textbook and the comparisons between textbooks of different levels will provide the reliability and the validity of the interpretations. At the end of the process this analysis is expected to procure a base for the theoretical framework.

In this part of the study the methodology is discussed. The epistemological position of the researcher stands on the side of Phenomenology since it stresses the importance of the individual's experience in front of a phenomenon. On the other hand hermeneutics and content analysis methods, which find their philosophical roots in phenomenology, are the best fitting techniques for this research. Since the researcher is interested in the textbooks and their influence on people and society in general.

C. Research Questions

In the literature review part it is observed that between 1839-1940 modernization as an ideology had an important place in the socio-economical and educational politics. Therefore the researcher is trying to answer the following questions in this study:

1. What was the modernist transformation in economics, politics and education fields from Tanzimat to 1940? How they were interrelated?
2. What is the meaning of the modernization process in primary school Yurt Bilgisi textbooks between 1928-1937 period?
3. What kind of citizen is tried to be created from the model of the citizen promoted by the modernization process in Turkey in the primary school Yurt Bilgisi textbooks?

4. Are there differences in the understanding of modernization and socio-economical politics in the primary school Yurt Bilgiler textbooks during different periods between 1928-1937?

5. What kind of social political forces are there behind the primary education policies and what do they mean in the social context in terms of educating citizens?

The search about the period between Tanzimat and 1940 was done through the economical, political and educational studies of the scholars. The interrelation between economic, political and educational areas were established by the researcher. As it is stated before the study deals also with the primary school Yurt Bilgisi textbooks. To answer the reaserch questions the textbooks needs to be searched. Therefore the best methods of these searches are hermeneutics and content analysis of these books for this study. The study intends to discover the meanings in the textbooks for a better understanding of the period that they have been produced and try to understand the past of the modernization process in terms the field of education.

IV. ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND EDUCATIONAL HISTORY OF TURKISH EDUCATION FROM TANZIMAT TO 1940

This section consists of three main headings. The first part includes the beginning of modernization in the Ottoman Empire in the first quarter of the 19th century. This section will provide a historical background for the subsequent parts. Under the second heading the relationship between primary education and socio-economic decisions taken by the state from Tanzimat to the Republic will be overviewed. The second section has two parts which facilitate the grasping of that long period of time. These two sub-titles are: "From Tanzimat (Reforms) to the Second Meşrutiyet (Constitution)" and "From the Second Meşrutiyet to the Republic". The final part involves the discussion of primary education and its relation to socio-economical politics between 1923 and 1940.

A. Modernization Movements in Ottoman Empire

When Zurcher (1995) suggests that from the 16th century on the Ottoman Empire weakened, he has two sources of evidences. The first one is the loss of some part of the European territories to the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Zurcher,1995; Shaw and Shaw,1995). The second although the Empire had large regions the population continued to decrease (Zurcher,1995). Under these conditions The State lost income. Therefore keeping the remaining territories and even expanding them was a crucial matter for the Empire to improve its traditional economy. Thus the statesmen were highly concerned with urgent reforms in the army (Shaw and Shaw,1995). First

European military engineers and trainers were invited to the Empire's Capital . Followed by the establishment of Engineering schools (Shaw and Shaw,1995). In 1773, in the era of Mustafa III the Imperial School of Naval Engineering (Mühendishane-i Bahri Humayun) was founded, and likewise, during the rule of Abdülhamid I the Imperial School of Military Engineering (Mühendishane-i Berri Humayun). After these academies the Superior School of Medicine (Tıbhane-i Amire) and Higher School of Surgens (Cerrahane-i Mamure) were established in 1827 followed by Military Science Schools (Akyüz,1989). In this way, for the first time in the Ottoman Empire, beside the classical Imperial School (Enderun) modern Western types of schools began to operate. At this point it is interesting to note that the modernization first started in the army was closely followed by education. On the other hand labelling these schools as modern would be a premature conclusion.

It can be concluded from the efforts of the Imperial Bureaucrats, the first goal in the Empire was to strengthen the army facing European armies to prevent loss of territories. These innovations in the army may be considered as a reflex action rather than a planned one. However the renovation in education suggests that the modernization in the Empire has more meanings than just reflex.

Some part of the renovations in the army involved education, but there were important problems. One of them was the lack of institutions which would provide basic education to the students. This was crucial because the students who were admitted to the academies were not fully literate (Akyüz,1989).

Meanwhile in the era of Mahmud II changes in the State bureaucracy was another step on the way to modernization. Educating bureaucrats for the benefit of the State was in fact a classical approach, the change however was in the institutions which educated them (Akyüz,1989; Shaw and Shaw,1995; Zurcher,1995; Ahmad,1995). Due to changing world circumstances, the classical İlmîye class that produced bureaucrats was ineffective in responding to the needs of the State (Mardin,1995). The Modern State now required the centralization of the administration therefore a new type of bureaucrat was to be produced through modern schools.

Although high schools were established, as previously mentioned earlier, the lack of organized primary education was a problem. In 1824 Mahmut II , by means of a Ferman, set the obligatory primary education for İstanbul citizens. Even though this obligatory primary education was mainly religious and private the Ferman formed a basis for further State support for primary education (Akyüz,1989).

During the time in the international arena the Ottoman Empire was closely observing the changes in Europe through its Embassies and from the Ambassadors of European countries in the Capital (Mardin,1995). Mardin (1995) and Ortaylı (1995) agrees on the point that this close interest in the western world resulted to Tanzimat.

Briefly, the Ottoman Empire was aware of the changes in Europe and tried to transform itself . Education was an important area for the establishment of these reforms. Yet strikingly, the innovations in education started in higher education in contrast to France and Germany -as previously observed- where primary education was main area of concern. The Ottoman Empire did not have strong higher education

institutions as was the case in Europe, therefore it was unable to produce technology and science causing failure in wars. That resulted in the Empire focusing on higher education urgently rather than a primary education. Hence primary education was born not to educate the masses but to provide sufficiently educated students for higher education which in turn would produce army officers and bureaucrats for the effective defence and administration of the State. The Ferman by Mahmut II in 1824 supported this view since it involved obligatory primary education for the citizens of İstanbul where all civil and military academies were established.

The Ottoman Empire took western modernization as an example to develop. To reach this end one of the principle means was education. In the following part the socio-economical politics and their relation to primary education will be examined first in Tanzimat period briefly to form a background for this study and from II. Meşrutiyet to the Republic as main issue of the present work.

B. From Tanzimat to II. Meşrutiyet : Primary Education and Socio- Economical Politics

In this part of the study period between Tanzimat and II. Meşrutiyet is studied in order to form a basic understanding for the research. This period is worth to study since it includes the systematic thinking of the intellectuals on the different concepts of modernization, such as equality, justice etc. Eventhough the intellectuals of the epoch do not call the process as modernization the modernism in the sense that is used in this study had already started to burgeon. In this part the dynamics of this burgening process is overviewed.

1. Economy

By the early 19th century the Ottoman Empire had already lost a significant part of its territories and had many economical problems. Great Britain through commercial privileges obtained from the Ottoman State was selling cheap industrial products which destroyed the traditional self-sufficient Ottoman economy (Zurcher,1995). The history of the 19th century for the Empire is also a history of economic transformation, the influences of which are observed in many areas such as education.

During the Tanzimat period the conditions of Ottoman economy was in harmony with world circumstances. In other words Ottoman Economy was tied to International Metropols (Tezel,1994). Especially the Civil war in the United States and the

Napoléonic wars in Europe increased the demand for Ottoman agricultural products (Zurcher,1985; Pamuk,1995). Although the increase in the amount of exports was significant, its account in the total economy was still negligible (Pamuk,1985). In fact during this time main European powers such as Germany, France and Russia through high import taxes protected the internal producers in many areas such as textile (Quataert,1997). Ottoman Empire, tried to do its best by negotiating with Britain on commercial issues in 1838 and tried to obtain highest taxes for importation but it mainly aimed to have more benefit from import rather than to protect the Ottoman good producers (Quataert,1997; Pamuk,1994 ; Gürsel,1987). Quataert (1994) implies that by the abolishment of Yeniçeri Ocağı, the janissaries who were dealing with commerce and production in the capital city lost their power therefore there was no muslim institution such as Guild or Ocak to ask from sultan to protect their rights, Sultan on the other had was reluctant to empower those people who were challenging his dominance. Taking into consideration Gürsel's (1987) suggestion that before industrial capitalism occurs there is need for financial accumulation from commerce, it may be assumed that most influential merchants of the Empire, janissaries lost all their power as well as the guilds with them in the sense that the capitalist money accumulation.

The main commercial production of this period was cotton textile, manufactured by Britain chiefly. Ottoman producers of textile to compete with British finished goods chosed to use imported fibers to produce their fabric (Quataert,1999; Pamuk,1994). The major finished goods consumption take place in the city centers, by going farther away from city the influnce of the imported textile decreased though not takes an end (Quartaert,1999). According to Pamuk (1994 OEBC) and Quartaert (1999) Ottoman

Textile producers survive in Anatolia by using British manufactured fiber in their fabric production instead of home made, competed with imported textile in price due to transport expences accompanied with Ottoman Citizens preferences. The pattern of the textile was important for the Ottoman citizen eventhough British producers tried hard to get those patterns to produce they failed in their attempts which gave a chance for Ottoman Producers to remain (Quaraert,1999). Briefly, Ottoman small textile producer though not suppressed by imported goods could not expended its area of existence neither. On the other hand as it is suggested by many researchers (Quataert,1999; Pamuk,1994; Gürsel,1987) this process of change in the textile was a part of the integration of of the Ottoman economy with the world though not only.

The commerce was improving in the coastal areas of the Sublime State though the interior was still neglected due to lack of transport (Pamuk, 1985). This was causing on the one hand the slowly growing commercial relationships on the other hand difficulty to reach peasants to collect the taxes (Quataert,1997;Gürsel,1987). Eventually though Sublime State tried very hard to centralize the administration it failed to collect the taxes hence leaving this job to local power elits (Gürsel,1987). Another crucial problem was the transport of the army troops in the larger lands of the Empire (Gürsel,1987) . Therefore the building of railroads was an important issue for the Empire (Gürsel,1987; Quataert,1997). Sublim Port for this purpose benefited from the competition of the three important powers of the Europe. British and French investors builded the railroads in western Anatolia to collect the raw material and agricultural products to the sea ports (Quataert1997, Gürsel,1987). On the other hand Germans improving their relations with Ottoman Empire aimed to reach to the petrol

areas of the province of Bagdad. Eventually they built Berlin-Bagdad railroad crossing the Anatolia (Ortaylı,1998; Quataert,1997; Gürsel,1987). Pamuk (1985) as well points out that in the last quarter of the 19th century Britain had two competing rivals, France and Germany. These two countries were closely interested in the Ottoman market and were engaged in building railways to increase their influence and power in the Empire. On the other hand Ottoman State, saw these investments as a good means of centralizing State power and reaching remote areas to collect taxes and bring goods to the market (Pamuk,1985).

However it is important to note that Sublim Port paid 30% of the total expenses for the railroad building which proves the importance given to transportation in inland area. Despite of all, these efforts were not sufficient to reach all areas of the Empire. Thus the collection of the taxes or transport of the agricultural goods from a province to the other cost more than importing them from Russia even from France (Gürsel,1987).

The collection of taxes from the Ottoman citizens were the main economic source of the Sublim State though the foreign merchants and the non-muslim citizens who own foreign passports profited from the capitulations by paying very few taxes for their big bussinesses (Kazgan,1999). Therefore the income of the State was quite limited though the expences were high, for army and luxury (Kazgan,1999). It is also important to note that Kazgan's point (1999) on the indirect stimulation of the nationalism among the non-muslim Ottoman citizens by weak Ottoman economy which was unable to keep the society together.

In the financial aspect, Reşit Paşa tried to improve the fiscal system but failure was unavoidable due to lack of sufficient bureaucrats and transport facilities (Zurcher,1995). In the following years all the resources of the Empire were open to the exploitation of the Europeans and a large amount of loans were obtained from those countries connecting Ottoman economy to the world economy (Pamuk,1985). The loans were used to supply the needs of the army with imported materials. Since they were not used for profitable investments, the loans and interest caused major problems when they had to be repaid. In addition to all these difficulties the world economic crisis in the 1870s followed by famine in Anatolia in 1873 and 1874 and wars causing the loss of territories increased the economical problems and resulted in the foundation of the General Loans Office (Duyun-u Umumiye) (Pamuk,1985). According to Kazgan (1999) by Muharrem Act which establishes General Loan Office, the semi-colonization of the Empire take start. Again Kazgan points out that The Office by transferring the plus value produced in the Sublim State helps the development of the Western Capitalism. Previously founded by foreign investment the Ottoman Bank and General Loans Office were the primary powers governing the Empire's economy at that time (Pamuk,1985).

However, the establishment of a banking system is important as well as railroads and textile and agricultural production of the Ottoman Empire for the integration of world capitalist markets (Gürsel,1987) . According to Pamuk (2000) Ottoman economy was guided by the bureaucracy and its priorities shaped the economical life. The encounters of the Ottoman Bureaucracy with capitalism were dissappointing but attractive as well since in later years this Bureaucracy made its economical choice for

the capitalism. In a sense the priorities of the bureaucracy directed them for capitalism.

On the administrative side of the issue centralization of the state power was stabilized. For this end to solve the problem of the centralization of State power the French administrative system was taken as a pattern (Zurcher,1995). Although in application it was not easy some success was obtained in the end through the help of the newly-formed class of bureaucrats who maintained the flow of the modernization through the crisis in military and political areas (Shaw and Shaw,1995). This process will be discussed under the next topic.

2. Politics

In this part the political ideas of Pre-Meşrutiyet epoch will be overviewed. Ortaylı (1995) divides the era after 1839 into three periods which are: 1) period of Bab-ı Ali Bureaucrats, 2) Period of Yıldız Palace, 3) İttihat ve Terakki period. He also suggests that these three periods are important in the sense that during these periods a centralized modern bureaucratic state apparatus was established .

In pre-Tanzimat era, though many political acts from the Palace facilitated the job of the Tanzimat statesmen. The neglect of Ulema and their education even limiting their area of life provided the bureaucrats a better positions in the state hierarchy suggests Mardin (1998). Especially Mardin (1998) points out that Ulema was divided into two higher and lower, higher ones closer to state and the lower ones to public. The former one gradually lost its influence in the state, the later one on the other hand

integrated itself to public and became a supporter of the reformist ideas of New Ottomans (Mardin, 1998).

Meanwhile in the legal sphere there were important changes which basically limits the power of Ulema. With the declaration of Tanzimat the Ottoman State guaranteed equal treatment between muslim and non-muslim subjects. Until that time each religious community used its religious codes and were juridically autonomous. Through Tanzimat the secular courts treated all Ottoman citizens equally (Zurcher,1995). After that a hierarchy of secular courts were also established the first Penal Courts were founded in 1843 followed by the Commercial Courts in 1850 and Nizamiye Courts in 1869 (Zurcher,1995). According to Zurcher at that time only family issues were the subject of Canonical courts. It is important to note that, due to the territorial losses majority of the Empire were muslims. Nevertheless the use of secular laws is an important sign for the modernization of the Ottoman State.

Another important sign of administrative modernization was the simplification of the language especially in bureauracy, as it was done in any modernization attempt in Europe (Ortaylı, 1995). The simplification and standardization of the Turkish language through a committee which has suggested to replace Arabic and Persian words by Turkish ones had started in 1845 (Shaw and Shaw, 1995).

For Ortaylı (1995) Tanzimat is the beginning of the modernization period in Ottoman Empire. Shaw and Shaw (1995) give excellent example for the modernization of the bureaucracy, such as the the centralization, standardization and control of the religious affairs by giving a place to the Şeyhülislam in the government as well as

establishing Ministry Of Foundations (Efka Nezareti) in 1837 to control the important amount of income by the government instead of the religious groups. The centralization affair was so marginalized that even the sects (tarikatar) tried to control by a council called Meclis-i Meşayih during Mahmud II. period (Ortaylı, 1995). Especially centralization and statization of the post and telegraph company in 1871 was an important attempt to exclude foreign interferences and control in public communication.

Another important administrative task the management of the provinces (vilayet). The governer (vali) of the province had a council, formed by the muslim and non-muslim members of the principals of the region, which had an advisory duty (Shaw and Shaw,1995; Ortaylı,1995). For Ortaylı (1995) these councils are the foundations of the democratic parliamentarism in the Ottoman Empire since the decisions about the development of the Vilayet were taken by majority vote where each member has the equal rights (Ortaylı,1995). Another renovation in administrative structure was reorganization of the regional departments (Ortaylı,1995). In this reformation process the capital city of each department assigned according to economical characteristics of the region claims Ortaylı (1995) and gives the example of Manisa as the old center of the department changed to İzmir. On the other side of the issue the establishment of “Meclis-i Vala-i Adliyye” which is an advisory council for Sultan, according to Ortaylı (1995) and Mardin (1998) is the first step of the parliamentarizm in the Sublim State. This council seems to be very important since, as it was strongly stressed by New Ottomans, it justifies the parlementarism in a muslim state basing on to the islamic principle of “Meşveret” which means discussing an issue by a group of people. In that

respect by establishing the Council Sultan accepts the value of the ideas of the State notables in his decisions.

During that period students of the academies, Translation Office bureaucrats and journalists were guiding the intellectual life of the Empire (Zurcher, 1995). These intellectuals were the graduates of the previously established academies such as Mülkiye (School of State Officers), and Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane (Imperial School of Medicine). They were highly concerned with State affairs since they were the esteemed statesmen (Zurker,1995; Ortaylı,1995; Shaw and Shaw,1995). Especially knowing very closely eastern and western literature throughout their education they form the intelligentsia of the Empire. Especially they served as a means of knowledge transfer from Europe to the Empire (Ortaylı,1995). Mardin (1998) strongly stresses the importance of Tercüme Odası (Chamber of Translation) for the education of the bureaucrats about the world and State issues. He also points out that the the male members of the houses of Paşas' including not only their sons but also the sons of the butlers had been sent to Europe for a good education. Through this system it seems Paşas wanted to form a group of reliable bureaucrats bounded to them in state offices. The intellectual life of the Capital was formed in the Saloons of the Paşas (Mardin, 1998) many State issues were discussed there as well as international affairs and philosophy. Another important means of communication of the time were newspapers, according to Mardin (1998) they played the role to inform people about science and literature as well as parliamentarism in Europe. Therefore the role of the newspapers not only as information provider but also as educator may can not be denied.

From these intellectuals a group had significant influence on modernization. Namık Kemal and his friends, in other words the New Ottomans was the influential group of the period. They were for a multinational, islamic State with a Constitutional Government (Meşrutiyet) (Zurcher,1995). They hoped that the economical and political problems of the Empire would be resolved in a democratic environment. Nevertheless nationalism among the ethnic groups in the Empire deceived the New Ottomans who were thinking of a project of Ottoman nationalism and citizenship to protect the State from collapse (Zurcher,1995). Main concern of the New Ottomans were the power relationship, meşveret (advisory practice) and insufficient Tanzimat practices (Mardin,1998). According to Mardin (1998) one of the strenghts of the New Ottomans was their stress on islamic law in contrast to Örfi (sultan's law) law which is created by Sultan himself though the other by Allah protecting the rights of the public even against to Sultan himself.

According to Deringil (1998) Hanefi İslam Practice was chosen specifically by Ottoman House since it provides room for individual action of Sultan. Therefore many Ulema were supporting the actions of the New Ottomans since they were losing their importance in the State mechanism as it was mentioned before (Mardin,1998; Ortaylı,1995). Mardin points out that these intellectual Ulema later were lost leaving their place to lover rank and ignorant ones. The role of the Ulema in fact in the ideology of New Ottomans was crucial. This is seen specifically in the attempts of Namık Kemal to integrate western parliamentarism to islamic state (Mardin,1998). In doing this he based on the concepts of meşveret and biat. Biat was the contract between sultan and his subjects who expect protection and good treatment protection of their rights basing the concept of meşveret (Mardin,1998). In this sense Kemal is

closer to Rousseau's Social Contract. Another important figure among the New Ottomans, Ziya Paşa was highly concerned about the justice (Mardin,1998). For Ziya Paşa governing means justice and he formulated his ideas around this concept stating that for the justice occurs Sultan needs to be assisted by the parliament. On the other hand Ali Suavi another intellectual of the New Ottomans a political activist mentioning of Turkism first time though he was one of the believers of islamic brotherhood. These small samples of ideas of the New Ottoman intellectuals show that they were trying to formulate a parliamentary monarchism basing on islamic law with rationalism. Eventhough these attempts were unsuccessful they have the chatacteristics of modernism since 1. they were trying to rationalize the constitution basing on tradition (Heller,1998), 2. through justice they were demanding an equal treatment (Heller,1998), 3. They were trying to build a nation basing on common language and culture (Smith,1998) through islam though it was unsuccessul, 4. They were for industrialism though they did not know how to do it (Heller,1998).

The concern of the New Ottomans was to strengthen the State, they tried to formulate a new State structure to keep the parts of the Empire together. Therefore they were for a constitutional monarchy which was an innovation for that time and geography (Zurcher,1995; Ahmad,1995; Shaw and Shaw, 1995).According to Mardin (1998) eventhough New Ottomans were unsuccessful to formulate a theory of government their attempts for formulation of such a theory was a modernist effort in its very essence. Nonetheless the concept of citizenship was understood in relation to the State so that the constitution was not for citizens' rights but to keep the Empire monolithic structure (Shaw and Shaw,1995). Eventhough their efforts were not productive at that time they formed a ground for later endeavours as Mardin (1998)

proposed them as the intellectual encestors of the founders of Turkish Republic with a decreasing stress on religion in their ideologies.

On the other hand, Abdulhamid II stressed the islamic character of the State not because of religious worries but to find allies in the Islamic world and strengthen the position of the Ottoman State in front of European countries (Deringil,1991). The stress on islam by New Ottomans and Abdülhamid II were not by chance, both tried to find their ontological power in islamic philosophy though in contradiction with each other (Deringil,1998).

Deringil (1998) suggests that the Hamidian period has strong resemblances with Meiji period in Japan and Nicholas I period in Russia, where the imparial figures were stressed in the public arena. He points out that a system of symbols were established to remind Sultan's power and omnipotence to public. These communication symbols were formed around islamic motifs completed by non-islamic ones, such as the stress on the history and permanancy of the Ottoman House was strongly suggested at that time, followed by generous use of the Imperial coat and Tuğra on newly buit state offices (Deringil,1998). According to Deringil (1989) the standardization and regulation of canonical code in the form of Mecelle by Cevdet Paşa was another effort for the change of the life structure of the Empire to be like the Europeans. It seems to important to note that to be like them had not meant for Ottomans to take the laws of the Europeans but to form their own basing on the traditions. In other words the content was not modern perhaps but the idea of structuring, standardization and formulation of the laws were very rational and modernist.

In the attempts to integrate society the figure of the Sultan and State, the symbols and laws were used as it is stated before. Besides them the education for the unification and integration had an important use in Hamidian era (Deringil,1998). In other words the aim of the Hamidian state was the indoctrinization of the periphery with the values of the center by using education suggests Deringil (1998).

Another important point by Deringil (1998) is that all the endeavours from mass education to industrialization, from transport to communication were the modern world's requirement adopted by Sublim State. Though they were weak and limited in influence these efforts were to show that the Empire still standing and aware of the changes in the world and following them.

Another very influential group in 19th century Ottoman Empire were Young Turks (Jön Türkler). Eventhough New Ottomans had an ideology the Young Turks had no theories or any specific formulations (Mardin,2000). For him there exist a strong relationship between New Ottomans and İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti due to their stress on parliamentarism and revolution. On the other hand, according to Mardin (2000) Young Turks 1. brought the subjects of political discussions in Europe to the lands of the Empire 2. worked on non revolutionist ideas such as Turkism, and kept themselves relatively away from politics due to Hamidian authoritarian regime. Eventough the Young Turks partially involved in politics their works mainly concentrated in the area of positivism and realism in social and economical area (Mardin,2000). In other words they were more concerned with the freedom of mind, rather than intellectual freedom. To support his ideas Mardin gives the example of positivistic and realistic understanding in education and literature during the reign of

conservative Sultan Abdülhamid II. Especially Ahmed Mithat Efendi's works on labour and economy were strongly related to economical modernism (Mardin,2000). His attempts to educate masses about the new economical system even using Islamic words to present naturalist philosophers were impressive. These endeavours gave their results in the works of İttihat ve Terakki ideologists, such as Ziya Gökalp.

