

**SOSYAL BİLGİLER
SOSYAL WHO ARE WE?
5. SINIF**

IDENTITY, CITIZENSHIP AND RIGHTS IN TURKEY'S TEXTBOOKS

KENAN ÇAYIR



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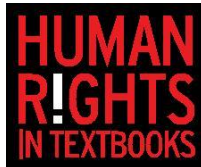
PROMOTING HUMAN RIGHTS IN TEXTBOOKS III: RESEARCH RESULTS

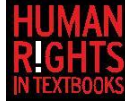
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RIGHTS
IN TEXTBOOKS**

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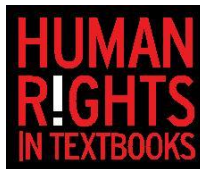
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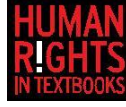
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TEXTBOOKS

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FOREWORD

The Promoting Human Rights in Textbooks III project was carried out by the History Foundation in collaboration with the Centre for Sociology and Education Studies at Istanbul Bilgi University (SEÇBİR). Conducted within the “European Instrument for Democracy and Human Rights” incentive programme of the Delegation of the EU to Turkey, the project is a follow-up to the two previous Promoting Human Rights in Textbooks projects that were completed by the History Foundation in 2003 and 2009.

The Promoting Human Rights in Textbooks II project was carried out by the History Foundation in collaboration with the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey and with the support of the Delegation of the EU to Turkey following the curriculum reform introduced by the Ministry of National Education in 2004. The findings of this project revealed that although there were improvements in the textbooks compared to those examined before the reform, some basic problems continued. Educational materials can be a tool for ensuring the establishment of fundamental rights and freedoms and reinforcing social peace in Turkey, and as such the monitoring of these materials by non-governmental experts in the field meets an important social need. With the Promoting Human Rights in Textbooks III project, the History Foundation has, since 2002, built up substantial experience on the monitoring and reporting of school textbooks, and brought identified problems and suggested solutions to the attention of related governmental and non-governmental organisations; this experience has been further enriched by the expertise and support of SEÇBİR. The History Foundation and SEÇBİR believe that this experience will help to increase the number of new projects carried out in collaboration with other universities/ research centres and/or civil society organisations working in the field of education.

Despite the fact that since 2009 Turkey has been undergoing significant developments (the peace process, the democratic initiative process etc.), the basic mentality in textbooks that gives rise to rights violations and discrimination unfortunately continues. This mentality still imprisons Turkey in a singular understanding of citizenship and attributes to education a central role in the construction of this citizenship.

It is a fundamental necessity that civil society, using a participatory approach, systematically monitors and reports on rights violations and discrimination, in order to make this process a continued and sustainable one. The findings of this third Promoting Human Rights in Textbooks Analysis Report, entitled Who Are We? Identity, Citizenship and Rights in Textbooks, will be shared with the Ministry of National Education and the relevant units and committees of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, as well as civil society organisations operating in the field of education; local, national and international press; and the Turkish public. Furthermore, it is essential that we do not ignore the need for the development and spread of alternative educational content. As such, two “History of Civilisation” workbooks and a website to which new alternative educational materials will be uploaded are being developed within the scope of this project. A team of experienced history teachers created these resources in line with ideas and suggestions from teachers participating in workshops held in two provinces.

In the name of the History Foundation and SEÇBİR we would like to offer our sincerest thanks to the Delegation of the European Union to Turkey who lent financial support to this third Promoting Human Rights in Textbooks project, the members of the advisory committee whose names feature in the project information on the first page of this book, the author of the report, the project assistants, the members of the research team, and all those involved in writing the alternative textbooks. We also thank Kate Ferguson, who produced the English translation of the short version of the report.

Let us hope that in the future we will live in a democratic country in which there is no need to monitor discrimination in education.

Gülay Kayacan-Melisa Soran

Project coordinators

Preface

This book could have been given the title of the project upon which it is based, Promoting Human Rights in Textbooks III, as this study follows on from the two previous projects carried out by the History Foundation with the support of the Turkish Academy of Sciences and the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey. The first Promoting Human Rights in Textbooks project was completed in 2003 and the second in 2009, and reports were published for each project. This third study could be said to serve various purposes. Most importantly it constitutes an important step in the institutionalisation of the monitoring of textbooks in Turkey. As stated in the introduction, textbooks are one of the most important components of education, and through them it is possible to discuss the limits of a country's official discourse, power relationships, and the relationship between education and democratisation or social conflict. As such, this study enables a systematic analysis of the narrative of national identity and the concept of citizenship in Turkey within the framework of fundamental rights and freedoms.