This process of intellectual naturalism and positivism first started in the education of the army officers (Mardin,2000). Specifically, the school of medicine of the army was essential for the positivist and naturalist ideas. Briefly the Hamidian strictly controlling regime resulted the spreading of the new ideas in sciences among the people of the big cities. The army officers, some bureaucrats and some intellectuals by using an important means of communication, newspaper tried to educate masses in sciences, economics, literature. Hamidian epoch in fact was an intellectual and social incubation period. This period's straight control resulted the development of Turkism among the intellectuals influenced from the nationalism in Europe on the one hand and starting to lose their romanticism about the Ottomanism on the other (Mardin,2000). This very important analysis of Mardin, the obsession of some of the intellectuals about Turkism even though did not create any ideology seems to create an important background for the educational, economical and social policies. At this point Mardin (2000) explains this stress on Turkism of the intellectual not as a hegemony but as a behaviour of panic of these outstanding personalities in front of the collapse of the Empire.

Constitutionalism trend combined with innovations in the legal area even though not directly influencing the daily life of the lay people, formed a basis for the future transformation of Ottoman society, especially in the sphere of secularization. This

secularization and recognition of differences in the parliament (till 1876 each millet had its own internal regulation and were mutually exclusive from each other) formed the modern character of the Empire due to its stress on naturalism and positivism on the one hand emphasis on equality and justice on the other as Heller (1999) will agree.

The emphasis on islam and attempts to integrate it with the western understanding and also Turkism was an old issue but losing its stress on Ottomanism and islam for the benefit of Turkism and modernization (Mardin,2000). The strong emphasis on islam was due to decreasing number of non muslims because of loss of the balcanic lands of the Empire on the one hand on the other trying to get the support and recognition as a great power by other islamic countries though they are under European hegemony (Mardin,2000; Shaw and Shaw,1995). Nevertheless the separatist actions of non muslim nations even the muslims within the Empire resulted the birth and development of Turkism.

Young Turks mainly functioned in three important areas: 1. by bringing the innovations in the world to the attention of the Ottoman Citizens, they popularized the liberal ideas about economy, labour, science and literature; 2. by providing a continuity of idea of modernism with New Ottomans ; 3. Being a basis for the development of İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti (Mardin,2000; Shaw and Shaw,1995; Ortaylı,1995).

It is worthy to note that it is not easy to mention about a unique and uniform group of Young Turks (Shaw and Shaw,1995; Ortaylı,1995). They range from the opponents of AbdulhamidII to his protegés (Mardin,2000; Saw and Shaw, 1995). But there were

two main groups that they struggled throughout their history. A nationalist group gathered around Ahmet Rıza and a liberal one around Prince Sabahattin (Mardin,2000; Ortaylı,1995; Shaw and Shaw,1995). These two groups had their agenda for the Empire but one of them was successful to get the power, that was nationalists under the name of İttihat ve Terakki.

Political struggles in the Sublim State from any groups aims to save the Empire from the collapse. There were different attempts due to the existence of many ideas, Hamidian policies, Ottomanism, Islamism, Liberalism and Nationalism all were struggling with each other by making coalition time to time or opposing strongly each other. In fact this strive shows the dynamism in the society. Seek for justice, equality, freedom or the ideological side, quest for economical change, technology and science reframing the national identity of the empire are indeed modernization that the Sublim State is a part.

3. Education

The innovative education produced intellectuals who stimulated the transformation of the State which in turn formed new politics of education. Now the changes in the educational area will be discussed.

In his book Osman Kafadar (1997) points out the modern education as an organized attempt started during Mahmud II period. Later during Addülmecit era, in 1846 Department of General Schools established followed by 1857 Ministry of Education

(Kafadar,1997). According to Kafadar (1997) most important endeavour in the area of education is 1869 General Education Regulations. This regulation was published after the visit of the French Minister of Education Jean Victor Duruy who came to İstanbul as an advisor for the educational affairs of Ottoman Government (Shaw and Shaw,1995). Kafadar (1997) claims that the significance of this text of Regulations was: the detailed organization of primary, secondary and higher education, organization of teacher education, regulation of school system under the control of ministry of education, establishment of department of school textbook writing called "İlmi Daire" and a department of personnel, formation of an educational council in each Vilayet (department). For Kafadar the French educational system was very influential at that time in Ottoman Empire. The Academy of Science and Art "Encümen-i Daniş" was founded according to French model suggests Kafadar (1997). İdadis were also established to offer three years of education after four years of Rüşdiye schools (Shaw and Shaw,1995). Above them The Sultani Lycée of the empire were set up as higher schools in order to produce bureaucrats for the state affairs or army officers (Shaw and Shaw,1995). In other words for those who prepared Tanzimat's secular education was an achievable aim in order to provide a work power for army, bureaucracy and the justice. Shaws (1995) suggest that Tanzimat was mainly concerned with technical schools rather than the universities such as Civil Service School "Mekteb-i Mülkiye" Imperial School of Medicine "Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane" etc.

During the period 1839-1908 although secondary and higher education had chief importance in the educational politics of the Ottoman State, primary education was neglected (Akyüz,1989). As it was mentioned earlier, the foremost goal of the State

was to educate bureaucrats and army officers, therefore first the academies were founded followed by secondary schools such as Rüşdiye, İdadi and Sultani. Even so the organizational structure of primary education was established in this period. For instance the State regulated the courses, materials, discipline, method and duration of education by a code published in 1847 (Akyüz,1989). The main importance of this code was due to its inclusion of Turkish in the curriculum. This was a significant change in the method of modernization of education since 1824 Ferman of Mahmut II which was mainly concerned with religious education without any structural statement. The following step was the educational code of 1869 through which modern primary schools were established and named "İptidai" beside old type religious "sıbyan" schools. Although the number of these modern primary schools were limited, the code ordered the founding an iptidai in every district or village of each city (Akyüz, 1989). İptidai's new curriculum included in the Ottoman history and geography courses. This is one of the first signs of Ottoman Nationalism observed in the area of education. On the other hand the first years of iptidai schools was heavily giving a religious education (Mardin,2000). Paralel with the State policies, Islam and Ottoman nationalism had started to be used together in the education of the primary school students. The stress of the Sublim State was on the secondary and Lycée education due to technical and administrative personel need (Mardin,2000; Kafadar ,1997; Shaw and Shaw ,1995).

Mardin (1995) points out that by centralization of the administration the State tried to prevent micro nationalism and tried to replace it by Ottoman Nationalism. To reach this end education, especially obligatory primary education, was used as a good means for the State's ideological apparatus. This was the discovery of primary

education in the modern sense to build a nation without neglecting islamic flavour due to non Turkish but muslim citizens of the Empire Deringil (1998). In other words at the very beginning the State started primary education to provide literate students for academies but later on it found out that it was a profitable way to create a nation as it had been used by the French and Germans (Green, 1992). But it will be helpful to find out if these goals were achieved and looking at the statistics may provide an important base.

According to Tekeli (1985) the number of primary schools in the Empire was 26,546 between the years 1894-1895 18,708 of them were operating according to ancient method only 4,992 were using the new approach. As it is seen the number of iptidai schools were less than one quarter of sıbyan schools. The codes of education was not sufficient to form a modern education, nevertheless it was an important step.

It is important to note that the education of public was also an important aspect of Tanzimat period. This education was provided by theatres, newspapers and limited number of books and a few journals as well as some societies for, literature, science (Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye- Ottoman Science Society) or education (Encümen-i Daniş - Academy of Science and Art) A few school for industrial affairs were also established for the poor young people to contribute to the development of the economy (Shaw and Shaw,1995). For this purpose Sanai Mektebi (School of industry), Bahriye Mektebi (civil school for adult mariners) were founded in 1870. The intellectuals of the period between Tanzimat to II Meşrutiyet were strongly influenced from their French counterparts, such as Rousseau, Montesquieu, LeBon (Mardin,2000; Shaw and Shaw,1995, Kafadar,1997).

Kafadar (1997) states that in the constitution of 1876 education became a responsibility of the state and primary education became obligatory. This was followed by the reorganization of the structure of the Ministry of Education in 1879. The reforms in primary education went on by replacement Sıbyan Schools Department by İptidai Schools Department which was organized with modern educational methods and contents (Kafadar,1997). Foundation of many schools and including the girl students to the education were the assets of this period though according to Kafadar (1997) they were not successful to reach many in the population

The politics of the Empire, lead by Abdulhamid II were striving for pan-islamism (Ahmad,1995). Therefore religious primary education was in accordance with the State's politics. A limited number of modern schools on the other hand became perfect sources for secondary and higher education as they had been conceived half century earlier. Meanwhile the expectation from religious schools was to unify muslim subjects of the Empire around islam and its representative the Sultan. For this purpose exclusive use of Turkish language and idea of mixed primary schools for muslim and non-muslim people were suggested by Ahmet Şakir Paşa to improve the bound between Ottoman State and its citizens (Deringil,1998). Nonetheless the islamic ideas were generously used in education to gather the mainly muslim citizens of The Sublim State around the figure of Sultan head of all muslims (Deringil,1998). For example the Tribal School "Mekteb-i Aşiret" in İstanbul was conceived to educate the sons of the tribe sheiks in order to improve their fidelity to the State suggests Deringil (1998). Eventhough the attempts to improve education was not successful to reach masses points out Deringil (1997) with a literacy expectation of 5-10 % in early 20th century.

On the other hand the main ideology of using education was perfectly modern to include periphery to the value system of the center as Deringil claimed.

Briefly the two significant actions in the Ottoman Empire after Tanzimat were Ottoman Nationalism of New Ottomans and the Pan-Islamist politics of Abdulhamid II. None of them was successful to keep the integrity of the Empire, nevertheless nationalism and innovations in primary schools were the important signs of the modernization of education though there were strong stress on Islam and Ottomanism with Turkism and modernist ideas. These were corresponding the ideology of New Ottomans, Abdülhamid II and later Young Turks since their concern was to gather the society around some new symbols and reach the power the Sublim State had lost to protect and expand it and for this end they started to use education. Education was seen as cement to keep the society together, as a horse to pull it further.

The Ottoman Empire during the period between Tanzimat - the Second Meşrutiyet had very close economical and political relationships with western the world (Pamuk, 1985). Agricultural expertise, secularization of the legal system, the start of secularization of primary education, and a rich intellectual atmosphere were all indications of irreversible change in the life of the Empire. Calling this change modernization would be a premature conclusion, since all these transformations were not available for all citizens. Nevertheless primary education on the way of modernization, was promising for the diffusion of modern ideas.

Essential features of this period in terms of education are two fold. First efforts to diffuse modern primary education and second penetration of nationalism in schools.

These two important characteristics of the epoch shaped the future of education in Turkey in the process of modernization as suggested by Heller (1999).

4. General Evaluation

Tanzimat period was important in the sense that it prepared the Turkish Empire to the modernization. The modernization process can be structured according to the organization of this study. The Ottoman State had a very strong bureaucracy what is also called by Mardin (1995) Patrimonial Bureaucracy where the state officers had the power to dominate the society on the side of the Sultan. Therefore the State exists not for a capital owner but for the bureaucratic control. That is to say, the State is the area of power for the Sultan and his bureaucrats rather than the civils.

The New Ottomans wanted to change this structure by forming a parliament, basing on Tanzimat's principle of equality of the people. For Mardin (1995, TTS) this is the first step for the individual honour rather than old honour of a subject of a House. In other words this was the start point of individual and personal rights as Heller(1999) has suggested for the modernization. Similarly attempts for a constitution and a parliament were the guaranties of the freedom and personal rights(Heller,1999). Rationalist domination in law starting with the commerce slowly take place of the canonical Islamic Şeriat was another aspect of the modernizational endeavours of The Sublime State. Use of technology in transport and communication even in production (Zücher, 1995), were the other steps toward modernization. The economical side of the modernization of the Empire, processed with European interventions mainly

aiming the colonialist features though all commercial agreements were reciprocal Sublime State was never able to use its privileges on the side of the Europeans but saved always its honour claims Ortaylı(1995). The small producers' transformation of production in front of the European goods as Quartaet (1997) suggests is a striking example for the economical modernization attempts.

Formation of the nation state is an important step in the modernization as many scholars pointed out (Heller, 1999; Anderson,1995). Sublime State first attempted to create an Ottoman Nation though unsuccessful with the Christian citizens turned to Islam as an important bond. The nationalist structure of the state is observed in the use of the Turkish language as the official and educational one. The simplification of the Ottoman language is a significant effort for this end.

The education for the purpose of modernization is heavily used, the renovations in primary education worth to mention specifically. Modern educational methods were used for modern purposes. Akyüz (1989) mentions about Usul-i cedid (new method) used especially in the primary education towards the end of Tanzimat period. Inclusion of reading, writing, geography, history, maths to primary education after 1869 the primary education continued to be modernized by using regular recreation time between course hours, using class materials such as blackboards, geo cards etc (Akyüz,1989) started to have a modern view. Preparation of text books (Akyüz,1989) was also important to show how the Sublime State care for it. On the other hand Akyüz pointed out that education though having good intentions was unable to fulfill its functions due to the economical problems, insufficient budget, poor school

buildings, small number of well educated personel were the limitations of the Ottoman Primary Education.

According to Mardin (1995) and Deringil (1998)the ideology behind Hamidian regime for their concern for primary education was to homogenize Ottoman society and together the people around a figure, for New Ottomans and Young Turks the figure was the parliament for Abdulhamid II the figure was himself!!! Therefore the role of the primary education was crucial as the theorists of modernization state in the sense that it prepares the society for an ideology which was at that tme to form an ottoman society (Mardin,1995,200). For this end the Turkish language, under the name of Ottoman, history and geography were given in courses including the religion an other important glue for the Ottoman Society. The primary education especially with its fundamental and modern approach is a good means for the Otomanization of the society. It is important to point out that the simplification of the Ottoman language was a carefully planed attempt on the road of modern education and modernization of the society. On the other hand education with rational principles were important to transform the Ottoman society in the form of modernization.

In summary modern approach in primary education during Tanzimat years endeavours to transform the Ottoman society to a modern one. For this end modernist efforts in political, economical areas show their impact in education first rationalization of education with new methods (usul-i cedit), second inclusion of maths, geography and history and most importantly language to the curriculum to form a common culture among the citizens for nation state. These efforts form a strong base for the future transformatory works in the Turkey.

C. From the Second Meşrutiyet to the Republic

The first reactions to the tyrannical rule of Abdulhamid II came from within the Dynasty, though they were successfully repressed (Zurcher, 1985). The second wave of reactions, on the other hand were more organized and were from the students of the academies. School of Medicine students in 1888 formed İttihad-ı Osmani Cemiyeti (Union of Ottomans Society) (Zurcher, 1995).

Some of those students left the Country due to investigations and limitations on their rights and went to Paris where they met other opponents of Abdulhamit II. Those students highly influenced by liberal and constitutional ideas, joined Ahmet Rıza's İttihat ve Terakki (Union and Progress) movement (Zurcher,1995). This movement split into two at the Paris Congress of Ottoman Liberals. On the one side Prince Sabahattin and his allies were for a more liberal and decentralized State mainly supported by Armenians, on the other side Ahmet Rıza and the nationalists were for a more centralized State (Zurcher, 1995). The wing represented by Ahmet Rıza cleared the other group from İttihat ve Terakki and with a strong organization spreaded out into the Empire. Later on the center of İttihat ve Terakki moved from Paris to Selanik (Thesaloniki) and gained important power in Macedonia especially in the army (Ahmad,1995). Finally İttihat ve Terakki organized rebellions against Abdulhamid II and dethroned him with a coup-d'état (Zurcher,1995; Ahmad, 1995; Shaw and Shaw 1995). Although Abdulhamid II declared the Second Meşrutiyet (constitution) to suppress rebellions, it did not prevent his fall (Ahmad,1995). Naturally, this period of the Second Meşrutiyet had strong imprints of İttihat ve Terakki, specifically its centralized and nationalist tendencies shaped the future of the Empire.

1. Economy

At this point it will be useful to look at the economical situation of the 1908-1922 period to better understand the Ottoman Empire and its transformation after the İttihat ve Terakki's takeover.

Boratav (1995) points out that the 1908-1922 period was the most chaotic period of the Empire. This era with wars, rebellions, coup-d'états is defined by Boratav from the economical point of view as the beginning of national capitalism. Although the decisions for national capitalism were taken during this period, the obstacles for this end could not be overcome (Boratav, 1995). In his book *Osmanlı Ekonomisinde Bağımlılık ve Büyüme*, Pamuk (1994) suggests that the main manufacturing area was in depression since the market was occupied with English textile products. The dilemma of national capitalism and import policies is clearly analyzed by Boratav. For Boratav there were three types of obstacles, namely: a weak bourgeoisie, non-muslim compromisers and bourgeoisie dealing with commerce rather than industry. Again according to Boratav (1995) the bourgeois revolution during this period was carried out by petit-bourgeois intellectuals instead of the bourgeoisie itself due to its fragile structure. The start of national economy trend was at the end of the Balkan War, when the Turkish public realized that the Greek citizens of the Sublim State helped financially to Greece (Toprak, 1995). Turks started to boycotting Greek shops, products and also initiated new businesses. This was the first effort for the nationalization of the economy. In 1918 there were 129 Turkish companies operating in the Empire, only 9 out of which were established before 1909 (Toprak, 1995). Kepenek and Yentürk (1997) also point out that one of the problems of the economy

was lack of will of industrialization among the non-muslim citizens since they were looking for the independence of their nations and reluctant to invest to Ottoman territories. They preferred the commerce by taking the advantage of changing their passport, they profited from the privileges provided by the State to the Europeans. The weak performance of the muslim business owners in front of the strong non-muslim and european merchants was not sufficient to establish industry (Keçenek and Yentürk,1997).

One of the principle intellectuals of İttihat ve Terakki, Ziya Gökalp was the theoretician of the National Economics trend highly influenced by the German School of Economics (Toprak,1985). According to national economics understanding there were two phases for economical development. In the first phase all capital is directed to investments to make the economy self-sufficient. In the second phase all classes get a share from the developed economy. This approach, for Toprak, is a new-Merchantalist application and a reaction to liberalism forced by Capitulations. A kind of self-defence of the national economy. This trend in economics was quite in harmony with nationalist politics of this era. The application of National Economics, by İttihat ve Terakki, first started in the area of agriculture by supporting mid and large size farmers and agricultural cooperatives (Boratav, 1995).

Another important economical problem of the Sublim State between 1903-1910 according to Pamuk (1994) was the loans provided from Europe. For him it is nearly impossible to talk about an Ottoman Economy since the loans and high percentage of import in front of export causing economy to be a part of trade area of bigger cities of Europe. Pamuk explains the inability to implement national capitalism in the

reluctance of the bureaucrats who were afraid to lose their control over public. This idea is parallel to Quataert (1997) who stated that one of the main reasons of the abolishing the janissary was their improving power in trade, in economy and state's worry to control them. In other words the bureaucracy was apprehensive to share its power over the public sphere with another group, mainly capital owners as it is the case in Western world (Pamuk,1994). Nevertheless Makal (1997) in his book *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Çalışma İlişkileri* (Labour relations in Ottoman Empire) points out that State established factories for its own consumption, as well as the army and found *Islah-ı Sanai Komisyonu* (Renovation of Industry Commission) to improve the industrial works. This provide a sustainable evidence for the State control over industry.

With the liberal atmosphere during the first years of Second Meşrutiyet the economical liberalism started to burgeon among the Turkish citizens according to Toprak (1995, *Milli İktisat-Milli Burjuvazi*). Especially individualism among the *İttihat ve Terakki* members considered important for self and in turn state development (Toprak,1995). Nonetheless the Balkan war followed by others caused an authoritarian and nationalist regime of *İttihat ve Terakki* since the ethnic groups of the Ottoman Country were denying their Ottomanism which in turn stimulated the nationalism of *İttihat ve Terakki* (Toprak, 1995, Shaw and Shaw,1995).

Due to the circumstances in its region and in the World, Sublime State attempted for the formation of the national economy. For this purpose *İttihat ve Terakki* governments supported heavily the Turkish merchants to form cooperatives or companies (Toprak,1995). Even a bank was established by businessmen for financial

support under the name of Milli İktisat Bankası (National Economy Bank) (Toprak,1995). As Boratav already stressed intellectuals such as Gökalp, Akçura, and Alptekin led the economic development when the bourgeoisie was weak, therefore it seems capitalism had a romantic beginning rather than a pragmatic one. The opportunities which encouraged capitalism to expand, on the other hand, were provided by World War I (Toprak,1985). With the start of the war İttihat ve Terakki abolished the Capitulations, all privileges of foreign companies were omitted, and tax walls were raised to protect the national economy (Toprak, 1985). Meanwhile, the circumstances of war caused food prices to increase which enabled the speculators and black marketers to make fortunes. On the other hand due to the rising expenses of the war, the State minted money which resulted in high inflation. Those who were dealing with commerce profited from this situation and accumulated important amounts of capital (Toprak,1985; Boratav, 1995). Besides all these İttihat ve Terakki Governments encouraged the commerce and trade among muslim Turkish citizens to form a national bourgeoisie claims Toprak (1985). Makal (1997) points out that the Transitory Law for Reinforcement of Industry (Teşvik-i Sanai Kanunu Muvakkati) in 1913 though not fruitful was showing the goodwill of the State for industrialization. Buğra (1995) illustrates finely the assistance of the İttihat ve Terakki government to the enterpisers through the partnership of İttihat ve Terakki members hence those companies get more State support then the others. Buğra (1995) comments that this type State private common investments in reality was the first penetration of the capital owners in the State apparatus and state officers in the bussiness which quickened the formation of national bourgeoisie.

According to Toprak (1985) Cavit Bey the Minister of Finance in İttihat ve Terakki governments, was the key person in the liberalization of the economy. Nevertheless the I. World War conditions forced the Sublim State for Nationalist Economy for which some intellectuals and bureaucrats were keen to develop (Shaw and Shaw,1995). As it is stated here earlier, Ziya Gökalp, Tekin Alp were the pioneers of the national economy stream, admiring and influenced by German nationalism suggests that the nation state is established in two steps: first national language and culture followed by national economy with a national state (Toprak,1985). National economists claimed that the national policy was sustained by national economy, they believed that by this way a nation state may be established (Toprak,1985). In the way of foundation of national economy an important stage was setting up a national bourgeoisie which was supposed to found a self-sufficient economical structure in the society (Toprak,1985). Ahmet Muhiddin resisted the idea of international labour division by claiming that Turks need to have a self-sufficient economy to survive otherwise the imperialist powers overtake the country through their economical actions (Toprak,1985).

In the process of the nationalization of the economy and formation of national bourgeoisie and labour many precautions were taken. The eliminations of capitulations and higher custom taxes aimed to protect national producers, on the other hand the foreign investors were asked to apply Ottoman rules in their bussiness in Sublim State and put a sum of their wealth to found as a warranty (Toprak,1985). Toprak also find out that the Sublime State asked to foreign investors to use Turkish in their works in the Ottoman land and employ Turkish clerks. By this way Government tried to provide employment for Turks and also control the foriegnfirms

through their Turkish employees (Toprak,1985). The nationalization of railroads and costal navigation were also important steps for the bourgeoisie and labour, since the former one were in the hands of British and French , the later one in the hands of the Greecs proposes Toprak (1985).

Briefly,Boratav interprets this period as one of severe social and economical depression though in the end Anotolia was more cohesive and national than ever before. To reach this end İttihat ve Terakki governments : 1. involved of more Turks in business to form a Turkish bourgeoisie and labour, 2. profited from war to nationalize transport and some industries, 3. protected national production through high custom taxes, 4. Supported agriculture. All these attempts has taken place in a very short time period but influenced so much the future of the Turkish society. According to Toprak (1985) this national economy trend continued till the 1950's.

2.Politics.

At this point it will be advantageous to look at the political atmosphere of the Empire. In his book 1908 Devrimi (1908 Revolution) Aykut Kansu (1995) claims that the declaration of Second Meşrutiyet is not an event of army and some bureaucrats with intellectuals who were located in İstanbul, Selanik and Macedonia but a revolution by the society in eastern as well as western lands of the Empire. The demand of the public according to Kansu (1995) was to elect its governors since the assigned ones were the tirans who were harrassing them. He supports his thesis by showing many uprisings in the Country such as Manastır, Edirne,İzmir, Samsun, Trabzon, Adana, Erzurum (Kansu,1995). The most important aspect of the 1908 was the

reestablishment of the Constitution and the parliament which gives back the individual rights. Mardin (1995) in his book *Türkiye'de Toplum ve Siyaset* (Society and Politics in Turkey) points out that the understanding of the concept of honour changed during this period from patrimonial to individual since with the constitution the treatment of the citizens before the bureaucracy and State guaranteed to be equal. This equality provided the chance for the citizens to interfere more to the public policy due to they do not had to take part on the side a Paşa to get a promotion. Kansu (1995) strongly stresses that the Revolution of 1908 was highly concerned with the civil rights of the people and assuring them through the constitution. He points out that the equality in education and equal opportunity in military service for every citizen were a few of the essential of the civil rights also they were supposed to increase the cohesiveness of the Ottoman society.

The interesting part of the background of the 1908 Revolution lies in the education provided by Hamidian authoritarian regime according to Mardin (1995). Tunçay (1997) supports this idea by stating that most of the İttihat ve Terakki members especially army officers profited a lot from high quality education provided by Hamidian Governments for their future revolution.

That is why the era between the Second Meşrutiyet and the Republic has the imprints of İttihat ve Terakki members who had a good education with an intellectual background (Shaw and Shaw,1995) . Zurcher (1995) suggests that during the Second Meşrutiyet there were two significant views one of which determined the political climate. The first and determinant one was mainly concerned with a powerful and centralized State. This position was supported by the bureaucrats and army. On the

other hand the supporters of Prince Sabahattin, although few in number, were chiefly involved with the transformation of society first, in contrast to the former group, through a liberal economy and education (Zürcher, 1995). Nevertheless both group fought together against Hamidian authoritarian regime

İttihat ve Terakki forced Abdulhamid II, by an army uprising in Macedonia, to reestablish parliament and constitution (Zürcher,1995). Later after his dethronment İttihat ve Terakki tried to govern indirectly parties (Tunçay,1997). There were different political parties in the parliament, such as Osmanlı Demokrat, Mutedil Hürriyetperveran and Ahali parties (Tunçay,1997). The anti İttihat ve Terakki campaign in the army and among political figures caused this party to take over the government between 1913-1918 with a dictatorial attitude (Tunçay,1997). During the early years of Second Meşrutiyet some articles of the 1876 Constitution were altered to give more duties to government and make it responsible to the parliament rather than the Sultan himself (Shaw and Shaw, 1995). Nonetheless, İttihat ve Terakki used Balkan war as an excuse to take over some rights of the parliament to govern (Tunçay,1997).

İttihat ve Terakki's essential dilemmas were between westernization and Ottomanism, Turkism and Islam and Islam with westernization, and Ottomanism with Turkism. Although some radical progressivists suggested complete westernization, the general tendency was to keep to the traditional methods but with some westernization (Zurcher,1995). It is important to note that a westernization understanding of pre-Republic and Republic politics differed only in degree. On the other hand as Hilav (1997) suggested the main dilemma was between Islamism, Turkism and Westernism,

since after Balkan war the trust to the minorities was broken therefore Ottomanism lost its power on the stage. According to Hilav (1997) ottoman intellectuals were inefficient in the sense that they take the resolution of the problems from west as a ready made recipe. On the other hand Ortaylı (1995) claims that the Ottoman intelligentsia was always trying to integrate western and eastern thoughts, and he gives the example of the Paşas of Tanzimat Period. Another example from Mardin (1998) who claims that the New Ottomans were the real ideologists who were trying to integrate European and Ottoman traditions of thoughts. Thus it is an easy analysis from Hilav to suggest Ottoman intellectuals were opportunists to solve their problems. According to Hilav the most important trends of thoughts in Sublim State were Westernism, Islamism and Turkism. Westernism included in itself the positivism and liberalism though in islamism a group of people conservative but open to innovations were creating the dinamism. Most strikingly Turkism had an important role since the trend in the world was towards nationalism at that time as Hobsbawm (1995) pointed out in his book "The Age of Empire".

The philosophical basis of Turkism was provided by Ziya Gökalp according to (Shaw and Shaw,1995). Like many intellectual of that time Gökalp was very critical about Tanzimat period which was on for the favour of Ottomanism and neglecting the real power and owner of the Sublim State the Turks and their culture. For him the Tanzimat period rather than to understand the society tried to form a made up culture and impose it to form a Ottoman society, therefore failed to save the Empire (Shaw and Shaw,1995).

The one of the significant attempts for Turkish nationalism was the foundation of Turkish Society in 1908, which has the honor chair the Crown Prince Yusuf İzzetin Efendi (Üstel, 1997). The Society was led by Turks from Russia therefore having some distance to Ottomanism and Islam suggests Üstel (1997). The Society mainly interested with Turkish language, history and culture for research and introduce to the world. The researches on Turkish language, history and culture were carried out through the branches of the Society in the provinces (Üstel, 1997). This Society was followed by Turkish Land Society (Türk Yurdu Cemiyeti) and most importantly Türk Ocakları in 1911, both had nationalist claims on language, culture and history, as well as provided information to public on Turkish nationalism through conferences on these issues, states Üstel (1997).

The founder of these three Societies were the same people from Russia and native Ottoman citizens who were soldiers and intellectuals (Üstel,1997; Tunçay,1997). Türk Ocakları were strongly politicized with İttihat ve Terakki. They were not only concerned with Turkish nation but also with the popular issues of the society such as women rights. They formed the intellectual part of the society and tried their best to contact to the bigger public and make themselves understood (Üstel, 1997). The significance of these societies is their stress on Turkish language, history and cultural studies, in the way of building a nation with a strong background.

At this stage, it is also observed that with İttihat ve Terakki, modernization become an ideology, an ideology of survival and having many components. Modernization was taken as westernization and tried to embed it into the Ottoman culture with Turkism (Hilav,1997). With İttihat ve Terakki, westernization became a duty of the State

which intended to build a prosperous society. Even though the heart of modernization is the freedom of the mind, other products such as secularization, the use of technology in everyday life, new bureaucracy and capitalism were the main concerns of the State. The İttihat ve Terakki governments after Balkan war became more authoritarian and did not allow any other party or ideology than nationalism (Tunçay,199; Zürcher, 1995). The modernization during that time gained speed though there were not much room for intellectual divergency. The renovations in bureaucratic apparatus with the law in 1913, unification of courts under the control of Ministry of Justice in 1915 , the civil law of 1917 became the last point in the secularization of the loyal code where to women rights were strongly recognized.

Some of the scholars believe that this process repeated the classical split between the State and public spheres -center and periphery- (Shaw and Shaw,1995). In other words the intelligentsia were only interested with the transformation of the structure of the State not the direct transformation of society (Zurcher,1995; Ahmad,1995; Shaw and Shaw,1995). On the other hand it is important to recall that starting from Tanzimat until II. Meşrutiyet many writers in many newspapers tried to translate to the public the changes in the world that is why one of the newspapers called Tercüman-ı Ahval (Translation of Situations). Reviews of literature were important means for the enlightenment of the public, besides the education though with limited resources tried to do the best. It is meaningful to claim that all these information did not reach all citizens of the Sublime state but more than that as suggested by Mardin (1995) hundreds of the intellectuals and thousands of well educated youth died during the wars of Çanakkale and later with the lost territories some left the country. Therefore the gap between the state and public if it exists was not significant since,

first the modernization was a project of the Sublim State for a long time, second though many intellectuals died during wars there was a tradition to educate public either by primary education or through newspapers as Ahmet Mithat used to do (Mardin, 2000), third the modernist transformation of the society was considered as a whole where economic, social and political innovations were implemented with complementation of each other. Otherwise it is hard to explain the generally positive attitude of the society to the Republican revolutions.

The significant role of the primary education in this sense was recognized during Hamidian period and continued to be an important means of nation building instrument as it is the case in many European country as Hobsbawm (1995) pointed out. This process of use of education for political purposes is called by Althusser (1994) as the function of ideological state apparatus.

3. Education

Mustafa Ergün (1996) in his book *İkinci Meşrutiyet Devrinde Eğitim Hareketleri* (Educational Movements During II. Meşrutiyet) claims during Second Meşrutiyet period the need for primary education was strongly felt by public and state. Especially need for teachers was one of the concern areas in primary education though not only (Ergün, 1996). With the Transitory Law of Primary education some of the problems were tried to be solved (Kafadar, 1997). As Akyüz (1989) points out, this Transitory Law published in 1913 by Emrullah Efendi, Minister of Education, was still in use in the Republic era. The Law ordered that, iptidai schools would be compounded with rüştiye schools and form a six years iptidai school, with obligatory and free education

(Ergün,1996). This structure of the primary school was designed according to French school system (Kafadar,1997). In the new system not only the departmental budgets provided finance for primary education but also the Ministry of Education as well assisted by providing funds, states Ergün (1996). The funds were used to build new schools and educate new teachers for the primary education. Besides these efforts Ministry was preparing new programs for the schools where each class hour consisted of 40 minutes and a school day formed by morning and afternoon schools (Ergün,1996). The new program had three levels and each level was two years.

The curriculum included the following courses: reading, writing, Ottoman language, mathematics, geometry, Ottoman history and geography, lesson of things, natural history and application, health, civilization, moral, economics, music, art and handcraft, physical education, school games, agriculture, military exercises for boys and sewing for girls (Akyüz,1989). In the school all kinds of physical punishment was forbidden and some improper child games were banded though some educational ones encouraged (Ergün,1996). One of the important aspect of the law was its concern for girl students suggests (Ergün,1996; Kafadar,1997). It commends that in a place where 50 girls exist an iptidai school asked to be opened though if the number of girls are less than 50 mixed education would be provided. Akyüz (1989) also points out that by this transitory law primary education for girls became obligatory for the first time. The compulsory primary education, the theatrical plays in the schools with the 1914 İptidai schools program, the improvement the quality of teachers!!! by more education, building more iptidai schools were the vital issues that the İttihat ve Terakki government worked on (Ergün,1996). This was a significant stage in the modernization of primary school education though many financial and structural

problems arised including the opposition of the conservative citizens (Akyüz,1989; Ergün,1996; Kafadar1997).

Meanwhile although the State was using education as a good means of modernization -in a larger sense-it was faced with serious problems, such as a limited number of well-educated teachers, restrictions in financial resources, neglected buildings and materials- if they were available (Akyüz, 1989). Nevertheless this law was another important step for the future and stressed the significance of primary education in state policies.

Yet, the main trend of this epoch in education was summarized in the analogy of Emrullah Efendi, the Minister of Education, stating that “education is like Tuba tree” (Tekeli, 1985, Akyüz 1989). According to his view education should start with the higher schools and go down towards the primary ones, even though he contributed to primary education during his period. This understanding may be interpreted as an elitist view of the Ottoman intellectual as well as his primary concern for the quick transformation of the state and society.

At the same time, Satı Bey an alternative thinker and educationist was also working for innovations in education (Akyüz,1989). Founder of the School for Primary Education Teachers, he claimed that education should start with primary schools then expand to higher education since primary schools would provide qualified students for academies (Akyüz,1989). He suggested a few good quality primary and secondary schools in every quarter of the country to provide good students for higher education, who will return to their regions to give more education (Akyüz,1989). These two

important understandings of schooling was shaping the educational politics of the period.

Meanwhile, the Nationalistic politics of İttihat ve Terakki as mentioned earlier had taken education under control. The intellectuals such as Ziya Gökalp, and İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu stressed the national characteristics of education (Akyüz, 1989). In fact, the educational law of 1913 ruled that the common language, common geography and common history principles, including science and economy courses to be included in the curriculum (Akyüz, 1989). This curriculum is important evidence to show the nationalist and modernist aspects of the educational politics of İttihat ve Terakki.

In the economical side, Boratav (1995) defines the 1908-1922 period as the formation of national capitalism in the Ottoman Empire. During this epoch nationalist and capitalist policies were mainly observed in the educational area to create an educated labour force, as Witty (1995) stated, devoted citizens for the state and docile labourers for industry.

During this last period of the Ottoman Empire, the State began to focus on primary education. This attempt was very similar to events in Germany, France and Britain in the sense that the State through primary education was trying to establish a nation and/or capitalism in the country (Witty, 1995). The obligatory and free primary education may be considered as one of the signs of these politics.

Briefly, the 1839-1908 period was characterized by changes in the understanding of education mainly in the area of higher education to establish a modern army and bureaucracy. On the other hand 1908-1922 period is characterized by the important changes in the schooling approach, more care for primary education with a stress on nationalism and capitalism.

4. General Evaluation

It is important to note that the ideology in the minds of İttihat ve Terakki members was nationalism provided that it was formulated by a meta ideology: modernization. The reasons for that lies in the definition of modernization and its compatibility with the policies of İttihat ve Terakki governments. Since nationalism had the function to mobilize the masses, provide a common ground for expression of emotions and communication among the citizens homogenizes different thoughts, and by forming a common culture, language and using even religion stabilizes the conflicts in the society by bringing the people around a common goal of improvement of Turkish Nation. Modernization by itself is unable to mobilize masses. In fact forming a nation state is one of the constitutional aspect of the modernization as Heller (1999) and Anderson (1995) pointed out earlier.

On the other hand preparing an environment for the formation and development of national capitalism, with its bourgeoisie and labour with the help of the State was considered crucial by İttihat ve Terakki ideologues such as Ziya Gökalp, therefore many reinforcements were provided (Pamuk, 1994; Toprak, 1995; Boratav, 1995).

The capitalism is stated one of the major features of the modernization according to Heller (1999).

Modernity is the third and last aspect of modernization as Heller (1999) claims included the philosophical aspect of the modernization process. Secularization the civil code in 1917 was the last stage of the secularization of the laws, individual rights provided by the constitution (Mardin,1995), positivist education (Ergün, 1996), rationalization of everyday life by providing technological innovations such as electricity, gaz, public transport, insurance, public health (Tunçay,1997) were the application of modernity to the life of the people.

In this respect primary education deserves a special attention. primary education was providing the dispersion of the modernization in three dimention: 1. nationalist information transfered to the future citizens, 2. rationalistic thinking structured in the minds of youth and 3. capitalist formulations thought for coming bourgeoisie and labourer. The primary schools' curriculum of İttihat ve Terakki includes nationalism in language, history, geography , rational thinking in maths, science and capitalistic clues in the daily rutine of the classes, handcraft and agriculture courses and rational thinking. In other words Witty (1995) and Althusser are right to say that education works for the power owner as an ideological apparatus but it is important to find out for what ideology, not only nationalism or as a meta ideology modernization but also for capitalism an rationalism.

D. 1920-1940 Period: Primary Education and Socio-Economical Politics

In this part of the study the period between 1920 and 1940 was taken. The reason for this is to examine the the structural organization of the newly established Republic. Especially, two leaders Atatürk and İnönü with left their strong imprints strong to modernization movements in post war period.

The Ottoman Empire was defeated and its territories were shared by Britain, France and their allies at the end of the Ist World War (Shaw and Shaw, 1995, p.327). The period following this defeat, free from the occupied Capital, bureaucrats and soldiers organized the War of Independence in Anatolia, and succeeded in establishing the freedom of the country and founded the Republic (Ahmad, 1995). The population of the Republic was more cohesive than before the war, with a strong majority of Muslims and Turks (Zurcher, 1995). Meanwhile the general population of the country mainly rural, decreased due to the war and immigration (Zurcher,1995). The biggest lost was in the number of urban citizens which decreased from 25% to 18% (Zurcher, 1995). The Republic also agreed to pay back the loans of the former Empire, an amount of 65 million British pounds in accordance with the Lausanne Treaty (Ahmad,1995).

The Republic radically differed from the evolutionist tendency of the previous period, although the modernist and capitalist ideology of İttihat ve Terakki was strictly carried on (Boratav,1995). The reflections of these radical modernist politics are clearly observed in the social and cultural life. Thus the Republic, in fact, was the accelerating power of the lately established modernization movement. Even though it

has a different appearance from Empire, the researcher observes a continuity between these two periods. For instance many revolutionary ideas of the Republic were thought and planned starting from the Second Meşrutiyet, such as the change in the alphabet (Akyüz, 1995), women's rights and family law (Zurcher,1995). The application of these ideas were realized by the Republic regime.

After this brief introduction, an economical overview of the 1920-1940 period will facilitate further analysis.

1. Economy

According to Tezel (1994) the economy inherited from the Empire had very limited resources in many respects. Tezel describes the economic legacy of the Empire overtaken by the Turkish Republic as the decrease in population, decay in economical production and activities, decline in agricultural production. The deterioration in all these areas were due to the wars mainly between 1911-1922 period (Trablusgarp, Balkan, World War I, Independence). The population especially male population decayed due to death in the wars, on the other hand the loss of the territories and its settlements followed by population exchange with Greece cause as a total of 17% decrease in total population between 1914-1927 (Tezel,1994). The decrease in the population of the non-muslim citizens resulted the lack of skilled labour and commercents since most of the muslim population were either working in agriculture or in bureaucracy (Kazgan,1999; Tezel,1994). Figures given by Tezel are showing that, in 1919 73% of the business and 85% of the labour were owned by Greek citizens. The small rural production of textile and flour was far from to supply the

market demands, for example only 65% of the flour produced in the country (Tezel,1994). For most of the remaining basic consumption goods new Republic need to import. Tezel also points out that the non-muslim citizens were concentrated in the cities. The production industry which was already very weak after the quit of the different ethnic groups got worse as well as commerce, though created an area of capital formation for the Turks who take over the business of non-muslims by paying very low prices or even without paying (Kazgan,1999). Agriculture was another area of problem since, the long lasting wars deprived agriculture from not only manpower but also number of domestic animals lessened significantly (Tezel,1994). An important inheritance from the Empire period was the railroads which had an important role for the Independence war as well (Shaw and Shaw, 1995). According to Kepenek and Yentürk (1997) the education and health services were very poorly provided, only 10% of the total population in the Sublim State was literate.

The banking ssystem was very powerful though it was in the hands of the western capital owners but a few Turkish banks were also operating such as Ziraat Bank, Manisa Bağcılar Bank (Kazgan,1999). Many scholars agree that there was a general economical decay during last period of the Empire. Nevertheless they point out that the economy in Anatoly was more integrated and cohesive and absolutely national during this this era (Kazgan,1999; Kepenek and Yentürk, 1997; Boratav,1995; Tezel,1994).

National Economy School's founded on the eve of World War I and influenced the policies of the Republic and industrialization by means of the State was carried on during during this time (Boratav, 1995). Eventhough the new government of Damat

Ferit tried to cancel all the companies privileges provided by İttihat ve Terakki and condemned Milli Fabrikacılar Cemiyeti (National Society of Factory Owners) the businessmen profited from the economic circumstances of the Independence Wars to increase their capital (Buğra,1995). Their close relationships to the Ankara Government provided them other privileges (Buğra,1995). It is important to repeat that the capital owners of the time were very few in number (Kazgan,1999).

State provided more opportunities for the investors after the Independence War (Boratav, 1995; Buğra,1995). Buğra points out that at the foundation of a few new industrial firms at the very first years of the Republic owe a lot to the muslim investors of İttihat ve Terakki period. On the other hand Ankara Government got a substantial support from the Anatolian large land owners and commercent to finance the Independence War(Tezel,1994). Therefore after the War the very first job of the victorious Ankara Government was to take care of the economy. Two important economical events of this early period of the Republic were the 1923-February İzmir Congress of Economics and the 1927 Law of Encouragement of Investments (Boratav,1995).

According to Kepenek and Yentürk (1997) in İzmir Congress of Economics new basic principles of the economy were taken. Kepenek and Yentürk formulate these principles under two headings, first finding out about the needs and demands of the agriculturars, merchants, industrialists and workers, second explaining the future of the economical structure to the foreign capital owners. They conclude that in fact the Republic State wanted to assure the local and foreign capital owners. The decisions taken at the İzmir Congress were mainly supporting the large land owners and

merchants pointed out Boratav (1995) whose claim is supported by Kepenek and Yentürk. In fact the most active group of the congress were the merchants who were mostly represented by İstanbul people (Tezel,1994). Similar to Kepenek and Yentürk Tezel (1994) also concluded that the aim of the Congress was to form a relationship between soldier-bureaucrat group and wealthy part of the society for the future. Especially Mustafa Kemal pointed out that for the poor country to develop more economic activities were required and the State was ready to help and assist them for their investments (Tezel,1994). It is agreed that the technical, financial and loyal basis as well as the costum taxes would be supplied regulated and by The State so that the capital owners will be able to function freely (Kepenek and Yentürk,1997; Tezel,1994). Tezel also points out that the State had the role in organizing agricultural cooperatives for the development in the area of farming. Another very important circumstance was the representation of the workers in the congress, according to Tezel (1994) the workers were represented with a limited number and under the control of the merchants of İstanbul. The demands of workers in the Congress such as 8 hours working day, insurance, work security were not accepted and with a law in 1930 strikes and unions were banned (Kepenek and Yentürk,1997; Tezel,1994). According to Boratav (1995) the industrialist and worker represented by the high rank bureaucrats and parliament members, the merchants and big farmers on the other hand were representing themselves. At this point it is necessary to remember that the industrialists during İttihat ve Terakki period were the state officers and party members (Buğra,1995). Therefore, it seems that the only group which is poorly represented were the workers. In fact as Kepenek and Yentürk pointed out the aim of the Congress was to establish a good and beneficial relationship between

soldier-bureaucrate group and merchants and big farmers who helped to finance the Independence War (Boratav,1995; Kepenek and Yentürk,1997).

The scholars have the common idea that after the political independence, Republic was looking for the economical independence and the leaders believe that this may be realized by industrialization (Kazgan,1999; Kepenek and Yentürk,1997;Boratav,1995, Zürcher, 1995, Tezel,1994). This idea was basing on the national economy policies of the İttihat ve Terakki to found a national bourgeoisie. The goal was to gain economical power against western economic powers. The policies for the industrialization of the Republic followed the same path. The foundation of Sanai ve Maadin Bankası (Bank of Industry and Mines) in 1925 and the Law of Encouragement of Industrialization in 1927 were important attempts to achieve the decisions taken during the İzmir Congress (Kepenek and Yentürk, 1997). The Law of Encouragement of Investments gave significant and generous privileges to the investors. Eventhough the low custom taxes could not protect the industry for a while, the merchants dealing with imports and exports benefited from the stable custom tariffs according to the Lausanne Treaty, and accumulated a significant amount of capital (Boratav,1995). During this early period the Republic supplied raw material to world markets and imported industrial consumption goods.

However, the expected investments from capital owners were not realized in the area of industrialization, even after the Law of Encouragement of Industrialization (Boratav, 1995). The reasons for that were the poor capital accumulation on the one hand and the reluctance of the merchants to invest for production the inability of the

State to protect the national industry through the high custom taxes were not possible at the beginning (Boratav,1995).

According to Boratav (1995, p.44) during this post war period, all classes increased their incomes, but the major increase was in the revenues of the agriculturers (Boratav, 1995). On the other hand even though many foreign companies were nationalized, remainers' activities were allowed in the condition that they comply State regulations (Boratav, 1995). The policies were in accordance with those of the former epoch.

Turkish Economy historians all agree that the Republic Government was the strong supporter of the National Economy system (Kazgan,1999; Kepenek and Yentürk,1997; Boratav,1995). On the other hand the Lausanne Treaty does not allow the Republic to change custom taxes for five years (Kepenek and Yentürk,1997, p.34) even it does not permit to change the external commerce regulations remained from pre war era for that period (Boratav,1995). The first years of the Republic had above mentioned economical limitations as well as the Ottoman loans that they had to pay back (Zürcher1995, Shaw abd Shaw,1995). The economical structure of the Republic State for the first ten years forced to be liberal because of the international duties though National Economy philosophy existed in the background (Kepenek and Yentürk,1997). The State was even not allowed to establish a central bank, but private banks such as İş Bankası had been inaugurated by a few entrepreneurs including Atatürk (Kazgan,1999). Towards the end of twenties the Ministry of Economy was founded (1928) followed by Milli İktisat ve Tasarruf Cemiyeti (National Society for Economy and Saving, 1929) to improve in the society the

habitue to use local products and improve the savings (Kepenek and Yentürk,1997). It seems that the State had a strong policy educate the public in the area of economy by using such societies.

During this first, liberal economy period of the Republic the increase in agricultural production and revivalization of the commerce with the return of the manpower to the work from army increased the economical development (Tezel, 1994). But it is important to note that the main consumption products were imported though only some raw material and agricultural products exported (Kazgan,1999).

During the first years of the Republic the economical understanding of the soldier-bureaucrat coalition was capitalism according to Kagan (1999), Kepenek and Yentürk (1997) and Tezel (1994). The participants of the İzmir Congress, the decisions taken there, the foundation of private and state banks for the support of the industry and private initiations, the law of Encouragement of Industrialization all support this idea. On the other hand it was a reality that the low capital accumulation and reluctance to invest for production were the causes of the State investments. Strong existance of the State in the economy, as it was the case with İttihat ve Terakki economic policies (Buğra,1995) was the result of the weak bourgeoisie.