This study, in which a total of 245 textbooks were examined and thousands of pieces of data were produced, was carried out by the History Foundation in collaboration with the Centre for Sociology and Education Studies at Istanbul Bilgi University and is the work of a very large team. The members of the advisory committee, the team that analysed the textbooks and the advisory teachers' group, who are individually named in the book, played a key role in the research process. In the name of the two organisations that carried out the study, I would like to express our infinite gratitude to all of these individuals involved. Having analysed the data and written this report I would like to personally thank Gülay Kayacan, who ran the project with great efficiency. It would not have been possible to collect and analyse so much data without Melisa Soran, project manager responsible for the textbooks, and project assistants Melike Ergün and Muhsine Önal. These colleagues gave their support at every point of the writing process and I cannot thank them enough for this. I would also like to offer my thanks to Gamze Sarışen

and Sevim Çiçek, who read and gave their suggestions on the first draft of the report, and to Tuba Erdoğan who read through the final version. Finally, I would like to extend my special thanks to Kate Ferguson who has translated the short version of the report into English. Kate's extensive knowledge of Turkish history and society helped to ensure the high quality of the English version of this work.

Kenan Çayır

May 2014

Abbreviations

- RCM : Religious Culture and Morals (*Din Kültürü ve Ahlak Bilgisi*)
MoNE : Ministry of National Education (*Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı*)
TM : Teacher's Manual (*Öğretmen Kılavuz Kitabı*)
SW : Student Workbook (*Öğrenci Çalışma Kitabı*)
BoE : Board of Education (*Talim ve Terbiye Kurulu Başkanlığı*)

INTRODUCTION

Are textbooks important?

Some teachers say that textbooks are not important, stating that they rarely use them and that in any case good teachers base their lessons on other resources. Indeed, it is true that despite the use of approved textbooks being obligatory in Turkey, teachers in some schools do not use them. In some private schools in particular it is observed that teachers use material that they have developed themselves, running their lessons in parallel to the official curriculum. Furthermore, students do not hold on to their textbooks as they would a novel, for example. At the end of the school year such material is either put out on the doorstep or returned to the school.

Despite such realities, what makes textbooks important is not whether or not they are read or used. It is also a fact that textbooks are still used in many schools and by millions of students as almost the only educational resource. Beyond whether or not they are used, what ultimately makes textbooks important is the fact they are one of the fundamental vehicles for determining the limits of a country's "official knowledge" (Apple, 1993). In other words, textbooks themselves relay to us a basic message through their cover, the images they contain, the language they use and the topics that they include or leave out. With this message, textbooks are resources that show a country's dominant and "normal" discourse, and that determine which topics can be discussed and which are taboo in public life.

As such, alongside the constitution, textbooks can be seen as one of the fundamental elements that reflect a "society's spirit and organization" (Touraine, 2000: 265). In Turkey, for example, even if students and teachers (and others) do not read the textbooks, they are aware of their "content" and "message." As stated by some school teachers consulting on this report, even if they do not use the textbooks themselves, teachers base their lesson outlines on textbooks published by the Ministry of National Education (MoNE), and as such they recognise where the line is drawn between the topics they can comfortably cover and those they cannot.

Textbooks are generally presented as resources that provide objective information independent of politics. This is undoubtedly an illusion that is created with the use of a variety of methods. For example, no information is given anywhere in textbooks about the authors' background or stance, there is no mention of the writing process, and textbooks are written as though a "corporate author speaks from a position of transcendence" (Helgason, 2010). However, these textbooks are created by a wide variety of people, such as MoNE bureaucrats, authors, publishing houses and curriculum designers, and through the consensus of decision-making mechanisms. Textbooks are at the very centre of a country's political debate and, as Michael Young points out, discussions on textbooks also include, directly or indirectly, debates about alternative views of society and society's past/future (Young, 2009: 9). In every country, textbooks contain a series of elements such as how information will be classified, the limits of national and universal culture, how history should be understood and how the sense of "us," or collective identity, should be formed. When looked at in this context, we can see that while on the one hand textbooks can contribute to the expansion of a country's basic rights and freedoms, to the development of students' imaginary, and to social peace; on the other hand, with the discriminatory discourse they contain, they can cause increased social conflict and inequality, making them part of the problem rather than the solution. With this in mind, it is clear that in Turkey, a country undergoing rapid social and political transformation, it is crucial for more attention to be given to the study and development of textbooks.