The second decade of the Republic period is named as the Statist and protectionist period of idustrialization by Boratav (1995,p.51). The early phase of the decade industrialization by protectionist polities were favoured. Nevertheless, it was discovered that this project can not be realized due to poor accumulation of capital of the initiators and their hesitations for investment (Boratav,1995).Therefore,

industrialization through State investments was put into action. Meanwhile, according to Boratav(1995), the depression years in the world economy provided adequate circumstances for statist economic policies, on the other hand agricultural export was negatively influenced by the problems of the global economy. The development in industry was mainly in the area of food and textiles followed by light industry. The economical depression started in 1929 and caused many countries to give up global liberal economy and protect their internal markets by protectionist policies (Kazgan,1999). The end of twenties was also the end of the Republic's economical limitations from Lausanne Treaty, this provided the Republic Governments to give up liberal economical policies and establish a statist economy (Kepenek and Yentürk,1997). This statist economy was a *sin qua non* since in the previous period it was observed that the private investments to the industry was very poor (Kazgan,1999). The statization of rail roads and many other industries run by foreigners were the basis of the State's industry (Tezel,1994). Two important policies of the period *Planlı Sanaileşme Programı* (Planned Industrialization Program) and the *İthal İkameci Sanaileşme* (Import Compansatory Industrialization) (Kazgan,1999; Tezel,1994). According to Kazgan (1999) after Soviet Unions the first country which used five years development plans was Turkey. The first five year plan for development of industry includes the investments in the areas of textile, metal production, paper, chemistery and glass and cement (Kepenek and Yentürk,1997). In fact the plan included the local production of most needed and imported goods, in other words instead of import the local production was initiated. Since the end of the economical limitation of the Lausanne Treaty government started to use the policy of rising the custom taxes to protect internal production and market this policy helped the newly established industries to survive (Kazgan,1999; Kepenek and

Yentürk,1997). In the area of transportation, the main work of the government was building new railroads (Tezel,1994). According to Yentürk and Kepenek (1997,p.31) the foundation of Merkez Bankası (The Central Bank) and the Steel Industry were the very important steps towards an integrated and developed economy. Encouragement of the consumption of local industry productions through Yerli Malı Haftası (Local Productions Week) was an important initiative for the development of the national economy from the social part of the State policies. Kepenek and Yentürk (1997) point out that during these years the private entrepreneurs who were worked with the State accumulated some important amounts of capital. Towards the end of this period some merchants also started investing in industry wrights Boratav (1995).

The Republic using statist economic policy tried to spread out industry to different parts of the country, and invested to the areas where there was not a fast income return (Kazgan,1999). This allowed State not to wait for the private entrepreneurs to invest to low profit or long term profit areas of the industry (Kepenek and Yentürk,1997). On the other hand Tezel (1994) points out that during the pre World War II period the urbanization was not significant and only one third of the population was literate. Tezel (1994) claims that although the efforts for industrialization were significant the country was far from to be called an industrialized one. The weak industry and a small labour group facilitated the State's formulation of classless solidaritist society (Tezel,1994). It is significant to note that the small farming was very common then the large one (Tezel,1994) though in İzmir Congress mostly the large farmers were represented.

On the other side Tezel suggests that(1994) especially private entrepreneurs were mostly and mainly involved in the area of commerce. The merchants had good accumulation of capital especially before the World War II by exporting the agricultural products, and even during the war years they went on selling them in local blackmarkets and export to the international markets -though it was very limited-(Tezel,1994). The old taxing system of agriculture was abolished which helped the small farmers to survive but the merchants got the biggest share from their activities in the area of agricultural trade, leaving a small portion to the producers. During World War II old taxation system put into action by the State Republic (Kepenek and Yentürk,1997). Two years of drought and old taxation system ruined the economical life of peasants of the Republic (Kepenek and Yentürk,1997). On the side of the workers as it was mentioned before very limited rights do not let them to claim their demands (Boratav,1995).

As a result the Serbest Fırka (Free Party) -the second party in the parliament-initiation got many supporters who were unhappy from the economical policies of Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People's Party) (Kepenek and Yentürk,1997). The problem of the masses with the government was the indirect taxation of the basic consumption goods (Kepenek and Yentürk,1997). Kepenek and Yentürk (1997) claim that these taxes were used to finance the industrial investments of the State. Yentürk and Kepenek (1997) also argued that the merchants who worked for State accumulated a sustainable amount of capital which was invested to their industrial enterprises. On the other hand the limitations over the labour was providing an important facility of production to the investors with financial assistance of the banks, the first decades of the Republic was providing a fruitful opportunities to the

entrepreneurs and investors. According to Kazgan(1999) the State investments not only provided capital accumulation, but also trained the skilled and experienced workers, managers for the imminent private industry.

The main trouble of those years was the start of World War II. This war negatively affected newly expanding industry of Turkey although it was not involved in the war (Boratav1995). Keeping an army ready to fight, and two consecutive years of drought harmed the economy of the young Republic. The war circumstances mainly decreased the rate of the capital accumulation if not stopped (Boratav,1995). During the war years increase in taxation and setting new tax forms such as Varlik Vergisi (Wealth Tax) put a distance between the citizens and the government, especially Wealth Tax provided a good way to wealth transference from non-muslim who were the principal victim, to muslim merchants Kazgan(1999).

In the post war years the world market expanded and stimulated improvement in the commerce and production of the Republic. This provided a sustainable income for the citizens (Tezel,1994). During this period the Republic formed an economical programme in accordance with the world trend, exporting minerals and agricultural goods and directing investments towards infrastructures and construction (Boratav,1995). Supplying raw material and agricultural goods to world markets increased the income of the country. Nevertheless, the end of this positive trend came very soon, liberal world economy politics were over and caused a lack of demand for the export commodities from the Republic (Boratav, 1995).

The scholars share the idea that the statist and closed economic system provided the development of the State industry on the one hand and built up a) a national capitalist industrialist group, b) a strong legal, financial, logistic (trained work force, roads, raw or semifinished materials) background for the development of this group (Kazgan,1999; Kepenek and Yentürk,1997; Boratav,1995; Tezel,1994). According to them this happened by wealth transfer from the citizens to the investors and entrepreneurs. Briefly the attempts to found a national capitalists project of İttihat ve Terakki was at the end realized.

2. Politics

Socio-political changes are concentrated around the revolutions during the Republic. The abolition of the Caliphate and Sultanate, establishment of secularism in all institutions of the Republic, unification of education (elimination of religious schools), law of clothing, change of calender and measurement scales transformed daily life of its citizens forever. This radical modernization in the cultural area created some opposition among the citizens (Zurcher, 1995). The oppositions used political ways such the Progressivist Republic Party (Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası) or caused uprising as in the case of the Şeyh Sait revolt (Zurcher, 1995).

The nationalist character of the period was observed the in areas of language and history . Words of Arabic and Persian origin were replaced with Turkish ones. In the history, Sun Language Theory was developed (Shaw and Shaw,1995). According to Zurcher (1995) these politics are in harmony with ultra-nationalism in the world. Besides this the timid Turkish nationalism during last period of the Ottoman Empire

found its personality in this epoch. After this short overview of socio-political issues, now the period may be discussed in more detail.

Demirel (1994) in his book "Birinci Mecliste Muhalefet" (The Opposition in The First Parliament) suggests that in the formation of the first Parliament in Anatoly, the local organizations of İttihat ve Terakki (Union and Progress) had an important role. The resistance in Anatoly first coordinated by the İttihat ve Terakki's local members though the Emperial government banned them (Demirel,1994). Mustafa Kemal's presence in the parliament on the other hand was so charismatic that İttihat veTerakki presence seems never felt in the parliament. On the other hand a group parliament members were strongly concerned with Mustafa Kemal's power provided by the Parliament (Demirel,1994). According to Demirel "İkinci Grup" (the Second Group), this was the way how they called themselves, was formed with people from different political backgrounds though formed a unique liberal thought system. They never wanted to provide the opportunity to the foreigners that the Parliament was divided about the national issues therefore prefered to call themselves Second Group rather than another name (Demirel,1994). Demirel (1994) suggests that the main opposition subject of the Second Group was formed around the dominance of a powerful leader. To support their thought system they prepared a programme where there were a strong stress on individual rights, freedom, equality of the citizens in front of the court, unification of education, Turkish as official education language and obligatory primary education (Demirel,1994). Demirel (1994) claims that Mustafa Kemal was very upset about the opposition of The Second Group and was at the edge to expell them from the Parliament. But İsmet İnönü persuaded him that when the opposition is silenced the public support of the Parliament would not be maintained in the eyes of

the Westerners, therefore the power of the Parliament would be weakened. This view was accepted by Mustafa Kemal and the Second Group survived for a while even in the second Parliament, but with a negligible influence (Demirel,1994). The importance of the Second Group was their function to bring the democratic tradition of the Ottoman Parliament which was moved to Anatolia after the invasion of İstanbul by the Allies, to new Ankara Parliament.

On the other hand The Parliament was discussing many innovations which were realised after the Independence War (Demirel,1994). In other words the Kemalist Revolutions had a strong parliamentary basis which was coming from the westernization policies of the many years since Tanzimat.

The elections was done to form the new parliament by the end of the war years, in 1923 (Alpkaya, 1998). Mustafa Kemal founded Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası (Republican People's Party) before the elections and declared the party's regulations which were mainly concerned with the modernization of the Country (Alpkaya, 1998). The Prty's regulations were also contain principles related to equality among the citizens without any privilege to any class, family or group, and a definition of Turk as anybody accepting the Turkish culture (Alpkaya, 1998). Declaration of Ankara as the new Capital city, the renovations in the Constitution, abolition of the Sultanate, declaration of the Republic, abolition of Caliphate were the important steps taken during the first years of the new Turkey (Alpkaya,1998). All these innovations were not easy to perform, there were may and long discussions and strong oppositions in and out of the Parliament Alpkaya (1998). Nevertheless, according to Alpkaya (1998) all these modernization attempts were realised due to the diciplined work of Republican

People's Party (RPP) which was dominant in the Parliament. The first and basic structural changes in the formation of the state also include conceptual reformation. The quit of the religious and monarchic institutions are the serious efforts on the way of democratization of the society as well as rationalization through freedom from conventional state apparatus, rationalization of the daily life were strong steps towards total modernization.

Cemil Koçak (1997) claims that the opposition in the second Parliament organized around Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası (Progressive Republican Party) and eventhough it was not the follower of the Second Group in the first parliament it was bearing the same tradition. The view of the party was not very different of the RPP but the main stress was on political and economical liberalism (Koçak,1997). As it was the case of Prince Sabahattin's initiatives as opposed to İttihat ve Terakki. Koçak (1997) also points out that the Progressive Republican Party was expressing the discontent in the society. The Progressive Republican Party closed due to its support to anti revolutionary groups though the claims were not prooved (Koçak,1997). Şeyh Said uprising in this period was one of the reasons to close the opposition party (Koçak,1997; Zurcher,1995). It seems the antipathy for uncontrolled opposition was still alive since the Independence War. İstiklal Mahkemeleri (Independance Tribunals) and Takrir-i Sukun Kanunu (Law of Establishment of Peace) were the important attempts to stabilize the new State system (Koçak, 1997). The authoritarian attitude also caused the weak start of an opposition tradition. It is important to point out that only a weak opposition party wanted (Koçak,1997). In this respect Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası (Free Republican Party) was an example to the commanded opposition. The party started its opposition duty by the permission of Atatürk, but

the public opposition and discontent gathered around the party and the party leaders worried about the circumstances and closed the party (Koçak,1997; Zurcher,1995). It may be concluded that Republic governments had a substantial opponents in the society and they were expressing themselves whenever there was an opportunity but the new Republic seems vulnerable to the oppositions.

The value of the reforms in the structure and concept of the State that they were not carried alone but supported with strong educational policies (Koçak,1997; Zurcher,1995; Shaw and Shaw,1995).The declaration of Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu 3 March 1924 (Law of Unification of Education) is important since the new State was strongly concerned with secularization of the society (Zürcher,1995). The law passed from the Parliament in the same day with the law of abolition of caliphate (Koçak,1997). This is a coincidence if not a detailed policy since the secularization in state institutions and secularization of mind through education were in fact complementary for the modernization of the society as Heller (1999) already pointed out. The acceptance of western calendar and hour system in 1926, digital system in 1928 and latin alphabet in the same year, law of use of family name in 1931, modern measurement system in 1931, law of election and recognizing to right of election to women in 1934 (Koçak,1997), were important not only in the sense of modernization but also to get closer to western civilization. The formation of new civil,commercial and punishment codes in western sense throughout 1926-1935 period were also worth to get attention since they form a continuum with the Ottoman reforms in law. The crucial point in all these reforms or revolutions having their roots in Tanzimat, were not only modernization but also westernization. The majority of the society was in muslim faith and Turkey was the first islamic society taking serious steps in the

formation of modern community (Shaw and Shaw,1995), therefore the unique example, western world was the main model for the new State. Specifically the stress on Turkish language, culture and history were cristalized in the formation of Turkish Language Society and Turkish History Society founded by Mustafa Kemal (Zurcher,1995). Murat Katoğlu (1997) suggests that the reform movement in language was taking its start from Tanzimat Period. Therefore eventhough there were many oppositions for the new alphabet the idea was not a new one and passed from the Parliament. But Katoğlu (1997) points out that the reform in language was not only formed from the new alphabet but the simplification of the language by preferring to use Turkish words instead of Ottoman ones. For this purpose the language of Anatolian people was examined and many new words replaced the Ottoman (Katoğlu 1997). The aim in the language reform had a strong rational, to improve the thought system and develop Turkish culture as a an genuine one in front of the western world. Therefore the language as a cultural product was deeply worked to form an distinct entity, a unique personality of Turkish society as a nation. At this point it is worthy to remember Anderson's (1995) stress on language in the formation of a national identity. The language reform had two important functions, one was to strengthen the bound among the individuals of the society and the other one was help to develop a system of thought by using the original resources of the society to stand as a member of the modern world. The researches in the area of history had the similar purposes to give a sens of continuity to society for the future development. According to Katoğlu (1997) the history understanding of the new regime had major differences from the Emperial one which was involved with islamic and monarchic understanding. The secular characteristic of the Republic principally concerned with the history of the Turks (Katoğlu,1997). Many congresses were organized for the

development of the scientific history studies and many theories were proposed though some were unvalid (Katoğlu,1997). Nevertheless the shift in the understanding of history was a major attempt for the formation of the turkish nation. Briefly Turkish nation was built up on two important foundations:reforms in language and history. Katoğlu (1997) strongly suggests that the ultimate goal of the Republic State was modernization and westernization therefore the leaders aimed to create a new society for the new state and for this end education formed a main road. In fact education was not a movement of schoolization but also included all the reforms in the cultural areas such as plastic arts,music, and theatre (Shaw and Shaw,1995). Meaningful enough, the cultural, educational reforms were also mixed with political reforms and economical investments points out Katoğlu (1997) and suggests that this total process of development using natural and human resources shows a strong political strategy of the new regime.

In the formation of this political atmosphere there is an ideological background. The policies of nationalism in economical and social respects of İttihat ve Terakki Party had a break due to World War I, but its ideologys such as Ziya Gökalp had strongly influenced the ideology of the new regime. The cultural understanding of Ziya Gökalp (1978) for the new formation was the finding out about the national culture and synthesize this with European culture. One of his major concerns was the cultural development and he believed that modernization in culture is absolutely needed therefore he suggested a synthesis of Turkish and western cultures. Gökalp (1978) was also involved in economical solidarism which formed a basis for future Kadro mouvement. For him the society needs to be represented in the parliament according to the professional areas, and the solidarism among the professional groups will not

only help the state to be powerful but also will provide a social contract and peace which is not available neither in capitalist liberal nor communist countries (Gökalp, 1999). Gökalp's (1987) secular attitudes also conceptualises that citizenship is a more important bond than the religious one. Although he never denied the importance of Islam he puts it into second order in hierarchy. Mustafa Kemal (1981) in his famous work *Söylev* (Discourse) stressed, as Gökalp did, the will of the new regime to be a part of western world and culture by contributing to european civilization.

On the other side of the issue becoming a part of the western world was not an easy process though there were many innovations in law and social life. The economy also needed to be compatible with the western world. The integration to world also required the integration of national labour which was provided by the nationalist policies according to Keyder (1993). Keyder (1993) points out that in the Imperial period the labour was dispersed in the villages though the labour for industrialization needed to come to the national market. In this sense the nationalist policies provided a sense of integration and a common ideal for the unification of the national labour market. The world circumstances, and economical depression in the world provided a good opportunity for this end.

The statist economical policies of the Republic had its roots in the nationalist economy policies during *İttihat ve Terakki* Period. The initiatives to establish a national capitalist economy Republic governments had taken many decisions but the capital accumulation among the citizens were either poor or preferred to commerce rather than the industry (Kazgan, 1999). The State started the serious investments in the areas of imported goods first and statized strategic foreign investments such as rail

roads (Kazgan,1999). Keyder (1990) suggests that this state supported capitalist economy was a status quo seeker and do not want any change in the society which was not previewed by the army and civil bureaucrats. He claims that the workers and peasants labour provided a important surplus invested in industrialization which provide in turn cheap basic goods for private investments.

According to Keyder (1990) the Republican governments had a distance to the masses and a core high bureaucracy manipulated the general policy . Nevertheless Koçak (1996) pointed out that early İnönü governments had a good will to get closer to the masses which was not realized. Koçak (1996) and Tezel (1994) supports Keyder's argument about state citizen-distance. Tezel suggests that the Parliament during 1920-1950 period formed by 47% of former bureucrats (only 4% of the society), 25% of lawyers and doctors (1% of the society), 10% merchants and 7% big land owners (still over represented) and concluded that the larger society was weakly represented in the parliament. Koçak (1996) also pointed out that the stable substantial number of ex civil and military bureaucrat presence in the parliament. Another claim of Tezel (1994) indicates that the council of ministers were mainly formed by former high rank soldiers and bureaucrats (61%).Tezel (1994) suggests that the local power owners big land owners or merchants instead of forming their own cultural and economical strata or class got closer to the local party leaders and became a part of the party instead of an authonomous entity. This may be explained that the weak capital owners wanted to profit more from surplus value transfer of the State and got closer to the lines of the bureaucracy rather than creating their class. This phenomenon in fact strengthened the power of the high bureaucracy over the capitalists as well as the masses.

In this respect, Gökalp' idea of representation of the professions in the parliament had the value to provide a peace in the society but the labour was not represented in the early decades of the republic. According to Koçak (1996) the Gökalpian approach to solidarism of the professions, which has the roots in İttihat ve Terakki policies, was creating a barrier to class conflicts at least in ideological level. In other words the class conflict was neutralized by solidarist statist socioeconomical policy, specifically the CHP party program of 1943 is a substantial evidence for this. Besides the masses were oppressed either by force (martial laws) or censor as pointed out by Koçak (1996) or by ideological apparatus such as education which is the research subject of this study. The state-citizen distance was due to the people was not able to participate decision making in policies about themselves. This policy on the other hand was served state and bourgeois classes to have a closer relations.

Keyder(1995) after making a Poulantzian analysis of the state bureaucracy pointed out that in Turkey the state was under the control of the bureaucracy since there was neither a large group of capital owner nor a labour class which would challenge due to the postwar conditions. It is also important to repeat Kazgan (1999) that the bourgeoisie was bounded to the state since they need their support to continue their weak existance. The State class gathered the surplus value and formed its basic income. As Yentürk and Kepenek (1997) pointed out this class also provides resources to the capital owners to expend their investments (Keyder, 1995). Keyder suggests that the antiliberal attitudes from bureaucracy-bourgeois league was in fact served to protect the well working system of income transfer from working class to capital owners, where a strong state interference was needed.

According to Althusser (1994) this manipulation was done, either by force or through ideological apparatus of the state or by using both. Keyder (1995) shows that the antiliberal attitude, banding mason lodges, Turkish Women Society, censors towards intellectual life were the use of force to keep the status quo. Solidarist statism on the other hand formed the ideological means of the state to manipulate masses in economy (Koçak, 1997).

The statism which provided significant power to state class to command Turkish economy and polity had two different points of view though they do not differ in the first sight. Koçak (1996) in his book *Türkiye’de Milli Şef Dönemi* (National Chief Period in Turkey), suggests that Atatürk had serious doubts about statist economy even though he supported precariously. Therefore Atatürk preferred Celal Bayar for the economical policies who was more inclined to private capitalist economy rather than the statist one (Koçak, 1996). On the other side Koçak (1996) claims that İnönü was for statism not only in economy but also for politics. During the statist period a movement which was gathered around “Kadro” review and named after it. Kadro movement was trying to formulate a statist economy which was expected to be an alternative to capitalism and communism (Gülalp, 1995). The two principles of Kadro movement were, 1. The development may be only possible by avoiding capitalist world system, 2. In an underdeveloped country the development is only possible with state power since there are not strong classes to take care (Gülalp, 1995). One of the leading names of Kadro, Şevket Süreyya Aydemir (1990) states the importance of state intervention to economy for the production, distribution and the pricing is to protect the national economy and development, in his book *İnkılap ve Kadro* (Revolution and Cadre). According to Aydemir (1990) the

unplanned liberal economy is the responsible for the world economical depression, therefore to be politically and economically free Turkey needs to develop a planned economy to allocate its resources for the development and being a part of western world. A classless and free society with the planning and organizing power of the state seems the best model for peaceful development.

Besides, Güllalp (1995) and Türkeş (1999) claims that Kadro writers believed that to found a nation, statist economy is necessary. Aydemir (1990) suggests that a nation was formed not only with a cultural, linguistic and historic common background but also with common economical benefits. Therefore the state has the role of organizer and planner of the common economical benefits for whole society, besides the role of being representer of the public (Aydemir,1990). For the capitalist class Kadro movement believe that they need to be kept away from state economical policies, since they are expected to be after their own benefits (Türkeş,1999). According to Aydemir (1990) state needs to be present in all economical areas starting from the big investments to advertizements, fairs etc. It seems that Kadro movement was formulating a strong state which had a distance to market economy (Türkeş,1999).

These policies of statism and solidarism in economy had serious reflections in the citizenship policies of the state. Thus, it is important to state that the aim of the Republic is set by Atatürk as to form a modern and civilized society (Güvenç,1998; Bilgin,1998). Therefore all policies, either economical or social were formulated around these concepts. Indeed conceptualization of the nation was formed around creating a cohesive society according to (Timur,1998) and for this end Güvenç (1998) suggests that the linguistic and educational reforms had taken first places among the

others. It is important also state that creating a common economical background as suggested by Aydemir (1990) was a complementary attempt for the nationalism.

Keyman and İçduygu (1998) suggest that building a nation state with secular policies formed the modernist ideology of the Republican Governments. They specifically pointed out that the comparison between new and old Regimes served for the promotion of modern society where the citizens have the rights over administration through democracy (Keyman and İçduygu, 1998). Strong stress on secularism and rationalism which were observed in educational and cultural reformes were forming a whole with economical and political decisions in the modernism project of the Republic State (Keyman and İçduydu,1998).

3. Education

Adil Çağlar (1999) explains the value of primary education not only as instruction of reading , writing and calculating but also a basis for the educational process of further years and teaching citizenship to the masses. Therefore new State which was established in Anatolia paid special attention to education. The most important educational event during

Independence War years was the Congress of Education in Ankara, in 15 July 1921 (Akyüz,1989). In this Congress Atatürk (1970) strongly pointed out that the education needs to be national and progressivist to compete with the western world. In fact Mustafa Kemal's vision became the educational policy of the Republic state

later. Toposes (1999) stressed that the education in the Republic area had a duty of modernization which was expected to be national.

The first application of the Republic in the area of education was the law of Unification of Education in 1924 (Akyüz, 1989). With this law all educational institutions were gathered under the control of Ministry of Education, according to Akyüz (1989) this was one of the first steps of secularization process. Additionally replacing of Arabic letters with the Latin alphabet facilitated reading and writing (Katoğlu,1997). Foundation of Nation Schools helped adults to gain the literacy skills and they also served in the understanding and acceptance of the revolutions by the citizens (Katoğlu,1997). The nationalist tendency in education may be noticed in the circulars published by the Ministry of Education in the years 1927, 1929, 1931 (Akyüz,1989). For example 1927 circular from the Ministry of Education ruled that the national issues need to be taught to the students (Akyüz,1989). Especially in the 1931 circular, the aim of all courses was stated as to educate student with nationalist and republican thoughts (Akyüz,1989). Nationalist trends in politics mentioned by Zurcher (1995) and in economics by Boratav (1995) are also obviously present in the area of education in relation to them (Güvenç,1998).

During the Second Meşrutiyet period, even though innovations in education had started, due to economical problems they were not always successful. At the very beginning of the Republic epoch, in mid-twenties there were 4894 modern primary schools 341941 students and 10283 teachers, by the 1940's the number had increased to 10596 primary schools, 955747 student and 20564 teachers (Akyüz, 1989). This important increase in numbers of school twice, student three times and teachers twice

shows the State's serious investments to the education even in the economically weak periods. It is also important to point out that the student number grew more than school and teacher numbers, in a sense State was eager to educate more citizens in a limited time. In the constitution of 1924 primary education was regulated to be obligatory and free of charge as was the case in the 1913 regulations (Akyüz,1989). Free and obligatory education was another crucial attempt for the education of the nation.

In the Primary School Regulations, published in 1929 the goals of primary education was stated as: 1.the main goal is to educate patriotic students, 2. Turkism and Turkish citizenship will be promoted, 3. patriotic feelings will be promoted, 4. Value of Turkish Revolutions will be taught, 5. Students need to love and be respectful to Flag therefore twice a week flag ceremony will be held (Binbaşıoğlu, 2000; Kafadar,1997). In accordance with these regulations in 1932 Minister of Education wrote an oath to be cited by students altogether at the ceremonies (Akyüz,1989).