The transformation process in Turkey and textbooks

In recent years, Turkey has been undergoing a process of transformation of a kind never seen before in the history of the Republic. During this process Turkey has been attempting to find solutions to longstanding problems and to develop a new social contract through plans for a new constitution, the Peace Process, and policy initiatives aimed at different groups. This is because, just as in many countries, the structure and school of the nation state can no longer meet the demands of Turkey's different groups. During this time Kurds, whose existence was denied for years, have been questioning existing political practices and demanding recognition as equal citizens. Furthermore, Alevis, Armenians, Assyrians and Romanies, women and members of the LGBTI community are increasingly speaking out about their problems and demanding equality. One of the main arenas in which these demands become concrete is education. For example, the most basic demand within the Kurdish community is for education in the mother tongue, while Alevis oppose compulsory religious education due to a concern about "Sunni-isation." It was recently revealed that many citizens of the Republic of Turkey of Armenian or Greek origin are still given an "ancestry code" within the education system (Radikal, 2013); these citizens face ongoing discriminatory practices and are concerned about being able to provide their children with an education that will pass on their language and culture (Kaya and Somel, 2013; Kaya, 2012).

An interesting aspect of the situation in Turkey is that during this transformation process it is not only the minority groups who are concerned about being unable to preserve their identity and cultural values, but also the historically dominant groups that represent the majority in political terms. For example, over the last twenty years conservative groups have become successful both economically and politically, becoming members of the middle class. However, these groups demand freedom of choice in terms of clothing (essentially with regard to the headscarf) for both teachers and students. Groups that describe themselves as Republican/secular claim that education serves the cause of strengthening religion, as seen in the 4+4+4 reform process, which reopened religious vocational schools (*İmam Hatip*) and introduced new elective Religious Education lessons. These groups even raise concerns about the fact that the Student Oath (*Öğrenci Andı*), which includes the line “How happy is the one who says ‘I am Turkish,’” was made non-compulsory, and about the educational debates regarding education in the mother tongue, believing that this process will destroy Turkish culture and identity (Öksüz, 2013).

It could be argued that this transformation process has the potential both to increase social tensions and to strengthen democratisation in Turkey. Indeed, there is a real possibility that this process could exacerbate tension and conflict among the different groups in the country, as demands for equality by groups who speak a language other than Turkish or who practise a religion other than Islam mean that the country needs to question existing limits and perceptions. For example, debates over whether or not the new constitution should include the concept of “Turkishness” have caused great concern among groups who define themselves first and foremost as Turks. People believe that their identity is under threat and that they will see a decline in their resources as a result of the inclusion of the identities of others. Such fears foster the potential for conflict and the use of discriminatory language, and recent studies have shown that there has been an increase in hate speech against certain groups. For example, according to a study by the Association for Social Change (*Sosyal Değişim Derneği - SDD*), every year the run-up to 24 April, which marks the anniversary of the beginning of the Armenian Genocide, sees an increase in hate speech in the national press against Armenians and Turkish citizens of Armenian origin. The study also states that hate speech against Kurds has risen following the “democratic initiative process” (SDD, 2010).

Furthermore, ethnic or religious groups that are concerned about being unable to regenerate their own identities, languages and cultures and pass them on to their children are politicising their identities, through which they formulate their demands. As a result, all of these fears can strengthen the perception that these groups have fixed cultures that are fundamentally different from each other. Such a situation causes the spread of “essentialist approaches” to the subject of identity and culture, which in turn generates micro-nationalisms based on identity politics, and strong social conflict.

It is also clear, however, that this process holds the potential to strengthen democratisation, because for the first time in the history of the Republic,

discussions have opened up about previously taboo subjects and about different identities and demands. Being able to discuss problems by identifying them increases our chances of solving them. If successful, the new civil constitution will remove the legal obstacles to solving these problems, and it will therefore be possible for different identities and demands to be legally recognised. However, such legislative changes only offer solutions to the social problems at the tip of the iceberg, and ensuring the principle of equality at a legal level alone will not ensure social peace. Creating a lasting social peace is only possible through raising citizens who believe in equality among different groups and who adopt a multi-cultural and pluralist imaginary. In other words, alongside legal reforms, it is necessary to develop a new understanding of identity and a social imaginary that enables different groups to live together in peace.