In contrast to the 1913 education law which organized primary education as 6 years, the Republic established 5 years primary education with the following courses: Studies of life, maths, turkish, music, art and handcraft, PE, natural science, social science and moral thought (Akyüz,1989). Early in 1930 religion was moved from the curriculum as a part of secularization project (Kafadar,1997). On the other side of the issue Ziya Gökalp suggests a national education, according to this education the culture of the Turks will be the leading principle system for the education (Kafadar, 1997). In other words Ziya Gökalp is after to create a system of thought where a nationalism would grow and he finds his ground in national culture. Mustafa Kemal,

similar to Gökbalp tries to formulate an educational system around Turkish culture, therefore he suggests cultural studies to find out about it (Atatürk, 1970). Kaplan (1999) pointed out that Mustafa Kemal was claiming that Turkish thought system needs to be cleaned from foreign influences so that the original and common one may flourish. In fact common culture is the basis for nationalism according to Anderson (1995). It is important to note that Ziya Gökbalp was a very influential intellectual figure of the late Imperial and early Republican period. His understanding of nationalism had its roots in economy, politics and education (Gökbalp, 1978). In this understanding a worry of finding out more about Turkish culture (more than islam and western influence) to teach to the citizens that they belong to this special group had a crucial place (Kafadar,1997; Gökbalp,1978). In other words to create a nation culture characteristics of the group which separates them from the others needed to be identified (Gökbalp,1978). Hence western and islamic understandings had the secondary or no places in this Gökbalpian formulation according to Kafadar (1997). In the application Kemalist bureaucracy was on the same road with Gökbalp by clearing religious education from the curriculum but differing from him in the humanitarian and democratic approach (Kaplan,1999). Kemalist view of education was strongly stressing republican and national education to create a republican nation therefore intolerant (Kaplan,1999). In this respect Gökbalpian stress on education to create a common culture and to transfer it to the coming generations seems to seriously valued by Kemalist bureaucracy.

Kaplan (1999) makes an important comment on the nationalism understanding of Republic Governments. According to Kaplan nationalism other than Turkish nationalism was considered an inappropriate attitude. Therefore Turkish language had

an important emphasis in the policies of education (Kaplan,1999). Kaplan (1999) believes that the aim of Turkish education is to provide nationalist, islamist and capitalist citizens to the state. He also claims that the authoritarian education will also assure the homogeneity of the national thought and feeling of the society. Nevertheless Topsis (1999) strongly stressed that the modernization aspect of the education was the one of the main concerns of the Republic State. The outstanding goals of the Governments was to create a skilled cohesive nation (Kaplan,1999) on the one hand and on the other hand modernize the society with an understanding of enlightenment (Topses,1999) .

During the republican era radical westernization policies were applied. Continuum in economy-politic with previous era ran smoothly though in the cultural sphere radical transformation continued (Zürcher,1995). Due to radical changes, the conservative parts of society were suspicious about education as a means of innovation in their lives. For instance, Ahmad (1995) points out that large land owners were against primary education, fearing that the peasants would wake up and refuse their authority. Under those circumstances the State had a difficult problem to solve. On the one hand as defined by Eroğul (1990), supporting large landlords and expecting their investments on the other hand educating peasants without threatening the power of the land lords, was a conflicting position for the State. Nonetheless in contrast to Tanzimat where higher education was promoted, the Republic had strong political views on primary education aiming to reach the masses to enlighten them (Cırtlı,1999); very typical of the goals of the French Revolution (Julia, 1988). It also aimed to implement revolutionist ideas in the public.

On the one hand the enlightenment project established secularization and freedom of mind, on the other hand the ideology of the new era was setting limits to liberalization of the mind (Topses,1999). Kemalist ideology which was for modernization and western denied all class conflicts and tried to unify the nation around the State and takes part on the side of capitalism (Boratav, 1995). This position is also reflected in the field of education to neutralize the social conflicts in the society (Kaplan,1999). The rural masses are educated for industry, for the development of the country with a nationalist understanding (Kaplan,1999), very similar to those educational politics of the end of 19th century Britain and France.

Kaplan (1999) claims that the modernization, secularization of education, defeats religious dogmas but Kemalist modernization limits the mind again by setting boundaries to it in the name of modernization. Eventhough Köker (1995) defines modernization as an ideology of liberal thoughts, and right to be different, the Republic by developing an education which is conservative rationalist and nationalist had taken position on the side of westernization in social life and capitalism in the economy. On the other hand weak representation of the lay people in the parliament as pointed out by Tezel (1994) and serious ideological works through education as stated by Kaplan (1999) show that the Republican State was quick to expect transformation. In this sense the 1936 Educational Regulations are important for the ideological intervention of the CHP-State twinship to the education of the citizens.

Çağlar (1999) claimed that in the early years of the Republic Educational Programs of the Ministry of Education aimed to educate the youngsters who will be able to accomodate themselves to the environment and have patriotic (vatansever) feelings

with the principle of healthy body and healthy mind (1926-1929). In 1926 program students were expected to have Hayat Bilgisi (Study of Life) which contained natural sciences, civics and social studies was an original course (Çağlar,1999). According to Binbaşoğlu (1999) fighting against ignorance had an important place in 1936 program. On the other side in 1936 the aims of national education changed from patriotism to nationalism and from the State policies to CHP policies (Kaplan,1999). According to Kaplan(1999) and Çağlar (1999) the 1936 programme was similar to 1931 programme which reflects the ideology of CHP's six principles. Kaplan (1999) claims that the programme aims to educate respectful citizens to Turkish Republic with worrior and obedient chatacteristics.

In is important to overview the 1936 Educational Program here to gain more insight about it. The programme states that the function of primary school as an institution is not only to instruct but also to bear the responsibility of the public education. In this respect Programme strived for a model republic citizen who is able to deal with modern life with his or her knowledge and character. The Programme published in 1936 (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür Bakanlığı, 1936) was listing eight goals and 19 principles of primary education as follows.

Eight goals of the primary education are: 1.The basic stone of the educational policy is to get rid of sciencelessness and educate many children as citizens. 2. All educational levels are responsible to educate, strong republican, nationalist, populist, statist, secular and revolutionist citizens. In this sense all schools must care for republicanism, teachers must tell about the Turkish civilization services to world development, importance of secularism, refusal of class differences, value of state

intervention to economy, and how Atatürk changed Turkey from a backward country to a developed and prosperous one. 3. Education needs to develop body as well as soul. 4. The educational policy of Republican People's Party is to provide an education which will help to the citizens to generate skills to be successful in the economical life. Students needs to be educated so that they like working hard. 5. The education must be nationalist and patriotic. 6. Ethics of life and dicipline are important characteristics that the students need to gain for the development of the nation. 7. The Party gives serious importance to the education of Turkish history. History teaching must involve comparions of past and now to recognize the value of the present days. In this way students should gain adorence to turkish revolutions and kept away from foreign influences. 8.To work to make Turkish language national and make its use widespread is one of the basic goals of the education(Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür Bakanlığı, 1936).

Educational and Instructional Principles of Primary Education were stated in 1936 Program as: 1. Primary school is a national institution and pupils sould have a nationalist education with all information about national issues. Specifically teacher should tell the students about Atatürk and his important contributions to Turkish nation. The teacher will also teach students to be devoted and self-sacrifying citizens 2. School is a model of society therefore students should learn all skills and information how to live in a community. Students need to know the value of solidarism. 3. School is a community where the student will learn to enjoy to work and work hard for the benefit of the society. Therefore students should learn to take responsibility, and do the duty with devotion and perfectionism. 4. School should help the student to use a rational thinking system where they will be able to collect

information, compare the evidences and conclude accordingly. 5. The motivation of the students should be secured by using their interests. 6. To get the interest of the students inclinations of them to the subject issue should be used. Besides it is needed to teach students to develop altruistic attitudes towards others. 7. In the class activities must be varied to keep the students interest alive. 8. All the courses in primary education must be appropriate to the level of the students. In other words any task beyond the students' ability to understand and perform will not be applied. 9. For a qualified teaching students will be given the opportunity to learn by using different senses therefore visits, visual materials and other will be utilized. 10. The primary school should care for the individual characteristics of the students and it should not be expected from them to be the little models of the adults but recognized as separate beings. 11. Since the experiences of the students are limited the information to be passed need to be in accordance with their skills, therefore here and now principle should be dominant in instruction. 12. Practical knowledge and skills useful for life should be thought rather than unnecessary theories. 13. All activities in the primary school concept of national economy will take principle place. In this sense all courses will contain a national economy parts, all the school material will be produced in the country, in the school activities energy, material and time will be used economically. Students will be expected to utilize their school materials properly so that the textbooks may be used by the younger ones. 14. In the first three levels of the primary education compact instruction principle will be used. In this respect all courses of these levels such as natural science, civics, history, geography will be given under the name of Hayat Bilgisi (Study of Life) course. 15. Primary school students will be given to opportunity to express their thoughts and feelings by using different ways such as writing, drawing, dancing, singing or through leadership. 16. The ethical principles of

life will be suggested to the students by using discussing life situations rather than giving simple ethical instructions. 17. The primary school students will be guided to appreciate beauty and and help to gain the ability to differentiate beautiful from plain. Their feelings in front of a beautiful view or art piece should be respected. 18. School should give the student the skills to use productively the free time. School should also provide the opportunity to experience fine tastes and appreciate them. 19. School will give the students the skills to learn better with best ways. In other words school will generate and develop the study skills for the students (Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Kültür Bakanlığı,1936).

The programme contains two important aspects one ideological the other humanist. In fact the first part of the programme The Goals of Primary School is mainly concerned with political and ideological side of the education. The second part The Educational and Instructional Principles of Primary School is dealing with the humanitarian quality of the education. In the ideological aspect nationalism, and six principles of CHP and Atatürk as a leader are highly stressed. Exaggerated profile of Atatürk in the program is important to examine since Atatürk was mentioned as an omnipotent leader rather than a human being. This aspect of the programme was creating a myth formed around Atatürk's personality in combination with six principles of the Party. Besides the comparison the present with the past for the benefit of the present seems to be loaded with ideological intentions to demonstrate the high value of it. Another ideological aspect of the programme was the emphasis on denial of class conflict under the concept of solidarism. On the other hand in the second part of the programme rational, emotional, artistic and ethic aspects combined with economical and practical daily life situations are expected to take place in the education. The

stress on individuality of the student and his or her developmental physical and intellectual capacity are humanitarian features of the program. It is also worth to mention that the value given to improve the abilities and skills of the students by suggesting to use different educational methods are showing the serious intentions to improve the quality of the education.

Eventhough Kafadar (1997) states that the educational program of 1935 had a heavy ideological and conservative attitude in terms of ideological approach, he fails to recognize the Principles of Education and Instruction. The process of education as explained in the programme is highly humanitarian and progressivist as pointed out by Topses (1999). In fact this is the conflictual attitude of the State policy towards education. The educational policy is oscilating between conservatism and modernism. The first part of the Programme reflects the conservative attitude of the Republic for the new reforms and revolutions though the second part is progressivist since it gives way for individuality, rationality, secular ethics, intellectual and personal differences.

One of the very original and important attempt of the Reublic State for the education of the rural population was Köy Enstitüleri (Village Institutes). According to Koçak (1996) in 1935 the 81% of the population of Turkey was living in the villages. The need for village schools was 9000 and the teacher need was 20.000 (Koçak,1996). The aim of the village institutes was to educate teachers for the villages who will be able to help farmers to deal better with rural problems in modern ways (Türkoğlu,2000). The aim of these schools was to activate the dinamism in the rural area claims Koçak (1996). By this way the speed of development in the agricultural regions was expected to accelerate (Türkoğlu, 2000). Besides, Kaplan (1999) points

out that the target of the State was to increase the number of the literate people in the countryside. He also stressed that of the village institutes' regulations are highly concerned with nationalism. The aim of the village institutes is stated as to educate villagers as nationalist and progressivist citizens (Kaplan, 1999). Kaplan (1999) claimed that the content of the educational material had strong nationalist feelings. On the other hand according to Koçak (1996) village institutes was an economical burden on the shoulders of the peasants. The urban school's expenses was compensated by the State though the village institutes' by the villagers themselves. But it is also very important to state that humanist education with the stress on improvement of labour quality in the rural areas was an unusual project (Türkoğlu, 2000). It is impossible to deny that the village institutes was an impressive and successful project and threatened many rural landlords since it aimed to improve the power of the peasants over their destiny (Türkoğlu, 2000). Specifically the educational principle of regional development with regional resources and improvement of skills and health of the agricultureres (Türkoğlu, 2000) were in accordance with the statist and populist economical development policies, besides the project of creating a nation requires a strong nationalist movement . Therefore Kaplan (1999) claims that village intitutes were nationalist and statist institutions though for Kafadar (1997) they were socialist schools. In fact the village institutes were vocational schools for the rural areas and they were also involved with artistic and esthetic development of the students (Türkoğlu, 2000). According to Kafadar (1997) primary education and village institutes shared a common goal which was the promotion of nationalism.

4. Adult Education

The adult education has similar functions as primary education. Specifically adult education is concerned with basic literacy and citizenship. For a newly founding state the formation of a citizenship requires not only the education of children but also the adults. Therefore it is supportive to find out about adult education activities in order to understand the primary education policies for modernization. Okçabol (1999) strongly stressed the relation of adult education and industrialization. Specifically he stressed that the flexibility of time and place for the participants offered a good opportunity to learn new skills to offer for the work market. On the side of the employer education provided a flexible workforce for the industry. It is also equally important to stress Freire's (1970) view of adult education as a process of conscientization of the neglected masses.

According to Okçabol (1994) adult education refers to educational activities which include organizations, researches and institutions for the adults. Okçabol (1994) also gives an example of adult education activity as a nation formation process in United States of America. This example is specifically important since it brings a sample of modernization process. Similarly for Hopkins (1990) adult education has the function of building up a democratic and progressivist citizenship understanding. Both scholars stress the economical value of adult education as well as its political power (Okçabol, 1994; Hopkins, 1990). In this sense vocational training for adults has an important value for the development of the economy in a country and thought system in the modernist sense.

The adult education was always present in Ottoman Empire under different forms (Okçabol,1994). After II. Meşrutiyet adult education was more concerned with national issues as well as literacy, nationalism and democracy training (Shaw and Shaw,1995). Osmanlı Bilim Derneği (Society of Ottoman Knowledge-1860), Beşiktaş Bilim Derneği (Beşiktaş Science Society-1869), İttihat ve Terakki Party (1910) and Türk Ocakları (Turkish Hearth Organization-1911) were the important institutions which offered seminars and conferences for the adults (Okçabol,1994). The Republic was also strongly concerned with the adult education Starting from 1922 literacy courses for adults was the one of the main concerns of the Ministry of Education (Okçabol,1994). Halk Mektepleri (The People's Schools) and Gece Dersleri (Evening Courses) were the adult education activities. Ministry of National Education published an act to establish Halk Dersaneleri (People's Classes) and Halk Mektepleri for the literacy education of the adults after the Alphabet Reform in 1928(Shaw and Shaw,1995).

Another important attempt for adult education was Halkevleri (People's Houses) which were founded instead of Türk Ocakları (Koçak, 1996). According to Koçak (1996) CHP played an important role in their foundation and control as well as formation of their educational policies. Okçabol (1994) pointed out that Halkevleri provided a series of educational activities for public in arts, history, agriculture, literature etc. For Koçak (1996) the high quality of performances of Halkevleri was due to the support of intellectuals such as teachers, doctors, engineers and architects who formed 30% of the members of these institutions.

Katoğlu (1997) claims that one of the functions of Halkevleri was to transmit the republican world view to the masses by the help of intellectuals and local leaders. These cultural centers aimed to train modern citizens as Atatürk expected from them (Katoğlu,1997). Shaw and Shaw (1995, p. 383) suggests that Halkevleri had been given the duty of political instruction and indoctrination by CHP, specifically after Serbest Fırka experience which showed that the republican principles were not properly assimilated by public in general.

Briefly, adult education in Turkey had started with literacy activities which shows the strong will of the state for modernization and enlightenment. On the other hand the adult education was mainly dominated by CHP policies to transform the masses for modernization. Similar efforts to build a republican nation were also present in the primary education policies. Common background of primary and adult education in the early periods of the Republic form the basis for one of the research question of this study: “ what kind of citizen is tried to be created from the model of citizen promoted by the modernization process in Turkey”. The answer may also provide clues to understand adult education policies of the earlier periods of the Republic.

5. A General Evaluation

The economical, political and educational concerns of the Republic State have the common characteristics. Stabilization of State power by the civil and military bureaucracy over the citizens and getting mainly support from merchant and big landowners in the economy and political reforms was the important effort of the period. Nationalism and statist economy as a precapitalist attempts were successful to

transfer human and capital resources from public to private investments. To form a national capitalist class which was planned for the modernization and development of the country the masses needed to be controlled tightly and work with discipline. Therefore the education provided a strong means to create a model citizen. This model was nationalist, republican, secular, statist, populist, protector of the Turkish revolutions as well as literate and rational. The model in fact was a modern citizen in terms of modernist understanding (Heller, 1999). But the stress on rational thinking and intellectual freedom was limited (Koçak, 1996). Therefore the modernization as a process was shaping though modernism in intellectual sense had been ignored or replaced by dogmas not only in the Party programme but in the educational system as it may be observed in 1936 primary school education programme. The problem seems the inability to integrate three aspects of modernization: nationalism, capitalism and modernity. In fact the failure was on modernity aspect since it involves rationalism and dynamism of the mind and interference to daily life. Nonetheless Kemalist view limits this dynamism and try to control it by using ideology of the modernization with six principles. Primary Schools has a crucial role in this endeavour alike with village institutes or halkevleri to create engineered citizens. These efforts can be understood from a time perspective. In the last century of Ottoman Empire and first two decades of the Republic the basic goal of the Turkish intellectuals was to survive in front of rapidly developing western world. They recognized the value of capitalism and nationalism as well as positivism in this process and tried to implement it by creating a human force under the name of a nation for this end. But the failure was they ignored the value of intellectual pluralism which might be considered dangerous for the modernization plans. The educational programme reflects these concerns, therefore the researcher tries find out if the textbooks has the same concerns for modernity.

V. ANALYSIS OF PRIMARY SCHOOL CIVICS TEXTBOOKS

In this part of the study the frequency results of the major concepts will be given besides the interpretation of the statements in the Yurt Bilgisi textbooks. It is important to note that the quotations and unit headings of the books are written as in the original text. That is to say that there exist difference of spelling of between the Turkish of the texts and the Turkish of nowadays. The spelling in the original texts are respected in this study. The letters in the 1928 civics textbook is slightly bigger and space between the lines are larger than the 1937 and 1934. Therefore it has more pages than the two others. In this study the original Turkish of the name of the textbooks and the quotations are given in order to see the difference in spelling and use of old and new words.

The textbooks will be presented in the order of their publication dates. There are three Vatan Bilgisi (civics) textbook to be presented from 1928, 1934 and 1937. In the presentation of the textbooks first their writer's name, publication place and publisher, number of pages, the grade level are given. Names and notions, which were found most frequent and considered important by the researcher, in terms of their ideological significances are presented secondly. These are, republic, Atatürk, İnönü, civilization, nation, homeland, army and soldier, freedom, flag, state and government, Turkey, economy and commerce, enemy, family, village, education and school, city, local governments, and finally religion and mosque. These notions and names are clustered under different categories as they are proposed in data analysis . The

categories were looked for were social values with four sub-groups: individual, family, community and society; ideological values with two sub-groups Kemalism and the other ideologies; socio-economical values with three sub-groups capitalism, statist economy, socialism. Kemalism is defined in terms of six principles : republicanism, nationalism, populism, revolutionism, secularism, and statism. The pictures in the textbooks and their significance are presented as the following step in this part. Interpretations of frequencies, statements and pictures are the following steps. Comparison of the frequencies and statements within the textbooks and among the textbooks are the final stages of this part.

1. First textbook:

İlk Mekteplere Yurt Bilgisi (Civics for primary schools) written by Refik Ahmet in 1928 for fourth graders is a book of 129 pages. Published in İstanbul by İstanbul Suhulet Kütüphanesi in 1928 includes course programme of fourth grade at the beginning and at the end of the book there exist a lexicon. The units are:

Halk Kimdir (Who is public),

Cemiyet hayatı (Social life),

Tesanüt (Solidarism),

Evde hayat (Life at home),

Okulda hayat (Life at school),

Köyde hayat (Life in the village),

Köyde ziraat (Agriculture in village),

Köyde sıhhat ve medeniyet (Health and civilization in village),

Köyde eğlence (Amusement in village),

Kasaba ve şehirde hayat (Life in town and city),

Kasabada toprakla uğraşanlar (Agriculturers in towns),

Zanaatkarlar, tüccarlar (Artisans, merchants),

Memurlar ve serbest meslek sahipleri (civil servants and independent business owners), Belediye nedir (What is municipality),

Belediye ne iş yapar (What does municipality do),

Belediye parayı nereden bulur (Where does the municipality find money),

Belediyeye yardım ediniz (Help to the municipality),

Kasabada eğlence (Amusement in the town),

Medeniyet kaidelerinden (From the civilization rules),

Büyük şehirler (Big cities),

Köyde hukümet (Government in the village),

Kasabada hukümet (Government in the town),

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti (Republic of Turkey),

Büyük şehirlerde hukümet (Government in big cities),

Gazi Mustafa Kemal.

The headings of the chapters strongly suggest that the community life is very important and through education it is expected to be improved. Besides community life the organization of the State is also have an important place among other chapters. Solidarity as an important part of the ideology of the period take place in the book as a chapter.

In this textbook the important names and notions are mentioned, Republic: 12, Atatürk and Gazi Mustafa Kemal: 4, İsmet İnönü:0, Civilization:46, Nation:18, Homeland: 8, Army and soldier: 16, Flag:0, Freedom: 8, Working and hardworking: 56, Enemy: 2, Family: 14, Village and villager:206, School and Education:143,

Economy and commerce: 27, City and town: 74, Local governments: 167, State and Government: 109, Turkey and Turk: 27, Mosques and religion:8 times . The stress on community in chapter headings is also seen in the words. The most frequent words are mainly referring to community life and education. The reason for that is lying in the policy of creating a new community of that time. The solidarity had an utmost importance for the State to form a basis for homogenization of the society.

After giving basic information about the book in the previous paragraphs the sentences from the textbooks will be stated in order to provide evidences to support the hypotheses of this study.

The protagonist of the textbook is a girl "Gönül" from a memur (civil servant) family therefore their life seems better than the workers: "Evvela köşe başında her zaman alışveriş ettiği kendisinden çukolata, uçurtma kağıdı, ip, kalem ve defter aldığı mahalle bakkalı....." (p7-8) (she buyes chocolat and stationery, from the shop over the corner of the street), " Sokakta sınıf arkadaşı Ahmedin babası Mehmet ağayı gördü, gülerek selamladı, üstü başı o kadar düzgün olmayan ihtiyar Mehmer ağa biliyorsunuz ki seyri sefain fabrikasında ameledir." (p. 8) She grates Mehmet ağa a poor worker badly clothed in a factory .The only working woman in the city mentioned in the book is Ahmet's mother who clean the houses of others comes to wash the cloths to Gönül's house to help the family economy: "Ahmedin annesi, ara sıra Gönül'lere gelir, çamaşır yıkar, bazı komşuların ufak tefek işlerini görür, aldığı üçbeş kuruşu kocasının kazancına ekleyerek onun omuzundaki geçim yükünü hafifletmeye çalışır"(p.8). Gönül's parents has a better life conditions since she was able to by chocolate and her mother stays at home to take care of children. On the other hand Ahmet is coming

from a poorer family a worker family with a difficult life conditions. The evidence for that is her mother works as a cleaner, and his father is poorly clothed. This part suggests that the difference of income between a civil servant and a worker families is big.

The people has freedom and rights since they are the owner of the earth. They cultivate they get tired and they want to live as human: "Halk yeryüzünün sahibidir, çalışkandır, hürdür, kendi kendisini idare eder, çalışır, fayda görür, yorulur, insan gibi yaşamak ister. Bu onun hakkıdır"(p.10). In the society solidarism is needed to defend, protect, produce and have a good life. Different jobs are needed since everybody work for the other, all these different jobs are needed to live comfortably. For this end solidarism is required as defending each other.: "İnsanlar yaşamak, iyi yaşamak, rahat yaşamak için birbirlerine muhtaçtır, birçok insanlar başka başka işler yapar. Bu başka başka işlerin hepsi insanlara lazımdır.Bunun içindir ki, insanların birbirine isnat etmesi zaruridir. Bu zaruret insanlar için birbirlerini korumak, birbirlerini himaye ve müdafa etmek neticelerini doğurmuştur." (p.14). In the book solidarism is explained as a very important concept of attitude in a society. The idea of solidarism is important since it is one of the important aspect of the policy of the State.

The limited amount of basic foods is stressed: "... mesela cumaları sütümü inadıma yavaş yavaş yudum yudum, tadını çıkara çıkara içiyorum, bazan tereyağı reçel bulunmuyor, bir parça beyaz peyir, hatta bazan sadece kuru ekmek oluyor." On fridays I drink my milk slowly , sometimes the is no jam and butter oe even cheese than I eat only bread.(p.20). The villager is defined as hardworking, honest and pure person in the world: " Köylü çalışarak ekmeğini topraktan çıkaran yeryüzünün en

namuslu ve en temiz insanlarından biridir.” (p.32). The village women works with their husbands and help them in farm works: “Köylü erkeklerle beraber köylü kadınlar da tarlada çalışırlar, hayvanlara bakarlar, hayat, mesai ve kazanç yolunda kocalarına yardım ederler” (p.34). The village council works better if it is formed by educated members: “Köy teşkilatı iyi olursa köylünün işleri düzeler, yaşayışı kolaylaşır, yüzü rahat görür. Bizim köyün ihtiyar meclisi bu sene hep okuyup yazma bilenlerden, medeniyete akıl erdirenlerden intihab edildi. Onun için köyümüz az zamanda civar köylerin en şirini, en sıhhisini, en medenilerinden biri olacak.” (p.36). Modern agricultural methods and banking system helps villagers to have a better life without owing to the usurers: “Bizde de yeni (makine ile ziraat yapmak) usulü öğrenilmeye başlandı. Fakat yine birçok yerde eski, fena ve iptidai usul hakimdir. Bunun için evvela köylüye makinenin, yeni usulün faydasını öğretmek lazımdır, hükümet ve resmi teşkilat bu hususta köylüye yardım ediyor.” (p.38), “Bunlar köylüye lazım parayı veriyorlar, fakat buna mukabil hiç bir yerde görülmemiş şekilde yüksek faiz alıyorlar.Halbuki Ziraat Bankası olan bir yerde köyşü kendisine lazım olan parayı burada alır ve faizcilere, madrabazlara, muhtekirlere baş vurmaz. Ziraat Bankası köylüye lazım olan parayı köylüyü yıkmadan, hafif şartlarla verir.” (p.39). Cooperatives and solidarism are suggested to be the better ways of village management: “Köylünün muhtekirlere ve tehlikelere karşı koyabilmesi için elbirliği ile hareket etmesi birbirine dayanması, mütesanit olması lazımdır. Bu birleşmenin en güzel, en faydalı şekli köy kooperatifidir.” (p.40). Modernization in the village requires mechanization of agriculture, protection of health, and facilitation of life: “Köyde ziraatin makineyle yapılması medeniyete doğru gitmek demektir..... Limited resources and agricultural economy is mainly explained here. Education for the improvement of the village life is explained. This is important since the economy of the Republic depends mostly on

agriculture. The modernization of the agricultural also brings the transformation of the village community life. The new technologies changes the modes of productions in turn old habits and improved income provides the dynamics of the change.

Medeniyet herşeyin rahatlaşması, güzelleşmesi, kolaylaşmasıdır...” (p.45). Civilized people (village people) get education to improve the quality of their works. A civilized person has civilized entertainments such as watching films on agriculture in developed countries, reading books. By this way one may learn the world issues: “Medeni bir insan gibi eğlenmek isteyenler bu kıraathanede, bu sinemada medeni memleketlerde ziraatin yapıldığına, okumuş ilerlemiş olan başka milletlerin nasıl çalıştıklarına dair filimler görür, hem gözü açılır hem dünya işlerini anlar hem de eğlenir.” (p.50). Village type agriculture is suggested instead of farm type agricultural production. A peasant should have his own land. Working for others is not good for the peasant since they share the income with the others: “Kendileri kasabada işleri güçleri ile uğraşıyorlar, topraklarını da köylüye sürdürüyorlar. Toprak sahibi olmayan köylüler burada çalışıyorlar, kazançlarını toprak sahibiyle ortaklaşa paylaşıyorlar...Başka zengin çiftlik sahipleri var kasaba haricindeki çiftliklerinde köylüyü parayla çalıştırıyorlar. İnsanın kendi toprağında çalışması mı yoksa böyle başkasının toprağında mı çalışması daha iyidir? Kendi hesabına çalışması tabii daha iyidir.” (p.57). Modern technology and self employed agricultural activities are promoted. The stress on village type agriculture instead of big farms suggests the State’s preference on the issue. The old tradition of village type of agriculture by Byzantine and Ottoman states prevented the emergence of big landlords who are difficult to deal with. It seems this tradition was also preferred by the Republic State.

Municipal elections are mentioned as a local administration system where the local people elect a board and mayor for the administration of the town.: “ Belediye ehalinin kendi arasından ayırıp kendi işlerine bakmak hakkını verdiği bir heyetin kasabayı idare etmesidir.” (p.70). Regulation of prices as an economical activity, health and cleaning of the town is done by municipality. The prices may be limited and controlled by the local government. It also provides health services for the poor people: “Nark koymak falanca şu kadar kuruşa satılacak demektir. Belediye böyle bir karar verirse bu suretle nark konulan şeylerin daha fazlaya satılması yasaktır.” (p.74). “Belediye fakir halkı meccanen muayne ve tedavi ettirmek, fakir hamile kadınlara baktırmak için doktorlar, ebeler tutar.....” (p.75). Municipality get money from the taxes thefore citizens should pay their taxes on time: “Belediyenin işlerini görebilmesi, yapabilmesi için evvela paraya ihtiyacı vardır. Öyleyse halkın evvela belediyeye vergilerini muntazam vermesi lazımdır.” (p.80). During free time having more education as well as amusement is important for civilization: “ Muallimler, okumuş kimseler başka yerlerde olup biten işler hakkında konferans verirler, ötekiler dinler, öğrenir istifade ederler.”(p.86-87). In Empire period the villagers were badly threatened but Republic regime respects its peasants: “Eski jandarmalar o zamanki fena idarenin fena alışkanlığı neticesi olarak ahaliye iyilik edeceklerine fenalık ederler, işlerini görmek için ahaliden rüşvet alırlar, haklıyı haksızı ayırt etmeden önüne gelene dayak atarlar, zulüm ederlerdi.....Cumhuriyet idaresi zamanında köylünün haksız yere fenalık görmesine müsaade edilmez.” (p.96). Atatürk is the person who saved us from the enemy: “Mustafa Kemal Paşa böyle bir zamanda memleketi seven adamların başına geçti, Anadoluda yeni bir ordu, yeni bir devlet yaptı, muharebe etti, Ecnebileri yurdumuzdan çıkardı.” (p.114-115). Local and central governments and the importance of State and Atatürk is explained. Information of administration of local

government is a basis for creation of citizenship and democracy where the local people have the responsibility and power over their own destiny. The State's stress on this issue therefore is important since it is strongly concerned for the creation of citizen for the modernization project.

In the textbook there are 29 pictures: one picture of Atatürk takes place in the last chapter of the book, six pictures of students and teachers spread around the book, two pictures of women who were doing social works, one picture of bees and flowers in the chapter of solidarism, six pictures of village sights, one picture of artisan and one picture of factory, one picture of a court judges, one picture of the parliament with parliamentaries, one picture of a group of soldier (jandarma) in the chapter of government in the village. The pictures are mainly concentrated on villages as a sign of the importance given to them.

The social values in this chapter are strongly for solidarism a chapter on this issue, pictures of social work, bees as a symbol of co-working and solidarism, working hard for community, municipality, cooperation in the village were the evidences for the high importance of social and communal values. The frequencies of the words related to local governments (167 times) are supporting the importance of these. On the other hand individual values are mainly being polite and responsible towards society, for example "helping the municipality" chapter and pictures of women who works for social help. The social values outnumber the individual values means that the education is highly concerned with a cohesive society than individualist one. This also means that the differences among the members of the society are neglected. An example for this is the different jobs is discussed in the class (p.12-13) but the needs for each

to the others are stressed and solidarism is pointed out as a common background for everybody.

Family was an other important social area where woman is considered to help man in village or in the poor families in the city (p.8 and p.34). Woman as a professional is not mentioned in the book though man as fathers has the job to feed the family (p.19-20). The woman as individual has the function of being the helper of man (p.20) the pictures also supports this view, since in both of them women are shown as care taker than professional. The solidarism in the family is also strongly stressed (p.20-21).

The ideological values in the textbook has Kemalist characters. Nonetheless the social values are more stressed. Republic is displayed as respectful to the citizen rights and freedom than the Empire time(p.96). Besides, nation, republic, Atatürk, homeland, Turkey, soldiers as ideological values of nationalism and republicanism are less frequent than the social values. For example village and villagers were mentioned 206 times in contrast to Atatürk 4 times, republic 12 times, soldiers 16 times or nation 18 times. Local governments were mentioned 167 times but state and government only 109 times the ratio is 1.53. That is to say the local democracy and the direct involvement of the citizens to the administration are underlined. Two examples for this are the village administration where the election and village council is explained (p.94) and municipalities and their functions are clarified (p.69-83). In this sense the duties of municipality and duties of the citizens are clearly stated in order to have a civilized life. On the other hand Atatürk is shown as the magical person who saved the country from the enemies (p.114-115). But it is also important to say that in the page 115 it is stated that "nobody is the slave of another, the masses are not bounded to

one man (Artık kimse kimsenin esiri olamaz, hele büyük bir halk kütlesi asla birtek adama bağlanamaz)” this reflects the wish of the intellectual freedom of the republic citizen. This is a wish since freedom is only mentioned 8 times throughout the book.

Socio-economical values are clearly on the side of statist economy, the peasants are suggested to have their own land for agriculture big farming is not reinforced (p.57). The price control in the market is a clear example of state interference to the capitalist economy(p.74). The frequency of the concept related to economy such as industry, factory, commerce are mentioned only 27 times though agriculture and modern agricultural, production and cooperatives have an important place in the textbook 206 times mentioned. There are also six pictures of villages in contrast to one artisanal and one factory pictures. Another finding is that the state is mentioned as the most important employer (p.68). Working and working hard is an important virtue and mentioned 56 times.

Another important value is the education which was mentioned 143 times and there are six pictures for it throughout the book. On the side of the school education adult education also strongly reinforced, specifically for the peasants (p.86-87). In this sense civilization and a civilized life mentioned 46 times and the importance of civilized village is emphasized (p.50).

2. Second textbook:

Yeni Yurt Bilgisi (New civics) written by Mithat Sadullah (1934) as a textbook for third graders in 1934-1935. Published in İstanbul by Türk Kitapçılığı L. Şirketi, the book has 109 pages. At the beginning of the book there is “Content” page followed

by official programme of civics for third grade of primary education. The units of the textbook are:

Yurt, aile yurdu, ev halkı (Homeland, family homeland, household),

Aile yurdu, ev halkı (Family homeland, household),

Ailenin iyilikleri (Goodness of family),

Köy yurdu, köy halkı (Village, village people),

Toplu olarak yaşamak (Living together),

Köylerde topluluk, köyde iş ,alışveriş (Village communities, work and commerce in villages), Köylerde teşkilat (Organization of village),

Köylerde inzibat ve asayiş (Security in villages),

Köyde maarif (Education in village),

Köyün sıhhati (Health of the village),

Köy evlerinde sıhhat (Health in village houses),

Köyün güzelliği temizliği (Beauty and cleanness of the village),

Köylünün hayvanları (Animals of the villager),

Civardaki köylerle münasebet (Relationship with the nearby villages),

Kasaba (Town),

Yollar (Roads),

Vilayet merkezinde belediye ve hükümet teşkilatı (Municipality and state offices in city centers),

Belediye teşkilatı (Organization of municipality),

Belediyeler ne gibi işler yararlar (What kind of works does the municipality do),

Mektepler (Schools),

Köye ve kasabaya en yakın şimendifer istasyonu (The nearest railway station to the village and town),

Köye hariçten gelen eşya ve mallar nereden gelir (Where do the goods come from to the village),

Türkiyenin merkezi: Ankara (Center of Turkey: Ankara),

Askerlik (Military service),

Türkiyenin iki büyük şehri: İstanbul ve İzmir. Bunlar hakkında kısa malumat (Two big cities of Turkey: İstanbul and İzmir. A few information about them),

Türklerin Vatanları: Türkiye (The homelands of Turks: Turkey),

Türkiyenin Hükümeti: Cumhuriyet (Turkey is governed by Republic),

Türk milletinin büyüklüğü. Dünyadaki türkler (The greatness of Turkish nation. The Turks in the world),

Türk vatandaşının vazifeleri (The duties of the Turkish citizen),

Vatana karşı vazifelerimiz (Our duties towards homeland),

Türkiyenin komşuları ve dünyanın başlıca büyük devletleri hakkında gayet muhtasar malumat (A brief information on neighbours of Turkey and big States of the World),

Köylerde iktisadi ve içtimai teşkilat (Economical and social organizations in the villages),

Köyde insani ve medeni hayat (Human and civilized life in the village),

Sıhhate ve ahlaka uygun eğlenceler, Temiz ve sıhhi zevkler (Healthy and ethic amusements. Clean and healthy pleasures),

Cigara içmenin fenalıkları (Danger of smoking).

The chapters headings are mainly concerned with village life, local administrations and nationalism. The effects of modernization is clearly observed in the headings. The nationalism, the modern equipments for agricultural and daily life, education, effective administration, education. The aim to create a modern citizen out of village people is strongly observed.

In this textbook the following words are mentioned, Republic:17, Atatürk and Gazi Mustafa Kemal: 5, İsmet İnönü:0, Civilization:8, Nation:26, Homeland:96, Army and soldier:40, Flag:1, Freedom:2, Working and hardworking:20, Enemy:7, Family:27, Village and villager 248, School and education:106, Economy and commerce: 22, City and town:45, Local governments:76, State and government:66, Turkey and turk: 52, Moska and religion: 9 times. The frequency of the words also suggest that the State's concern over agricultural area and will to transform this society. An other important dimension is emergence of nationalism.

After giving basic information about the book in the previous paragraphs the sentences from the textbooks will be stated in order to provide evidences to support the hypotheses of this study.

The protagonist of the book is a boy living in a village: "Siz köy çocuklarıyız, köyde yaşıyorsunuz."(p.12). The definition of nation is done according to the boundaries of the national geography, all the villages, towns, cities under the administration of our State is called Great Turkish Homeland: "Devletimizin idaresi altında bulunan bütün köylerin, kasabaların, şehirlerin, hepsine birden Büyük Türk Yurdu deriz. Hepimiz Büyük Türk Yurdunun çocuklarıyız." (p.8). This statement suggests a humanist nationalism, since instead of defining a nation according to blood or family bounds or language it defines it according to a geography. The family is defined as a unit formed by grandparents, parents and children this a definition which is common for rural areas since according to Ortaylı (2000) the the core family is formed by parents and children in the cities (p.4-5). The responsibilities in the family shows that the father is the chief

and the provider of the family and mother is responsible for the care of the house and children: “Her ailenin bir reisi bulunur; aile reisi yani baba eve bakar, yiyecek içecek gibi aileye ne lazımsa alır. Aile halkı da onu severler ve sayarlar. Anne; evin, eksiklerine bakar, ne lazımsa babaya söyler, çocukların üstlerine, başlarına bakar. Çocuklar da annelerini, babalarını severler, onları sevindirmek için evde ve mektepte çalışırlar.” (p.11). Reading books is an evening activity for a family: “ (aile) Sonra bir odada toplanırlar, tatlı tatlı konuşurlar. Kitap ve gazete okurlar.” (p.12) The village women works at home and in the field take care of children and help their husbands: “Köylü kadınlar hem ev işlerini görürler çocuklarına bakarlar, hem de tarlada çalışarak kocalarına yardım ederler.” (p.14). The villagers are hardworking people: “ Köy yurdu baştan başa çalışkanlık yuvasıdır.” (p.14). Community life is comfortable therefore there are responsibilities and helping each other is necessary. therefore we have duties such as not to leave community and help each other: “Biz bugün hiç güçlük çekmeden rahat yaşamamızı, hep topluluğa borçluyuz. Bu iyiliklere karşı bize düşen vazifeler vardır: Topluluktan ayrılmamak, birbirimize yardım etmek.” (p17). The elder people of the village read and think what to do for the development of the village (p.19). The teachers of the villages work to educate children as well as adults in order to enlighten them (p.30). The village people needs to leave old customs: “Doktorun sözleri çok doğru çocuklar, eğer eski adetleri atmazsak ve paradan kaçınırsak hepimizin sonu budur. (being ill) (p.36). Teacher reads to the student the Law of Village where there are statements for the modernization of village life which help to understand the modernizing and enriching works to be done in villages: “Bugün de köyü modernleştirmek ve zenginleştirmek için köylülerin yapacakları işleri bildiren maddeleri okuduk.” (p.39). Modern agricultural methods and instruments, health care,

education are the most important means of modernization (p.40). Modernization, civilization and use of technology is strongly stressed.

We all are the children of the Greay Turkish Homeland The benefits and feelings of Turks are common: "Hepimiz : Büyük Türk Yurdunun çocuklarıyız. Duygularımız bir menfaatlerimiz birdir." (p.47). The villagers are poor, they do not have much money to by machines. Mecanization of agriculture is considered to be important therefore cooperation is suggested among the villages: "Köylüler fakirdirler. Öyle büyük makineler alacak paramız yoktur. Bunun için dün akşam gelen misafirlerle şöyle düşündük: iki köy birleşip para toplayacağız. Bir sapan makinesi, bir de harman makinesi getirteceğiz. Bu makineleri hem biz kullanacağız, hem onlar kullanacaklar." (p.48). State offers many services such as protection from enemy and burglars, education and transport. State builds roads and railways to connect villages to towns and towns to the cities, by this way products can be transported different places of the country (p.58). Solidarism among the citizens and between State and public is explained. The stress on the organizational effect of the State is observed in the texts where cooperation and state help are pointed out.

The services given by municipality such as health, price control, cleaning, lightening, water supply are pointed out (p.63-66). The importance given by the state to education was strongly stressed: "İşte hükümet, birçok fenalıkların cahillikten ileri geldiğini , ve cahil bir milletin hiç ileri gidemeyeceğini düşünerek, her tarafta mekteper açıyor. Bu suretle de millete pek büyük bir hizmette bulunmuş oluyor." (p.67). The importance given by state to railway transport is stressed by stating that the state is building railroads, 30 years ago there were horses and camels which carry in several

days. Now state is building a wap of railroads : “Şimdi trenin faydasını anlıyorsun ya! Bundan otuz sene önce bu yolu atlarla, develerle ancak iki günde alırlardı. Tren olmayan yerlerde gene böyledir. Hükümet şimdi her yere tren yapmağa, memleketi baştan aşağı demir ağlarla, yani trenle örmeğe uğraşiyor.” (p.69). The imported goods were petrol, machinery and industrial products and exported goods were agricultural (p.72). For the development of the country investors and initiators and producers are reinforced (p.73). In Ankara the Parliament work to govern the country. The parliament is formed by the elected people from the citizens. The representatives in the parliament prepare the laws to adminester Turkey (p.74-77). The necessity and the use of the taxes are explained in detail (p.78-79). The central government and its functioning is mentioned here. The importance of the modern transport means, trade, parliament are symbols of the transforming society from traditional to modern.

The importance of military service is explained as the soldiers are the guards of our homeland. All the turkish youth wants to be the guard of the homeland therefore they go to the military service. The turkish soldier is a hero.Turkish soldiers cleaned the country from enemy: “Askerler vatanımızın bekçisidir. Bütün Türk gençleri, yurtlarının bekçisi olmak istedikleri için askere sevine sevine giderler. Türk askerinin cesurluğu, kahramanlığı dillere destan olmuştur. Anadoluyu ve bütün vatani düşmanlardan temizleyen Türk ordusu, dünyada bir eşi bulunmayan çok kıymetli ve kahraman bir ordudur.” (p.81). First and Second Meşrutiyet (Constitutional Democracy) are mentioned in the book by stating that Abdülhamid decleared the Constitutional Democracy 60 years ago and first National Assembly was opened but very soon he closed the parliement. İn 1908 a revolution occured and the Parliament reopened with freedom: “Nihayet altmış sene kadar önce Aptülhamit zamanında

hürriyet ilan edildi; ve ilk millet meclisi açıldı. Fakat az bir zaman sonra Aptülhamit bu meclisi kapattı. 1908 senesinde bir inkılap yapıldı. Yeniden hürriyet ve meşrutiyet ilan olundu. Millet Meclisi açıldı.” (p.90). Atatürk is our brave general conducted our independence war by establishing new armies and by cleaning ennemy from Anatolia.: “Nihayet yiğit jeneralimiz Mustafa Kemal Anadoluya geçti; düşmanları memleketten kovmaya karar verdi. Yeniden ordular vücuda getirdi. Amma Başkumandan Mustafa Kemal kurtuluş savaşını öyle bir idare etti ki düşmanları hemen süpürüp denize döktü.” (p.90-91). Turks are civilized, ancient and a big nation. A nation is a group of people with the same ethnic root, same language and feelings. When the other nations were close to be sauvage Turks owed their own laws and governments. Turks are good hearted people, they left many cultural works all over the world : “Bizim milletimize Türk milleti denir. Türk milleti en eski ve büyük milletlerdendir. Bir soydan gelen, bir dille konuşan duyguları bir olan insan kümelerine millet derler.Türkler çok eski bir millettir. Başka milleter vahşiliğe yakın bir halde iken, Türklerin kuvvetli hükümetleri ve iyi kanunları vardı. Binlerce seneden beri Türkler, dünyanın hemen her tarafında birçok medeniyet eserleri bırakmışlardır. Türkler dünyanın en yiğit ve en iyikalpli milletidir.Türkler çok eski zamanlardan beri büyük müstakil devletler kurmuşlar; ve zaman zaman birçok milletleri kendi idareleri altına almışlardır.” (p.93-94). This part mainly includes nationalist views. The nationalism has an important place in this book. Nationalist feelings are tried to be created and strenghtened by the texts. This may be considered as a part of modernization process, since Turks are shawn superior in the history not for the period.

The civil society organizations are: village cooperatives, redcressant, greencressant, aviation society and society for protection of the poors, they have important and

valuable services for the community life (p.100). The State help the villages to improve the live conditions: “Cumhuriyet hükümetimiz köylere ve köylülere çok iyi bakıyor. Köylülerin ilerlemesi için bir köy kanunu yaptı. Bu kanundan çok faydalar gördük ve görüyoruz. Bu gidişle birkaç sene sonra köyümüz, Avrupa köyleri derecesine yükselecek” (p.104-105). The amusement activities does not need lot of money neither alcohol or cigaret use, sports, reading walking are good, healthy and cheap activities (p.108). The value of Republic in the life of the people is stressed with the sivil society organizations. The civil sorganizations are strongly stressed in the textbook as a part of solidarity but the value also lies in the presence of the people in the formation of the civil society.

In the textbook there are 20 pictures: two pictures of Atatürk, 10 pictures of village views (one of which is a mechanized activity of agriculture, and one is scarfed village woman) two pictures of school (one vilage, one city school), one picture of the Parliament, a picture of a big mosk subtitled as “Picture of İstanbul”, one ship picture, and three pictures of children playing. The care for agricultural groups is clearly observed since at that time 80% of the country population was formed by the peasants.

The social values of this chapter were gathered around family community (village) and society. Individualism was not mentioned and implicitly discarded by the statement “Bu iyiliklere karşı bize düşen vazifeler vardır: topluluktan ayrılmamak, birbirimize yardım etmek”(p.17). The value of life in comunity (village) is stressed in many occations (248 times) . Working hard for community and society is suggested to be the duty of the citizens for the development of the country which lost many resorces

during the wars. The family is very important mentioned 27 times but patriarchal narration still exists. Woman is the helper of the father who is provider. The pictures mainly contain male figures, women were always presented with a scarf. This shows the conservative understanding was still in the minds of the book writers and those who let the book published. On the other hand in the family education has an important value. City and city life is explained to the students (p. 74,82). The city word is repeated 45 times in contrast to village 248, the ratio is 5.5. The village population of the period was 80% therefore his ratio reflects a realistic view of the book about the characteristic of the population of period.

In the ideological arena the stress is on the state. Kemalist values were not clearly mentioned but a strong state image is tried to be established throughout the book. For example the state's help and care to the villages are stressed in the book in many places, state investments for transportation, provision of security by army and police. Nonetheless the democratic state image is very weak since it is only mentioned with the parliament and parliamentary elections (p.74-75). Even though Kemalist values were not stressed Atatürk as a person presented as an omnipotent leader (p.90-91). Ten percent of the pictures was Atatürk's in contrast to, 5% of them was parliament's. On the other hand local government was mentioned more than the state but only 1.15 more times. Citizenship understanding at the beginning of the textbook was a humanist appearance with its stress on common homeland (p. 8) but at the end of the book nature of nationalism changed. Blood bound and common language is stressed and Turkish nation is presented as a higher group of people than the other nations (p.93-94). In a sense the nationalistic approach may be understandable under the world conditions of the period but the stress on "higher nation" is an exaggeration. On the

other hand the formulation of citizenship at the beginning of the book and strong nationalist language at the end are conflicting. This contrast is suggesting an ambivalence from the part of the book writer since nature of citizenship and nation are not congruent with each other. Another supportive evidence for this incongruence is the use of nation and homeland concepts in the book. Homeland (Turkey) is considered as the mother of all of its inhabitants (p.8) and nation is conceptualized as people with common ancestry and language (p.93). In the text word "homeland" is used 3.7 times more than the word "nation" which means it is more emphasized, more cared than the nation. But a chapter at the end of the book on nationalism (p.93) is contrasting with this emphasis. Another ideological stress was on military service this is explained as the most important and desired job in the life of the youth and Turkish army is presented as the most powerful and brave army in the world (p.81). The exaggeration on army, nation and Atatürk are suggesting a creation of myth around power and this power is expected to be internalized by the citizens. The individual power "working, hardworking and freedom" only mentioned 22 times, but the power figures "army, nation and Atatürk" 71 times the ratio is 3.2. That is to say that individual power is not desirable as it was clearly stated "be part of the community". On the other hand Republic is mentioned 17 times less than the word "army" (40 times) but the historical background of the Republic Parliament is stated as the parliaments of First and Second Meşrutiyet (p.90).