Textbooks contribute significantly to this process. The aim of this study is to examine, according to basic human rights standards, the situation of textbooks in Turkey during this period of transformation. The study is intended to be a follow-up to two earlier projects on the subject of textbooks. The first study, conducted in 2003 by the History Foundation in collaboration with the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (Çotuksöken, Erzan and Silier, 2003), found that textbooks contained a significant level of discriminatory statements and violations of rights, both direct and indirect. The textbooks were found to be behind the times in terms of both educational philosophy and content. In 2004, the MoNE implemented a comprehensive reform of education. As part of this reform, curricula were revised using a constructivist approach and new textbooks were written. As well as the textbooks, student workbooks and teaching manuals were, for the first time, prepared according to what was said to be a constructivist philosophy. These new textbooks were examined as part of the Promoting Human Rights in Textbooks II project, and the findings were published in 2009 (Tüzün, 2009). Recommendations reports were also prepared for both projects.¹ According to the findings of the second study, openly discriminatory statements and violations of rights were comparatively fewer, but the problem of the basic mentality of the textbooks remained. Textbook content still excluded or ignored differences, and problems related to militaristic content and gender discrimination remained, while the textbooks, having been prepared hurriedly during the reform process, also contained various factual mistakes.² Other studies have shown that the constructivist philosophy in education is not reflected in textbooks, and that learning objectives such as the development of critical thinking remain on paper only (Aktekin, 2010; Çayır, 2009a).

1 For the general findings and recommendations of the two projects (in Turkish only) see http://www.tarihvakfi.org.tr/dkih/download/bulgular_tavsiyeler_raporu.pdf

2 According to a comprehensive study that is soon to be published, rather than being a reform implemented as a result of broad consensus between different groups, the 2004 reform was carried out according to the decisions of a limited academic circle (Nohl and Somel, 2014).

Significant developments have occurred in the field of education in Turkey since the completion of this second study in 2009. The Milli Güvenlik (National Security) lesson, which was extremely problematic in terms of content, was removed from the national curriculum. Elective courses for the Kurmanji, Zazaki, Abaza, Adyge and Laz languages were introduced. Assyrians gained the right to education in their mother tongue and the legal obstacle to Kurdish education in private schools was removed, although various problems remain in practice. Compulsory education was increased to 12 years, and elective courses on the Quran, the Life of the Prophet Muhammad, and Basic Religious Knowledge were added to the curriculum.

All of these recent developments point to a critical situation and need: in a country that is trying to solve the Kurdish issue, that has added the Abaza, Adyge and Laz languages to the curriculum, and where the problems of Alevis and non-Muslim minorities are constantly on the political agenda, it is impossible for the education system to continue with an approach that excludes differences, as revealed by the findings of the second report. As such, it is necessary to monitor textbooks continuously and to ensure that the topic of developing an educational system that helps to develop an understanding of equal citizenship in Turkey is kept on the agenda. Run by the History Foundation in collaboration with the Centre for Sociology and Education Studies at Istanbul Bilgi University as a follow-up to the previous two Promoting Human Rights in Textbooks projects, this study was drawn up within this context. As in the previous studies, the textbooks were examined using the Analysis Criteria provided in Appendix 1, which was drawn up according to universal human rights standards.

Human rights standards and Analysis Criteria

The framework of the Promoting Human Rights in Textbooks projects is based on an examination of the extent to which textbooks in Turkey comply with universal human rights standards. As stated by Turgut Tarhanlı in his general evaluation of the findings of the second project, when human rights law is mentioned today, what is understood – in the context of the entire history of humanity – is, “a system that is measured and evaluated according to the principal of universality, and whose basic structures are legitimised within international law” (2009: 28). This system includes basic human rights conventions, rights protection mechanisms and monitoring organisations. Turkey is a signatory to many international conventions that were used to draw up these Analysis Criteria; these conventions impose certain obligations on the country, a detailed account of which is given in the Analysis Criteria. The right to education holds an important place among the basic rights and freedoms guaranteed by these conventions, because the right to education “is a human right in and of itself, and also an inseparable component of the guarantee of other human rights” (Tarhanlı, 2009: 33). In other words, having the right to an education that meets human rights standards is one of the most important conditions of ensuring other rights and freedoms. Various articles

on the right to education are included in many international texts, from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to the Convention on the Rights of the Child. The right to education is not, however, limited to access to education, and the content of educational materials is also directly linked to this right (Tarhanlı, 2009: 38). Discussing the quality of textbooks does not, therefore, fall outside the framework of the right to education. When textbook content is included within this framework, it can clearly be seen that these conventions impose on Turkey a number of obligations regarding the right to education and the preparation of textbooks of a certain quality. Committees responsible for monitoring these obligations request reports from member states. For example, the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, working within the framework of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, of which Turkey is a signatory, invited member states to present information on the measures they had taken, particularly in the field of education. As Tarhanlı stated in the second study, the History Foundation's Promoting Human Rights in Textbooks project was mentioned in the report that Turkey submitted to this committee regarding measures taken in this area. The report stated that various steps had been taken towards complying with universal standards such as gender equality, democracy and human rights, adding that textbooks are regularly monitored in order to ensure there is no discriminatory content.³ In this context, this third study within the Promoting Human Rights in Textbooks project can be seen as a contribution to the country's process of complying with the obligations imposed by international agreements.