The socio-economical structure of the Country is clearly defined as agricultural. Most of the subjects were about rural areas, village and villager words were used 248 times and 30% of the pictures were representing rural life. The economy, industry and commerce was only mentioned 22 times. Rural life mentioned 11 times more than

modern economy. The stress on agricultural export and industrial goods import also suggests the accepted agricultural provider role of Turkey in the world economy. Nevertheless, individual business and production was reinforced in the book (p.73). In this textbook statist economy implicit reflection for agricultural corporatist tendencies when it is stated that the villagers gather money to by machinery for a better recolt (p.48). Agricultural cooperatives were also suggested as civil society organizations and their importance is strongly stressed (p. 100).

Education was an important subject of the textbook and mentioned 106 times (most frequent after the word "village")and represented with 2 pictures out of 20. Education in city and in village, in family and in school, education of children and adults were taken place throughout the book. The importance given to education by the state is clearly observed in the book. The modernizational and enlightening functions of education is primarily emphasized (p.12,19,30,36,67,108).

3. Third textbook:

İlkmektep Kitapları: IV Sınıf Yurt Bilgisi (Primary school fourth grade civics textbook)book was written by a comission (1937) and published by Devlet Basımevi in 1937. The book has 74 pages and a page of "content" at the end. The units of the textbook are:

Millet (Nation),

Milli Duygu (National feeling),

State (Devlet),

Republic (Cumhuriyet),

Başka hükümet biçimleri (Other regimes),

Cumhuriyetten önce nasıl idare olunurduk? (How do we governed before the Republic?),

İstiklal Savaşı (Independance war),

Vatandaşa Karşı Devletin Vazifeleri (The duties of the State towards the citizens),

Hürriyet (Freedom),

Kaç Biçim Hürriyet Vardır? (How many types of freedom exists?),

Efkarı Umumiye (General thoughts),

Hürriyeti Koruma (Protecting the freedom),

Müsavat (Equality),

İçtimai Yardım (Social help),

Hoşgörme Ve Taassupsuzluk (Tolerance and open-mindedness),

İş Bölümü (Labour division),

Bağlılık (Devotion),

Çalışma - Meslek (Working - profession),

Vatandaşın Devlete Karşı Vazifesi (Citizen's responsibility towards the State),

Seçim Nasıl Yapılır (How the election occurs?),

Vergi Vermek Vazifesi (Tax duty),

Askerlik Vazifesi (Military service),

Ordu Hayatı (Life in the army).

Nationalism and state is heavily loaded in the chapters. The village as a community has not taken place in the chapters. The concept of citizenship is mainly organized around what the State formulated. The creation of the citizenship in this textbook is strongly influenced from educational program of CHP.

In this textbook the important words are mentioned Republic: 14, Atatürk and Gazi Mustafa Kemal:16, İsmet İnönü:3, Civilization:1, Nation:136, Homeland:44, Army and soldier:70, Flag:1, Freedom:30, Working and hardworking:23, Enemy:21, Family: 0, Village and villager:14, School and education:37, Economy and commerce: 47, City and town:6, Local governments:1, State and government: 129, Turkey and Turk:101, Mosk and religion:2 times. More frquent appearence of the words of nation, Turkey,Turk, State are the evidences of nationalist narratives in the textbook.

After giving basic information about the book in the previous paragraphs the sentences from the textbooks will be stated in order to provide evidences to support the hypotheses of this study.

The first chapter of the book is about the nation. The definition of a nation was given the people with a common language, “those people who speak turkish forms the Turkish nation” Türkçe konuşsn herkes Türk milletinin bir üyesidir (p.3). Turkish is presented as the most beautiful language in the world: “Türk dili dünyadaki dillerin en güzeli en tatlısıdır”(p.3). Turkish nation is stated to be the oldest nation in the world, all other nations are formed after Turks, Turks exist cince thousands of years: “Dünyaya türk milletinden önce gelmiş bir millet yoktur. Birçok milletler sonradan türemiştir; fakat Türk türeme değildir, soyu yeryüzünde onbinlerce yoldan beri yaşıyor.” (p.4). In the second chapter the nationalist language is continuing with a stress on the bravery, fearlessness, cleanness of turkish nation. Fathers, mothers, brothers all beloved are from the nation.: “ Türk milleti onbinlerce yıldan beri nice nice kahramanlar yetiştirmiştir. Böyle yeryüzüne ün salmış kahramanlar yetiştiren bir millet elbette sevilir. Babalar millettendir, anneler millettendir, kardeşler millettendir, bütün

sevilenler millettendir. ...Türk milleti temizdir, yücedir. Türk milleti yalan bilmez; Türk milleti düşmanından korkmaz; Türk milleti doğruluktan ayrılmaz. Ahlakı çok temizdir.” (p.6). On the other hand the love for humanity is also pointed out: “Milli duygudan başka onun kadar büyük onun kadar tatlı bir duygu daha vardır. O da insanlık duygusudur. Bütün insanlar da sevilir. Dili, milleti ne olursa olsun, can taşıyan, çalışan, acı tatlı duygularla çırpınan bütün insanlar sevilir. Bizden başka milletler de vardır. There are other nations then us. Türk, düşmanlık göstermeyen milletlerle dost olarak yaşar. Turks live together with the nations which are not hostile... ilk hastaneler Türkelinde kurulmuştur: First hospitals were established by the Turks . İnsanlığa iyilik veren birçok şeyler Türklerden doğmuştur. Many good things come from Turks ... Türk milleti bütün insanlığın bir parçasıdır. Turkish nation is a part of humanity. Türk milletini sevmeli; sırası gelince milleti uğruna can bile vermekten çekinmemelidir. A Turk should love his nation and give his life for it when it is required” (p.6-7). Nationalist attitude is clearly observed in these parts. The rise of nationalism in the world also influenced Turkey and a nationalist language is established in the textbook

Eventhough state is ambiguously defined as nation is a state on its own: “Devlet başlı başına buyruk bir millettir” (p.9) in the chapter on the State the stress is on the government and statism: “İşte Devletin de böyle sayısız işleri vardır. Bu işleri görmek için (Hükümet) kurmuştur. State has many affairs therefore to deal with all these affairs it forms governments. Hükümet adamları da millettendir ve millet namına işgörür. Statesmen are the members of the nation and they function for the nation. Türk milleti Türkiye Devletinin halkıdır. Turkish nation is the people of Turkish State. Türk Devleti halkçı bir Devlettir. Turkish State is a populist State.” (p.9).

Government is carrying on the progressivist activities in many areas such as transport, health care, agricultural works, education (any industrial work is stated in the list) (p.11). Republic is explained as a system of constitutional government : “Milletin kendi içinden mebuslarını seçerek Büyük Millet Meclisini kurması; Büyük Millet Meclisinin Cümhurreisini kendi içinden seçip devlet işlerinin başına getirmesi; Hükümetin Büyük Millet Meclisince yapılan kanunlara göre iş görmesi biçimine (Cümhuriyet) derler.” the difference with constitutional democracy is only the election of the president of the republic according to the statement of the textbook. It is also said that during ancient regime the law were not done by the citizens (representatives), this is not a true statement because since 1908 Ottoman Empire was a constitutional democracy till the occupation of Ottoman Parliament by english army troops in 1920 (Shaw and Shaw,1995, p.348). In page 15 the monarchy was discussed and condemned as enemy of freedom “ Eskiden Türkiyede bir padişahla idare olunan mutlakiyet hükümeti vardı. Bu hükümette milletin sözü dinlenmezdi.”. Meşrutiyet in 1908 was thought to be a public revolution: “Türk milleti 1908 yılında aniden ayaklandı; (Meşrutiyet) hükümetini kurması için padişahı zorladı. Ovakit padişah olan İkinci Abdülhamit, milletin isteğini yapmaktan başka çare bulamadı; 23 temmuz günü meşrutiyeti ilan etti.”. This explanation about the history of parliament is important for the democratic culture of the country. Besides the bound between now and past is tried to be established by mentioning this historical background of parliamentarism. The duties of the state are introduced as: protection (army and police), education, buiding roads, health services, justice, agricultural assistance (p.27-28). The duty of the state is to development of the nation: “Devletin işi milletin ilerlemesine, büyümesine, kuvvetlenmesine, başlıbaşına yaşamasına çalışmaktır.” (p.27). The progressivist approach of the state policies is clearly stated in this

sentence. The independence is explained as freedom of working and being free from unfair treatment in a chapter: “ okuyanı çalışanı kimse rahatsız etmez; kimse işimize engel olmaz; kimse bizi kanunsuz, haksız hapsedemez; canımıza, malımıza, mülkümüze dokunamaz. Bugün hürriyet var. Biz hür insanlarız. Köylü tarlasında çalışır, demirci demir döver, çocuk mektebinde okur, kadın evinde uğraşır, memur dairesinde çalışır; çünkü hepsi hürdür.” this sentences are misleading about the concept of freedom. The freedom of self expression and thought were mentioned. The freedom issue is also discussed in another chapter in which freedom is discussed with very simplistic examples: “ *Topluluk hürriyeti* - Bugün bir bilgin kalkar, bildiği şeyler üzerine kalabalık bir halk önünde konferans verir. Bir büyük günün yıldönümü gelir; halk toplanır, alaylar kurulup sokaklar dolaşılır. Padişahlık zamanında böyle değildi.” (p.32). This sentence does not clearly explains the freedom of gathering for instance unions meetings or protests were not mentioned but implicitly invalidated by mentioning only the scientific conferences and big anniversaries. Same attitude was present in the explanation of the freedom of organizing, only health (Redcrossant) and Social Help organizations (Chid Care Society) were mentioned but not any political or social organization. For the freedom of press it is stated that anything not forbidden by law and good for the society may be published and an example of scientific book was given for this freedom (p.32). These statements about are narrowing the concept of freedom by implicitly limiting its definition by giving examples of possibles. The textbook says that, the government builds the roads to connect different parts of the country for the unification of the homeland, during the drought provides grains to the agriculturers, the newspapers wright about our positive thoughts and our demands from the government (p.36). The freedom is stated to be a national freedom rather than personal freedom. The “protection of freedom” chapter stress the freedom from

the other nations interferences (p.37). Equality is explained as being equal in front of the justice and equal treatment in state offices. Social or economical equality or equality of sexes are not mentioned. Social helps provided by state: "Hastaneleri, doğum evlerini, dispanserleri, hep devlet açar, devlet idare eder." (p.41). Turkish nationalism mixed with humanism stresses the issue of social help "Turks have good hearts, love each other, love all human beings (p.43)." The first stress on good turks loving each other second stress on the others are showing the understanding of nationalism of the period. The priority is on the nation rather than humanism. In the chapter on Tolerance and open-mindedness conservative religious ideas strongly criticized: "Sofu olanlar, namaz kılmayanlara kızarlardı; namaz kılmayan çocukları döverlerdi. Daha tuhafı, inanılmayacak şeylere inanırlar inanmayanları dinsiz sayarlardı. ...Mektepte çalışan bir çocuk hastalanıverecek olsa nazara uğradı derler; üfürükçülere okutmağa, kurşun döktürmeğe kalkarlardı. Böyle köksüz yalan şeylere inanırlar, çalışıp çabalayacaklarına, işleri olsun diye ne idiği belirsiz bir ölünün türbesine adak adarlar, mum yakarlardı." (p.46). Labour division is explained as a bound among the citizens rather than a division: "Herkes kendine göre bir iş yapar, ama birbirinin işine muhtaçtır. İş bölümü insanları birbirine öyle bağlamıştır ki birbirlerinden ayrılmak isteseler da ayrılamazlar. Ayrılırsalar, aç kalırlar, çıplak kalırlar, binbir sıkıntıya düşerler, ölüp giderler. ... Başka çare yok. Birbirimizin işinden , yardımından faydalanırız." (p.49) these statements are supporting the socio-economical approaches of solidarism and denial of social class. Nationalism was mentioned in the chapter on devotion stating that "we owe to our encestors who left us many things and we should provide many things to our children. This is the bound that we should keep very tight. If the people of a nation love each other they may achieve many things in the world." (p.50). Political ellections are stated to be

important therefore the citizens have the duty to elect the representatives for the parliament. By this way self-government will be secured (p.55). The candidate for the parliament elections is stated to have following characteristic: "old, informed about world affairs, intelligent men" (p.56). These characteristics are strongly biased since it requires to be old, well educated so that one will know about world issues, intelligent and men. The parliament members of the period had these properties and therefore there were gaps between them and masses as Tezel (1994) pointed out due to the differences in education, sex and age. The state do many things such as: building schools, providing education, building harbours, roads, bridges, hospitals, providing health services, having armies. All these services needs money and the citizens pay taxes to finance them. Again the state is represented as a planner, organizer and performer having all duties but power as well. In this structure the place of the individual is very small. The military service chapter claims that the military skills of turks are gifts from thr god (p.66). The following chapter on military life not only mentions military service but the value killing and being killed: "Asker ölüme isteye isteye koşar, ölmek için değil öldürmek için koşar... . Onun içindir ki askerlik, yurttaşları birbirine bağlayan ölüme hazırlıktır. Bundan başka ordu bir büyük mekteptir. Asker de orduda birçok şeyler öğrenir: itaat etmeği öğrenir, yurdunu milletini sevmeyi öğrenir, silahını kullanmayı öğrenir; nihayet ölmeği öldürmeği öğrenir" (p.74). The military service has strong ideas about death, killing and being killed but the main idea protection of the society is not stressed. The other point is the education of the soldier, they also learn reading and writing but it seems this activity is not for their freedom of thought but to teach them to obey, to love the nation, to die.

The history of democracy, solidarism, independence were the major subjects discussed in the book . This is important to form a background for the formation of citizenship. The value of modern education and science are strongly stressed as apart of enlightenment project of the Republic.

In the book there are 21 pictures out of seven are the pitures of army and soldiers. Four pictures of workshops and chemistry labrotory. Two pictures of Atatürk scuptures and one photograph of him during Çanakkale War. The other important figures of the time were also represented. These were the chair of the parliament Mr. Renda and Head of army Mr. Çakmak. Eventhough there was a picture of Ottoman Parliament, Great National Assembly in Ankara was not pictured. One picture of judicial court where man and lady lawyers were represented. One photograph of Redcrossant building in Ankara and children from Child Care Institution (Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu) were the two pictures of social help institutions. One picture of ellection box was also available in the book. The presence of different kind of pictures specifically the pictures of the parliament are important symbols of Republican area.

In the textbook social and community values are mainly stressed under the name of nation and state. Military service, ellections and taxes were the important areas of duties of the individual towards community and society. In fact community and society are also represented under the symbol of state and nation when it is pointed out that the state spend money for the investments and this money come from the citizens's taxes or male citizen are expected to do military service which is a responsability and honour for him. The local governments were neglected in the book, mentioned only once. On the other hand the freedom repeted 30 times but from

freedom independence of the country was ment. Individual freedoms were not clearly mentioned but represented as if they exist. Nevertheless nation, state and government were repeated throughout the book 136 and 129 times. Besides nearly in every chapter nationalist feelings are promoted and importance and strenght of the state strongly stressed. The general language and attitude of the book has Kemalist ideology having stress on, statism, populism, nationalism, laicism republicanism and nationalism. Two important leader of the period, Atatürk is mentioned 14 times, İnönü 3 times. The nationalist attitude though having priority in the presentation humanist values such as love and respect for humanity were also included. At this point Kemalist nationalism is clearly observed though. The strong ideological language of the text leaves no room for family values and individual rights.

In the socio-economical aspect the texts shows heavy presence of state in the economy, regulating and helping the agriculturers, realizing infrastructure and industrial investments, producing health and education services. The pictures eather shows small workshops or state's industrial plants. Any inference to liberal economy or socialism were available in the book. Agricultural issues were not the main interest of the book since it was mentioned only 14 times and there wan any picture about it. Working and hardworking only mentioned 23 times in the texts. Education also had small room in the text mentioned 37 times. It seems nationalism and state had stronger value for the period than other issues. The presence of military symbols 7 (33%) pictures and use of the words, army and soldier 70 times and the word enemy 21 times suggests the military concerns of the period. At this point the comparison among the text books will be helpful to understand the reflections of the policies of the period on education.

Table 1: The frequency of pictures

	First textbook	Second Textbook	Thrd Textbook	Total
Atatürk	1	2	3	6
Students,teachers, schools	6	2	0	8
Village	6	10	0	16
Women	2	0	1	3
Factory, workshop	2	1	4	7
Court, Judges	1	0	1	2
Parliament,election	1	1	2	4
Soldier	1	0	7	8
Mosque	0	1	0	1

The three textbooks have the pictures of Atatürk at least once. A picture of parliament and/or election box was also available in every book. The number of the pictures of soldier or army increased in number from 1 to 7 throughout the time. On the other hand pictures of school, student, teacher decreased from 6 to 0 by from 1928 to 1937. The pictures of village as well decreased in number from 6 to 0. Pictures of industrial workplaces had been put in all books though the book of 1937 contains the most. Eventhough there were more women rights the appearance of the woman in the books were very poor only 3 times. Democratic and judicial life also poorly represented by the books, only 4 and 2 times respectively. Mosque as a religious symbol is only represented once during 1928-1937 period and as a symbol of İstanbul rather than the religion. The general stress though was on village (16 pictures) ,

industry (7 pictures), army (pictures), education (8 pictures), and Atatürk (6 pictures)

which were most common in the total of the three textbooks.

Table 2: The frequency of important words.

	First Textbook	Second Textbook	Third Textbook	Total
Republic	12	17	14	43
Atatürk	4	5	16	25
İsmet İnönü	0	0	3	3
Civilization	46	8	1	55
Nation	18	26	136	180
Homeland	8	96	44	148
Army,Soldier	16	40	70	126
Flag	0	1	1	2
Freedom	8	2	30	40
Working	56	20	23	99
Enemy	2	7	21	30
Family	14	27	0	41
Village,Villager	206	248	14	428
School, education	143	106	37	286
Economy,comme.	27	22	47	96
City,Town	74	45	6	125
Local government	167	76	1	244
State, government	109	66	129	304
Turkey, Turk	27	52	101	180
Mosque,religion	8	9	2	19

Most frequent words during 1928-1937 education period were village (428), state and government (304), school and education (286), local governments (244), nation (180), turkey and turks (180), homeland (148), army (126), city and town (125). Working and hardworking (99), economy (96), civilization (55), republic (43), family (41), freedom (40) were the other important concepts but less frequent than the first group.

The most frequent words village and villagers were used 17.7 times less in 1937 book than 1934 and 14.7 times less in 1928 book. State and government words are consistently frequent words throughout time. On the other hand education used less and less: 2.9 times less in 1937 book than 1934 and 3.9 less times than 1928. Use of words about the local governments has serious decrease, 76 times less in 1937 book than 1934 and 167 times less than 1928 book. Nation as a word used 7.5 times more in 1937 book than 1928 and 5.2 times more 1934 book. Turkey and turks used 3.7 times more in 1937 book than 1928 and 2 times more in 1937 than 1934. Homeland is the word 12 times more used in 1934 book than 1928 and 1.6 times more in 1937 book. Army and soldiers used 2.5 times more in 1934 book than 1928 and 4 times more in 1937 than 1928. City and town words are used less and less by time: 1.6 times less in 1934 than 1928 book and 12 times less in 1937 book than 1928.

The second group of words working and hard working used 2.5 times more in 1928 than 1934 and 1937. Economy and commerce are used nearly twice in 1937 than 1928 and 1934 books.

Civilization word is used 5.7 times less in 1934 than 1928 book and 46 times less in 1937 book. Word republic is used with nearly same frequency in all three books.

Family as a word is not used in 1937 book and it is used twice more in 1934 book than 1928. Freedom as a word used 3.8 times more in 1937 book than 1928 and 15 times more in 1937 book than 1934. On the other hand the word Atatürk used four times more in 1937 book than 1928. Another less frequent word enemy is used 10 times more in 1937 book than 1928 and 3 times more in 1937 than 1934 books. Mosak and religion as words are used nearly equal in number in 1928 and 1934 books but 4 times less in 1937 book than the others.

The unit headings are more concerned with community life, family and local governments in 1928 and 1934 textbooks than 1937 textbook which is more involved with nationalism and state. Eventhough the first and second textbooks are mainly involved with agriculture and rural life and local administration the third textbook is dealing with the issues such as freedom, equality, tolerance. The appearance of these concepts combined with the stress in the books on the history of parliamentarism since I. Meşrutiyet are suggesting a burgening of thinking system on democracy. The attempts for a multi-party parliamentary system were also the political actions of the period. Therefore the policies of the State has a reflection on education to teach the future citizens about tolerance meaning of freedom and equality. On the other hand all three textbooks implicitly mention from organizations in the units such as structure and relations in family, municipality, state.

Increasing number of statements and words of the nationalistic and statist values are strongly showing that the Turkish Republic is in the process of change. The critical humanist values in the 1928 and 1934 textbooks eventhough take place in 1937 textbook the main stress was on nationalism and strenght of the state. Statements and

explanations about community, family life and local governments are leaning their places to nationalism and central power of the state. Even, education, working, civilization as values are weekly stressed in 1937 than 1928 and 1934. On the other hand economy had a better place in the texts in 1937. On the other hand as a general view of the time agricultural life, education (in words, headings and pictures), state and governments (in words and headings), local governments (in words and headings), nationalism (in words and headings), army and soldiers (in words, headings and pictures) were the main subjects of education.

VI. DISCUSSION

In this part of the study the conclusions basing on literature review and results of content analysis with interpretations are presented. The second part of this chapter is giving limitations of the study and suggestions.

A. Conclusion

Modernization attempts in Turkey during Empire and Republic periods had directed social and economical policies. From Tanzimat to Republic serious and deep transformation in social, political and economical areas formed a continuous process of modernization. Nationalist trends in the world guided Ottoman intellectuals to formulate Ottoman nationalism but failed when it faced ethnic nationalisms in the Empire. New Ottomans' intellectual contribution to the process of Turkish modernization is important since they tried to formulate a modern state structure starting from the traditional one. This endeavour had the strength for the formulation and exemplification of transformation but concluded prematurely by the circumstances of the period. Discovery of Turkism and Turkish nationalism by Young Turks was limited by Hamidian policies though brought a lot for the penetration of modern styles to the daily life of the Ottoman citizens. İttihat ve Terakki the most important political institution of that time with nationalist inclinations received a strong opposition of Islamist and liberal thinkers, politicians and public but it was able to penetrate in State. These were forming the political and intellectual transformation of the period with a

strong will for development and modernization since Sublim State lost all its power and prestige in the past.

On the economical development side, a weak and primitive agricultural and artizanal production system and state debts caused serious problems. Nevertheless economy survived the period. During Firsy World War to establish capitalism with a nationalistic approach İttihat ve Terakki Party tried very hard. National companies and banks were established by private captal with the contribution of the State (Kazgan, 1999). Besides, important innovations in judicial and civil rights and in education such as secularization, centralization of state power, rationalization of daily life were regulating society of the pre Republic era.

This transformational process of nearly one hundred years provided a strong background for Republic to built up new Turkey. The new State received as a legacy a strong tradition of modernization as well as problems in many social areas. The modernization in Turkey had not only oppozition from conservative parts of the society but also had two opposing approaches in itself. The liberal modernization model suggested by Prens Sabahattin had fewer supporters than state centered modernization model. This later model favoured by İttihat Terakki Party formed a ground to the Republic reformes/revolutions. An important figure who transported İttihat ve Terakki tradition to Republic was Ziya Gökalp. He formulated solidarism and nationalism ideas of the Republic Regime.

The Republic, in fact, cristalized all modernist attempts under cultural and social revolutions and quickened the process of modernization. Specifically rationalization

and secularization of daily life in judicial and educational institutions, efforts to reestablishing national capitalism by state support, and nationalism were the major transformational dynamics of the modernization. The modernization process were defined in this study having three aspects which were: capitalism, nationalism and modernism. Modernism is considered to be intellectual pluralism and transformation according to Heller (1999). In this sense Republic had an ambivalent attitude towards intellectual pluralism. Eventhough politically multi party democracy was tried everytime its realization failed. The reflection of this political will is also observed in the education, specifically in Yurt Bilgisi textbooks and in 1935 Primaryschool Program. In 1937 textbook freedom mentioned more than the other 1928 and 1934 textbooks and even a chapter was included to the textbook with Equality. The 1935 Program on the other eventhough has strong nationalistic content, humanism, intellectual development, questionning were also strongly suggested to the istructors. The stress in modernism was on the secularization and rationalization of the mind as well as standardization. The standardization and planning in State economy was even considered by Kadro thinkers as regulization of inconsistent market economy. This state planed modernization directed all modernist actions (Keyman and İçduygu, 1999) and set the boundries of the process under the six principles of Kemalism.

Kemalism as an ideology formulates Turkish modernism: nationalism, statism, populism, secularism, republicanism and revolutionism all have the modernist values in them and they are the principles of the citizens of the new State. On the other hand these principles limits the intellectual pluralism not because of they are invalid statements but their application are not compatible with modernism. Many capital punishments for opposer of the Republic, closing the oppositon parties, exiles of the

intellectuals, limitations for labour, were the amplification of the security needs of the new regime. To rationalize the application of ideology, nationalism and solidarism and progressivism were used as means of creating cohesion in public. Keyman and İçduygu (1999) formulate this modernization of masses as the Republic's work on engineering citizen for the modern capitalist state (p.172). In this sense Kemalism as an ideology was rationalising the problems as developmental crises where solidarism and national unity are needed, homogenize society through solidarist approach and narration of powerful, state and mobilize them under the banner of nationalism which also constitutes a common language among the citizens. Besides, Atatürk as a living hero of the period was a charismatic figure symbolized in himself all these transformation forever. Nevertheless, the content of the books attempt to help the future citizen to grasp the basic principles of self administration, meaning of freedom, mutual responsibilities of the public and state, solidarism, value of education and technology. In this sense the modernization project is also thinking about itself, that is to say those who are guiding this process were thinking about the results of their actions and plan further steps. The changing Primary school program and the content of the textbooks, specifically the 1937 textbook, according to circumstances of the period provide evidences of modernist thinking.

The state power is an important symbol for the unification, cohesion and security of the masses. Keyman and İçduygu (1999) claim that state's privileged position and power in modernization process do not provide an area of self transformation for individual and community. Therefore, State leaves small place to individual rights and community freedom since it has the role of modernizer rather than regulator of modernization as Torses (1999) points out. The State as an organization is used by the military and civil bureaucracy as Tezel (1994) to protect and strengthen their positions. This use of state mechanism by bureaucracy is explained by Pulantzas as the autonomy struggle of the state from the other classes. The bureaucracy tries to keep the balance to continue its existence among classes by using ideology or state forces (police and army). The bureaucracy's attitude for status quo was formulated around the Kemalist ideology. Republic was not politically liberal from the very beginning (Demirel,1994; Koçak, 1997). Nevertheless political and educational efforts aimed to create a more democratic system. For this end the civics course in the primary schools embodied a nationalist but also humanist, rationalist and critical program as well as content in.

For Keyman and İçduygu (1999) the most important evidence of the Republic's attempt to construct a new citizenship is the Yurt Bilgisi (civics) courses in schools. The education as a means produces and reproduces the institution and content of citizenship (p.175).

This study which deals with Yurt Bilgisi textbooks in the primary school find out that the ideological approach in these books during 1928-1937 period were strongly nationalist and statist with six Kemalist principles as they are seen in the content analysis of the books. Agricultural and educational concerns are the progressive parts of the texts including community life and local governments. In the textbook of 1928 the main concern was on village, education, local government and state in the book of 1934 the stress is still on these concepts but in 1937 textbook the stress is on nationalism, turkey, turks and state. Civilization concept loses its presence throughout time and militarism improves its room in the texts. On the other hand freedom, equality gained more importance as a chapter, word and picture in the books. The concept of civilization in fact transformed to the freedom and equality. This is important because freedom and equality are the concepts more understandable than civilization. by the public. The economy of the period was mainly based on agriculture therefore mechanization is strongly suggested in the books. State's presence in communal, economical, educational and health areas provides a feeling of omnipotence and omnipresence as well as security and equality. Rationalism specifically stress on secularism was stronger in 1937 book, besides other kemalist principles. This reflects CHP party program with six principles influence on 1936 Education Program of Yurt Bilgisi courses published by Ministry of National Education.

It is important to state that all textbooks has a humanist aspect as well. Concern for other solidarism, responsibilities in a community duties towards others value of education and working are the important and well stressed subjects of the texts. But Kemalist ideology surrounds them and did not leave enough room for individual development and freedom. Freedom is used most of the time as national independence rather than individual one.

The three main concepts of this study were state, ideology and modernization. Lenin's state model as discussed by Poulantzas (1992) has two features state apparatus and state sovereignty. The state sovereignty implies power holder social classes. In Turkish case the power holder class are civil and military bureaucrats (Tezel,1994) which collaborated with big farmers and merchants were forming the politics dominant class. During İttihat ve Terakki period first national capitalist accumulation was started with a strong support of the State (Kazgan,1990). This attempt stopped because of the wars but not forgotten. The Republic governments used the same policies of national economy. In fact the national economy of İttihat ve Terakki period was conceptualized by Ziya Gökalp who was also the ideolog of the Republic. The influence was obvious when the Republic government gathered İzmir Economy Congress in 1923 since the State supported large land owners and merchants who were not big and experienced enough for industrial investments (Boratav,1995). Therefore bureaucracy strenghten its position by deciding about economical issues by getting also the support of capital owners. During the period the merchants or big farmers were not powerful enough like industrial workers who were very limited in number to influence the economical decisions. Therefore State power kept unchallenged. The second feature of the state has two components “

statestructure" (civil and military personel, administration) and "content of state" (ideology and politics). In Turkey state structure was very powerful since civil and military bureaucrats were the founder of national economy, many modernist reforms in justice and civil life, winner of the wars, in other words they were the most dynamic and educated part of the society. State content on the other hand was strongly ideology based. At this point ideology concept of this study appears in the scene. Ideology by using technology, science, language and other symbols on the one hand helps the society to be organized around a common expectation and creates the communication channels and symbols of this expectation. Therefore any expression of the society is defined in terms of this symbols. As a result the cohesion in the society and in the ideology itself occurs as effects. In Turkish modernization, modernization became an ideology itself. Becomming a civilized and developed country (muhasır medeniyet seviyesine ulaşmak) was a dream for the intellectuals of the Empire and Republic states. Modernization as an ideology taken place in the primary school Yurt Bilgisi textbooks in the new language, in nationalism understanding, in stress on technology (in agriculture and transport) and education, in ellections and parliamentarism, justice, courts, freedom. All these concepts are represented in the books in words and in pictures by using a new alphabet by changing all old customs through Atatürk Revolutions, as Harvey (1997) pointed out modernization is also a destruction of the old. In fact the destruction and formulation of modernization had started in the Emperial period as it was discussed in the review of literature of this study. Therefore modernization as an ideology was a tool in the hands of the State bureaucracy for the transformation of the society. This tool was proposing a prosperous future around wich the society formed a solidarity. The tool (modernization) required justice and freedom of which the State provided

precisiously since the bureaucracy considered society immature. But never deprived from them neither. Nationalism was a part of the ideology but as a means of production of cohesion and capitalism may be called state capitalism with the coalition of bureaucrats and private capital owners. The reflection of State guided modernization with its stress on nationalism, freedom and justice conceptualizations, state capitalism are seen in the textbooks of civics in 1928, 1934 and 1937.

The state controlled modernization was called Kemalism with a perspective limited in Republic era. On the other hand the researcher believes that the modernization is a long and still lasting project having roots in the Emperial past and characteristic for Turkey. Therefore, the research questions are answered from this perspective. Another very important point in this study is the Althusser's (1994) theory of state apparatus. Education has an important role here to transfer the ideology of the state to the future generations through education. This is clearly observed in the primary school textbook of civics used in this study. The frequence of the words pictures and sentences in the texts disclose the strong ideological interference of the State to the minds of the citizens.

Eventhough it was not a question in the study the gender issues needs to be mentioned here briefly. Modernization in the sosial life specifically in the women's place in society improved with the Republic (Gök, 1999). One the sign of this is the presence of woman as a modern figure in the civics textbooks. With modern clothing and attitude, being a good mother and serving in chaities, they are the symbols of the Republican transformation. Nevertheless the woman's presence in the textbooks are limited to be good mother, educating their children doing housework and working in the agricultural area to help their housebands. This limited views in the textbooks are not the modern woman but a figure of the woman presented as modern. The woman in Turkey has a limited share from education in comparison to man (Gök, 1990). Therefore the modernization project in Turkey has not have an end in many areas and one of them is the issues related to woman. The textbooks are important evidences for the efforts of transformation in this area and they shaw that education is a good means for this change. Therefore Gönül the protagonist of the 1928 textbook is an important figure for her time as presenting woman in the social arena. Nevertheless more efforts are needed and critical mind is an important tool for thi

The first question of this study is concerned with the modernization process. The textbooks mainly blamed Hamidian period for the limitation of freedom and dictatorship and Mehmet VI for his collaboration with occupation forces. Nevertheless the first and second Meşrutiyet take place in the books as the basis of parliamentarism. Even in the books of 1934 (p.90) and 1937 (p.12) second Meşrutiyet is presented as social revolution. This bound with the past which is established around parliamentarism, is meaningful in the sense that modernism as a project of transformation finds its roots in the previous period. This transformation needs the intellectual and political dynamism and a parliament, representation of public, right of election, expression of ideas. Nonetheless the claim of the Republic was to continue Turkish modernization project with the revolutions. Therefore for the persistence of modernization depended on the preservation of the six Kemalist principles. On the other hand the dogmatization of the principles are obviously observed in the Yurt Bilgisi textbooks. The repetition of the concepts solidarism, nationalism, republicanism, secularism, populism, statism under different forms and words do not provide much room for the differentiation and individuation. In fact the Program of 1937 suggests cohesion and individualism at the same time, but unsuccessful to synthesize both. Since the modernization in Turkey differs from the Western examples, it is important to reformulate western model of modernization for Turkish case. Therefore eventhough this study uses a modernization model basing on western experience it intends to interpret it in terms of Turkish case. The model of modernization proposed in this study contains three important aspects namely, modernism, nation state and capitalism. In the textbooks the most frequent and stressed aspect is nation state. Historical, linguistic, moral, cultural features of Turkish society is conceptualized to provide an identity to the society. That is why the

nationalism is taking place with a gradual strenght in the texts. The period with kurdish uprising, strong nationalism in Europe and religious opposition in the country forced the governments to take a more nationalist steps. This is seen in the textbooks, the word nationalism used only 18 times in 1928 Yurt Bilgisi book, 26 times in 1934 and 136 times in 1937. On the other hand Civilization was a more stressed concept in 1928, mentioned 46 times but lost its importance in 1934 and 1937 only took place 8 times and once. The stress on nationalism is also seen in chaper headings in 1934 and 1937 Yurtbilgisi textbooks the chapters on nationalism, Turkey, Turks take place, pn the other hand in 1928 textbook, public is more stressed. The nationalism sometimes exaggerated suggesting that the Turkish nation is the greatest nation in the world, or Turks founded first hospitals in the world. Nevertheles the respect for other nations are also present in the texts. The nationalism had the function to unite the public of the Turkey under a new baner than religion. That was therefore an important step toward modernization by reinterpreting religion and giving up religious understanding in state affairs. In fact the process had started when first commercial courts established in 1836 and continued with more interference of secular understanding in state affairs through Tanzimat, I and II Meşrutiyet and İttihat ve Terakki Period. Briefly nationalism had the function of reformulating of the identity of the society. The education in that case was a useful tool to spread out this new identity. In this educational process the attempts to use a clean and understandable Turkish which was started during Tanzimat period reached its peak with Republic. As scholars (Smith,1998; Anderson,1995; Hellner,1992) pointed out the national language is very important for the formation of a nation. The need seems to be understood by Empire intellectual bureaucrats and the language of the empire as Turkish is taught in schools everywhere in the empire. This transformation from Empire to Republic required the

formulation of a common culture of the core nation of the country which according to Anderson (1995). Turkish language was one of the shared culture from which Turkish nationalism was formulated. The radical attempts of purification of language during Republic caused a break up from Imperial past. The change of alphabet served the same purpose of forming a new nation with a new language. On the other hand flag as a symbol of a nation was poorly represented in the textbooks. The reason for that may be the Ottoman and Turkish flag is same therefore it may remind Imperial period. This was important since the new regime did not accept the Ottoman Past. It is crucial to note that the nationalism in Turkish case had not started as a fascist nationalism, but as nationalism of citizenship which is also stressed by Mustafa Kemal. The reflection of nationalism in the 1928 civic textbook was poorer than the other two textbooks with a strong stress on community, solidarity, civilization, education. Nevertheless the language of nationalism changed through time according internal and external circumstances and became more stronger specifically in the 1937 textbook. The capitalism on the other hand does not exist in the texts. Instead statist economy and State investments and control over economy are pictured. The Kadro movement of the period and World economic crisis might be the reason of this economical attitude but also it is possible to detect rationalist economy approach in these statist policies. That is to say Kadro movement tried to rationalize economical processes through planned economy without falling to communist formulation and find a synthesis of capitalism and communism. In fact this was a serious project eventhough concluded very early its impact lasted for years. This new economy system also gives the clues of modernist thinking and in terms of power allocation in the society, justice and freedom. The view of Gökalp (1978) about a solidarist society with labour division provided support for state economy system on the one hand but also denied

the class conflicts therefore formed a basis for the future capitalists to operate freely to accumulate capital. This attitude of solidarity and denial of class conflict is evident in the textbooks. The textbooks have a strong language on labour division and peace of labour. The State as a representative of public or citizens owns the main investments of the country and most people work for it which means for public therefore the peace of labour is established by statist economy. It is also important to remind that in 1930 the strike is banned. On the other hand agriculture was forming the basis of the economy. Therefore the strengthening of the peasantry and teaching the peasants the modern ways of agriculture, health protection, community life was important economically since 80% of the population of the period were peasants. In the 1928 and 1934 textbooks village and villagers were the most mentioned words than any others. The stress on peasantry rather than the capitalist agriculture such as big farms was a political preference since there was not enough industry to attract peasants to cities. Nevertheless in 1937 Yurt Bilgisi textbook villages lost their importance mentioned only 14 times (in contrast to 206 times in 1928, 248 times in 1934) but economy and commerce gained more value. The period has the start of the Turkish industrialization. Since the depression in World economy allowed the protectionist economies Turkey started a planned economy with a strong will for industrialization. It also seems that the nationalist private capital accumulation started during İttihat ve Terakki period had stopped due to the loss of fortune and investors during wars. The modernism in the sense of justice, freedom, technology, political power were presented in the textbooks and in the school program but the reality shows that the accessibility of social positions mentioned by Heller (1999) is reserved only for those who have some kind of privileges such as being civil or military bureaucrats, big merchants, big farmers or having good education. The statistical evidences provided

by Tezel (1994) supports this view. The parliament members of the period were bureaucrats, lawyer, doctor, merchant or big farmer. Another problem was the situation of woman in the society, eventhough they gained many rights with Republic regime in the in the Yurt Bilgisi textbooks used in this study they still keep the traditional role as mother and housekeeper. The expression of changes done in civil and punishment codes during 1926-1935 period are observed in textbooks but the process of transformation and the need for that was not a subject of discussion. That is to say the thinking on transformation is not included to the textbooks but only the applications are transmitted. Nevertheless the 1936 Educational Program ordered teachers to provide a discussion and rational thinking atmosphere in the classroom to stimulate collecting information, comparing evidences and conclude accordingly. Therefore the integrity of the program suggests a modernism but the material limits this process by poor representation of modernist thinking frameworks such as pictures different point of views, alternative lifestyles or economical systems.

The answer to the question of what is the meaning of modernization process in the primary school Yurtbilgisi textbooks is nation wide solidarism for the development of the country with the help of powerful state mechanism using education and technology and justice and equality. These are the main lines of process of modernization in the textbooks. Eventhough they miss the daily acts and transformation of modernism still they included will for transformation. But the worry from transformation is felt in the limitations of modernist thinking. The process of modernization as Göle (1998) suggested has a different way of existance in Turkish case. The newly formed Republic was considered to be vulnerable, therefore eventhough the modernization is desired its process is closely controlled by the State as it was the case during Empire.

The meaning of the modernization for Empire has the same value for the Republic: reestablishing the power of the state so strongly that it persists forever. It seems the founders of the Republic traditionally received the idea that modernization will provide this regain of power. In the course of modernization the redefining and forming a new citizenship concept for the Republic had the major activity of the early years. This attempt required a heavy transformation. Traditionally old and new survived together in Empire. This was healthy in a sense for the internalization of the new by public. On the other hand the slow improvement was delaying need for development. The Republic solved this problem with rapid, deep and large actions of revolutions. Nevertheless, the opposition for this heavy transformation was strong. Therefore the Kemalist principles formed the cement for the stabilization of the society. Economical and political conflicts dealt with either by using ideology or by force. Thus the Republic was caught to the trap of missing elaboration of modernism part of modernization for the benefit of nationalism and statism. The missing part though was forming the dynamism of the modernization. Nonetheless, it is an unfair position to ignore pluralistic approaches in political, economical and educational areas such as trying to establish an opposition party in the parliament, formulating statist economy for the benefit of society and promotion of humanistic education in the class (in the Program and in texts) but they were strongly under the control.

Modernization process in the primary textbooks means the parliamentarism has a long story in the society, solidarism for development for prosperous future is needed therefore nation and state work together with the leading ideology of the state in economy and politics. In the society if everyone does his job than the peace and

justice and equality will be established. To reach this end education and use of technology are suggested to be very important.

The second research question of this study is concerned with the citizen model that the Republic wanted to create in primary school textbooks: In Althusserian terms education is a means of manipulation in the hands of the people who are using state organization. By using education the masses are oriented according to the needs of the power owners. Therefore any school related material provides the evidence of the ideological orientation of the state. When primary school Yurt Bilgisi textbooks studied in this work the citizen model desired by Republic became obvious with the characteristics of obedience and devotion, republicanism, solidarism, nationalism, secularism and rationalism. For the Republic these are the major properties that a citizen should have. The textbooks have the promotion of these characteristics: the texts are formed around the importance of nationalism, obedience (limited freedom), solidarism, statism and populism. State protector and provider demands the devotion and obedience of the public. The intellectual pluralism has not an importance place in this process. Nevertheless, it is important to note that a humanistic approach in 1936 Education program and the content of the texts are providing serious evidences for a formation of pluralistic arena. The concern for individualism, rationalism, altruism, creativity, esthetic and experiential learning of the student (statement numbers from the Educational Program of 1936: 4,5,6,10,11,12,15,17) is essentially shows the will of the state for a dynamic intellectual atmosphere in the class. Besides the content of the textbooks has the essence of this humanism and enlightenment (education, social life, responsibility towards the other members of the community, civilization) which is neglected for the benefit of nationalism and statism. The class atmosphere may be a

model of the future society but within the boundaries of modernization understanding of the state. This understanding does not give much place for other thoughts for dynamism since the State is convinced that modernization has been already achieved by revolutions . On the other hand the major paradox formed around the state's wish for pluralist intellectual arena and enlightenment for the continuum of the modernity and the fear from this pluralism due to the danger of collapse of the state. This worry became more cristalized throughout the time. The evidence for this is more frequent use of the words:nation, homeland, turkey and turks in 1937 textbook. These words stresses the need for unity and cohision of the people in Turkey under the concepy of nation. This is a calculated preference against islamism which is a strong bound among the people in Turkey.

The third question of this study is dealing if differences exist among the textbooks in terms of understanding of modernization and socio-economical policies. The general answer of this question is there is no major difference in terms of understanding of modernization and socio-economical policies. Especially in the socio-economical area satatist and agricultural economy was clearly exhibited with a strong stress on village. On the other hand more humanistic approach of 1928 textbook slowly leaves its place to strong nationalist one. More words about nation, army, enemy, Turkey and turks are uded in contrast to less words about village, civilization, working, family city and town which reflects more cultural and synthesizing approach. Local governments which form a major part of the texts of 1928 and 1934 had lost their importance in 1937 textbook for the benefit of central government and state. The social and economical changes in and out of the country

during the early decades of the Republic, seems to direct the policies for more cohesion and security. The depression of world economy, rise of nationalism in Europe, Soviet Russia, uprisings of islamists and kurds in the country strengthened the nationalism and statism. It seems that self confidence and liberalism of the early years of the Republic after the victory, left its place for more security and unity needs than before. As an evidence of that Atatürk is mentioned more in 1937 textbook 16 times and there are 6 pictures of him, since he was the founder of the Republic and İnönü 3 times as the actual President. The frequent appearance of the authority figures in the textbook of 1937 refers to the need of strenght of the regime.

The fourth question of this study is concentrated around the political forces which are behind the primary education and their meaning in social context. The difficulty to keep the modernist transformation therefore not being able to provide room for intellectual pluralism may be an excuse taking into account local and international conditions and hurrying for development. Nevertheless the modernist authoritarian state find a strong ground to develop capitalist formation which takes its roots from İttihat ve Terakki period .Major stress on solidarism by denying class differences, reducing equality to equal treatment in the court, state investments, working hard for the community benefit, in Yurt Bilgisi textbooks are the signs of the state's promotion of mixt economy where capitalism and state may go hand in hand without facing the opposition of the masses. The primary school Yurt Bilgisi textbooks are preparing the students for a responsible and obedient citizenship. The citizen model is defined around the modernization policies which means educated, socially responsible devoted to the State and nation, hardworking, rational people. Therefore the enlightenment functions of education can not be denied. As a result the narration of enlightenment

needs to be limited tactfully so that a modern but obedient citizen can be created. The state bureaucracy to secure their places and capital owners to accumulate more capital with the help of the state need reliable masses. The state's position has more power than the capital owners who have not sufficient accumulation. This weaker position of the capitalist class offers an opportunity for the civil and military bureaucracy who are using state apparatus to strengthen their positions. Therefore state rather than having a mediator role in Polantzian terms has the role of organizer and decision maker in the name of masses for Turkey's case. In fact this over-position of the state is a legacy from the Empire bureaucracy. Thus education easily stabilizes the image of the state in the minds of the future citizens. By doing this state bureaucracy is securing its place in the power struggle between classes for future. The State power specifically strongly stresses in 1937 textbook state and government mentioned 129 times having second rank after nation. With the same token the words with local government nearly disappears from the textbooks though in 1928 textbook they had an important place. The appearance of state more than community in the last textbooks also shows the reflection statist policies to the education. Nevertheless it is crucial to say that the 1936 Program of Education has a humanist and modernist approach to the education in the second part. This is an evidence of wholistic understanding of modernization rather than a simple imitation of western world.

This perspective has an important implication for adult education. The modernization requires the interference of the masses to their fate. Therefore State needs to give more space to the personal freedom to provide a dynamism to modernization. That is to say also that the western definition modernization needs to reformulated or redefined for Turkey by Turks. For this end education of adults and re education of

adults are needed to transform a State dependent society to self sufficient one with more freedom and less control. In the Turkish modernization there is a will and room for that from the beginning with a tighter control. Now it is to time to put aside the control and trust public.

B.Limitations of the Study and Suggestions

In this study modernization considered to be a larger concept than the formulation in Kemalist ideology which aims: 1. modern and enlightened 2. devoted citizen to Kemalist ideas. The conflict between modernism and devotion is modernization requires change and devotion stability. The problem of Republic is not this conflict but the way it is handled. The way chosen to deal with the conflict was stucked with six principles of Kemalism so that the rather than to establish a transformation process they became dogmas, barriers on the way of modern transformation. Their persistence though, may be explained from their ideological functions. These functions served to create a cohesive, economically developing socially changing and obedient society. But this society had the frustration of not being able to reach the level of western world in many ways. One of the reason for this is suggested to be intellectual insufficient pluralism and enlightenment that education might provide but not preferred to do so. The discussion of this study provides clues to understand of adult education policies of the state, since nation formation is claimed to be the common background of primary and adult education.

This study involves limited research material and larger periods to be studied in detail. Especially the content of the Ottoman school textbooks may provide a valuable understanding for the background for modernization. The micro analysis of the periods with more details in economical and political data may provide a better conceptualization of the educational policies. On the other hand more research is needed for the conceptualization of Turkish modernization process which are not limited within the Republic era. By this way the role of education in the modernization process may be better understood. Another limitation of this work was the study of the reflection of modern to the daily life which would bring a deeper understanding to the period.

This study tried to combine economical, political and educational transformation in the lives of the citizens with a historical perspective in order to provide a three dimensional view of the period. Rich and huge amount of reading material, old scripts, caused the limitations of the study including the researcher's subjective perception of the world.

For further studies it is advisable to include some more material from Ottoman period. It will be also valuable to discuss some gender issues and their relation to modernist transformation. Rather than macro analysis micro analysis of shorter periods and study of laws of education will enrich any study in the area of modernization.

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