Method, analysis and content

As in the first two projects, the Analysis Criteria (provided in full in Appendix 1) and Analysis Form (Appendix 2) were used during the collection of data for this third study. Firstly an Advisory Committee was formed, and this committee reviewed the criteria used in the previous studies, adapting the language of certain criteria and adding some extra articles.⁴ The textbooks were then analysed and documented according to these criteria. Unlike in previous studies, in this third study the team not only collected data on the problems in the textbooks, but also reported texts and images that could be described as "positive examples" in terms of universal human rights.

A total of 245 textbooks from different subjects were analysed within the study (see Appendix 5 for a list of these textbooks). For Mathematics and

3 CERD, "Reports Submitted by State Parties Under Article 9 of the Convention, Addendum: Turkey," CERD/C/TUR/3, 13 February 2008, paragraph 230; cited in Tarhanlı, 2009: 45.

4 During the meetings of the Advisory Committee it was decided that the framework of the Analysis Criteria should be expanded in light of developments in human rights standards. The articles of various conventions, including the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women and the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, were added to the Criteria in Appendix 1. The headings for these articles were formulated by Prof. Turgut Tarhanlı and Asst. Prof. İdil Işıl Gül.

Science and Technology lessons, only textbooks published by the MoNE were examined. For other subjects, textbooks published both by the MoNE and by private publishers were examined. A research team was formed to study the textbooks, made up of students who had worked on textbooks using the Analysis Criteria for one term in the Sociological Perspectives class taught by myself in the Sociology Department at Istanbul Bilgi University, as well as two researchers who had worked on the previous projects (see Appendix 3 for a list of members of the research team). The fact that the research team was familiar with the language of the criteria and had worked with the textbooks previously helped the research process run efficiently and smoothly. Through experience gained from the previous projects, we decided to establish a multi-stage control system in order to review the data collected by the research team and to identify any elements that may have been missed. With this system, the raw data was reviewed by Melisa Soran, the coordinator responsible for the textbook analysis, and by her assistants Melike Ergün and Muhsine Önal. The data was then categorised according to the various criteria and the textbooks were referred back to when necessary. Advisory meetings were then held in which the categorised data were shared with teachers from different subject areas (see Appendix 4 for a list of teachers invited to the meetings). In these meetings the authenticity of the data was tested and certain aspects brought to our attention by participating teachers were included in the report process.

The data collected as a result of this multi-stage control system were presented to me in October 2013 to be written up as a report. Rather than producing quantitative data, our basic aim in this study was to identify the level of violations or positive examples in the areas outlined by the Analysis Criteria. However, for certain topics it may be informative to mention briefly some of the figures produced in the report. At the end of the study a total of around 3650 violations and positive examples were reported; of these, 350 were positive examples and 3300 were violations. The violations were mainly within the criteria of “Us vs. Them.” As I will explain below, this was a factor that affected the structure of the final written report.

The data from the first and second Promoting Human Rights in Textbooks projects were assessed by different authors, who wrote up their reports based on a particular subject area or theme, such as “nationalism in textbooks.” This time, the aim was for the project to be written up by a single author in a shorter report. I set out to write this report based on the data provided by the study, using mainly the method of discourse analysis. The data could have been evaluated in different ways and the report could have been written in various forms. For example, the data could have been evaluated according to subject area, and the report could have been written by citing the violations and positive examples in, for example, Social Studies or Turkish lessons. Alternatively, the report’s chapters could have been set out according to the five subheadings of the Analysis Criteria. However, a general overview of the data showed us that the central problem in the textbooks lay in the national identity, or concept of “us,” that the textbooks seek to communicate to students. In other words,

the source of the problems in the areas of human rights, gender, democracy and critical educational philosophy lies in the sense of national identity that is presented in textbooks. As a result, it was suggested to the Advisory Committee that “Us vs. Them,” the second subheading of the Analysis Criteria, be taken as the focus of the report and that other violations or positive examples be evaluated accordingly. The committee approved this suggestion and the report was written under six subheadings.

The first chapter looks at how national identity is presented in textbooks, providing a list of excerpts from various textbooks in an attempt to analyse the narrative of national identity portrayed by the textbooks, with comments given only when necessary. The problems of the national identity presented by the textbooks are discussed in more depth in the second chapter. This chapter looks at the problems of the concept of citizenship presented in textbooks, as well as discriminatory and militaristic statements, with examples provided from various textbooks. The third chapter focuses on the concept of human rights in textbooks, with a discussion of both positive and problematic examples from the textbooks on themes related to human rights. The third subheading of the Analysis Criteria, “democracy and secularism,” is discussed in the fourth chapter of the report. Not only does this chapter discuss democracy and secularism, it also looks at the context in which concepts such as republic, state and civil society are used, and with what understanding they are presented. As well as the fact that these concepts are presented in the textbooks from the perspective of national security, this chapter discusses the problems caused by insufficient or inaccurate definitions in terms of universal standards. Data collected from the textbooks on the topic of gender are discussed in the fifth chapter. This chapter looks at positive examples that do not confine women and men to specific roles and that could therefore be considered successful in terms of overcoming gender stereotypes. However, the chapter also includes a discussion of examples that perpetuate sexism and unequal role distribution. The sixth and final chapter looks at the “educational philosophy in textbooks,” a subject that is inextricably linked to the topics of all the other chapters. This chapter attempts to show that despite planned learning outcomes in the curricula aimed at developing critical thinking, textbooks are still written from a one-sided perspective, are based on statements that defer to the power of the authorities rather than on scientific reasoning, and contain factual errors and irrelevant images, albeit less so than in the past. Recommendations were also given on how the textbooks could help to develop critical thinking.

CHAPTER I

WHO ARE WE? THE NARRATIVE OF NATIONAL IDENTITY IN TEXTBOOKS

Textbooks are one of the basic resources that tell the “official story” of a society. Those who design and write textbooks according to the national curriculum present a narrative about the people that make up that society, and about that society’s past, present and vision of the future. In other words, textbooks place the state and society within a historical context and attempt to develop a shared feeling of belonging, or “concept of us.” In this way, textbooks present us with a collective memory around which they aim to shape identity. Through textbooks it is therefore possible to see the limits of a country’s collective identity, who is included in this identity and who is excluded.

In countries such as Turkey where education is centrally planned, the narrative of identity tends to be a singular one; in other words, the national identity presented in textbooks by different publishers and authors is essentially the same. At times we can see this narrative directly, such as in the Grade 4 Social Studies topic “Learning My Past” or the Grade 9 History topic “The Arrival of the Turks on the Stage of History.” However, our research shows that almost every lesson, from Music to Literature or English, has been designed in order to develop this sense of national identity. As stated in the introduction, the main source of all the issues related to human rights that were found in the textbooks lies in this shared sense of “us” and the narrative of national identity. As I will mention later in this report, the reason for this is that there is a huge gulf between the national identity presented in textbooks and the current debates and issues in Turkey. On the one hand Turkey is trying to solve the problems of the different ethnic and religious groups that make up its society, while on the other hand the narrative of national identity seen in textbooks is based only on the history of the Turks and is presented in a way that is essentialist and

exclusionist. The problems created by such a narrative will be discussed in detail throughout this report. However, it is first necessary to decipher the codes of this identity construction in order to make them understandable. The narrative of national identity presented by the textbooks can be summarised as follows:

- *The origin of the Turks, which lie in Central Asia, can be traced back to ancient history.*
- *Turks are an “army-nation.”*
- *Ancient Turkic states were “democratic” and “secular” and implemented “equality between men and women”.*
- *Turks that accepted Islam retained their “national character,” while Turkic peoples who adopted “beliefs unsuited to their character” lost their “national identity.”*
- *The Turks founded a tolerant civilisation, but when “other nations embraced the ideal of nationalism” the Turks, who had long “neglected their nation,” became aware that they were a nation.*
- *The Turkish nation remained behind the West “through no fault of its own.”*

- *The Turks are a nation whose language and country - due to its “geopolitical importance” - are under threat.*
- *We must therefore know the principles of “national morals” and sacrifice ourselves for sacred values.*

This chapter will give examples of how the narrative of national identity is presented, using excerpts from the textbooks. These excerpts will, as far as is possible, be given without comment or being placed within a theoretical or critical context; the problems of this narrative will be discussed in detail in other chapters. Here we will give examples of how the narrative outlined in the statements above appears in textbooks.

The origin of the Turks, which lie in Central Asia, can be traced back to ancient history

When “we/us” is mentioned in textbooks it refers only to “Turks,” and the word “Turks” refers to a society whose origins lie in Central Asia. From as early as Grade 1, textbooks emphasise that the history of the Turks is not limited to the Republic of Turkey and the Ottoman Empire, stating, with continuous references to Turhan Feyzioğlu’s book *Atatürk ve Tarih* (Atatürk and History), that their history stretches back to Central Asia.

- “Contrary to what has long been believed in the West and in Turkey, Turkish history is not made up solely of Ottoman History. Furthermore, the Ottoman State is not a state created from one ‘dynasty’ or ‘tribe,’ it is a state founded on the legacy of the fallen Seljuk State. Therefore the period of the Seljuks, a state founded before that of the Ottomans, was a brilliant period of utmost importance in Turkish history. But this is not the full story, which dates to an even earlier time with the history of the Turks that began in Central Asia.” (Grade 6 Social Studies, MoNE: 24)

Particularly when the topic of migration is covered in Geography textbooks, this continuity in the history of the Turks is based on the *Türk Tarih Tezi* (Turkish History Thesis), although the title of this work is not mentioned. It is asserted that the origins of the Turkish culture date back to ancient history, with the migration of the Turks that began in the 5th millennium BC due to changes in the geographical conditions in their motherland of Central Asia.

- “The origins of the Turkish culture date back to ancient history. The geographical conditions in Central Asia and interaction with peoples of the region form the main elements of this culture.” (Grade 11 Geography, Lider: 145)

A similar narrative appears in a Grade 6 Turkish textbook:

- “The motherland of the Turks is Central Asia. In their motherland the Turks had an advanced civilisation. While people in other regions of the world lived a primitive life, our forefathers had domesticated animals. They learned how to process metals and plough the land.” (Grade 6 Turkish TM, Doku: 90)

Just as in all forms of nationalism, this narrative’s claim of the existence of a motherland creates a sense of having a deep-rooted nation. However, the narratives in the textbooks go beyond this, stating that Turks are fundamentally different from other nations and that while other peoples were “living a primitive life” the Turks had “an advanced civilisation.” The following pages will give various examples of how the construct of a history “exclusive to us” is established in the textbooks from very early on. For example, according to the textbooks, despite living a nomadic life the Turks were a nation with a homeland, unlike other nomadic peoples. The Grade 6 Social Studies Teacher’s Manual asks teachers to put particular emphasis on this situation:

- “Highlight [to your students] the fact that the Turks were a nation who had specific lands and territories, by saying that the Turks were migrant settlers who led a different life from nomadic peoples.” (Grade 6 Social Studies TM, MoNE: 99)

The textbooks therefore present the Turks as a nation that has its origins in Central Asia, that is fundamentally different from other peoples, and that has an innately advanced civilisation and a unique character.

Turks are an army-nation

According to the textbooks, one of the main qualities of the Turkish nation is that both its men and women are warriors. With reference to an anonymous scholar, the Grade 11 Geography textbook provides the following lines:

- “The art of the Turks is that of military leadership. They succeeded in forming a state that brought together thirty nations under one flag.

The Turkish Empire resembles none of the European states.” (Grade 11 Geography, MoNE: 139)

Many of the textbooks state that, thanks to their qualities as warriors, the Turks were historically known as an army-nation. The story that explains why they are known as an army-nation is told through the words of Mete [Modu Chanyu] who “turned the Asian Hunnic State into a powerful state by uniting the Turkish peoples.” According to Mete,

- “We, the entire Turkish nation, men and women, old and young alike, protected our nation against enemy attacks. After this struggle we were known as an ‘army-nation.’” (Grade 6 Social Studies, MoNE: 72); “The Turkish nation is the best example of the unity of the army-nation” (Grade 6 Social Studies, MoNE: 73).

The Grade 6 Social Studies textbook published by Altın Kitaplar also quotes Mete, this time referring to him with the title *Han* (Khan). According to Mete Han,

- “Being a soldier was not a special profession. The entire community was ready to fight at any moment. And so the tradition of the army-nation lay in the general character of our people.” (Grade 6 Social Studies, Altın Kitaplar: 69)

The claim that Turks are an army-nation is frequently repeated in History textbooks:

- “One of the most important factors enabling the Turks to form a powerful state was that they had a strong army... Almost every Turk within the nation, men and women alike, is a good soldier and is ready to fight at any moment. For this reason the term ‘army-nation’ was used for the Turkish nation.” (Grade 11 History, MoNE: 10)

According to the textbooks, one of the most important characteristics of the Turks, who left Central Asia and migrated to various regions, where they established states thanks to their warrior-like qualities, was that they were fundamentally “democratic,” “secular” and “egalitarian.”

Ancient Turkic states were “democratic” and “secular” and implemented “equality between men and women”

According to the textbooks, Turks have always been democratic. Social Studies textbooks use the topic of democracy in an anachronistic way to glorify Turks. Despite democracy being a concept that was developed in the modern period, the authors used the decision-making practices of *Kurultay*, *Toy* or *Divan* as proof of the Turks’ commitment to democracy:

- “Our nation is fundamentally democratic. The most ancient periods of the nation’s culture and traditions prove this. With its famous *kurultays* [councils] and by selecting its heads of state through these *kurultays*, the Turkish nation showed how strongly it was committed to the idea of democracy.” (Grade 7 Social Studies, MoNE: 149)
- “Throughout history it is possible to see the democratic characteristics of governance in the Turkish states. The *Kurultay*, *Toy*, and *Divan* were places where discussions were held and decisions taken on matters of state. The ruler would consult and listen to the opinions of the public.” (Grade 6 Social Studies, Altın Kitaplar: 143)

One of the most significant aspects of the textbooks is that they underline the singularity of the experience of ancient Turkic societies, while also stating that these societies characteristically held the principles of modern concepts. One of the most prominent of these concepts is that of equality. The textbooks state that ancient Turkic societies were egalitarian in terms of gender:

- “We do not see any inequality between men and women in ancient Turkic societies.” (Sociology, Ekoyay: 143)

Another “modern” characteristic of ancient Turkish societies is that they were secular. The textbooks assert that since ancient times the Turks have separated religious and state matters, unlike other contemporary societies:

- “If we look at the oldest periods of Turkish history, we see that very early on the Turkish nation understood the necessity and importance of separating religion and belief from state and political issues. This was the result of a developed intellect. [Unlike] Central Asia, China and other regions [...] in the Turkish states that were established thousands of years before Christ everybody had freedom of religion and belief. (High School Reform History and Kemalism, Netbil: 197)

The context in which these passages are used and the problems they raise will be covered in more detail in the fourth chapter of this report. For now, following the narrative in the textbooks, we will look at what the textbooks portray as one of the most important turning points in Turkish history: the adoption of Islam.

Turks that accepted Islam retained their “national character,” while Turkic peoples who adopted “beliefs unsuited to their character” lost their “national identity”

With the adoption of Islam, the national identity in textbooks also takes on a religious characteristic, with Islam and Turkishness being presented as two complementary elements. According to this narrative, the reason that Turks retained their national identity was the fact that they adopted “the religion of

Islam, which was most suited to their character.” According to the information given in History and Social Studies textbooks, Turkic peoples who did not adopt Islam lost their national identity and became distanced from their Turkishness.

- “Some Turkish peoples who adopted beliefs unsuited to their character lost not only their earlier ways of thought and understanding, but also their national identity, thus becoming distanced from their Turkishness... Among the religions adopted by the Turks, it was only Islam that had no negative impact; on the contrary, it allowed our nation to take even greater steps. Unlike other religions, Islam restored and complemented the Turks’ spiritual aspect. As well as the human and moral values of Islam, the fact that this religion encouraged everyone to work, take action, and when necessary carry out jihad, in other words bodily sacrifice, appealed to the spirit of the combative and active Turks.” (Grade 11 History, MoNE: 72)

- “Just as the Turks who adopted the religion of Islam retained their national identity, by joining the Islamic civilisation they also became one of the cornerstones of this civilisation.” (Grade 9 History, MoNE: 136)

Therefore the textbooks maintain that the basic element defining the limits of Turkishness, which makes up the sense of “us,” is Islam. It is clearly stated that those who adopted other religions lost their national identity and therefore could not be considered Turkish. At this point it is also important to note that when writing about the Turkish nation the authors use the concept of “character.” While claiming that Islam is the most suitable religion for the character of the Turkish nation, the authors imagine the nation as an organic whole. In other words, the idea of “nation” is not viewed by the textbooks as a social category formed by people with different lifestyles, beliefs or qualities. The textbooks instead present the nation as an organism with a “character,” as did the Romantic philosophers that constituted the basis for 19th and 20th century racism.¹ There is an attempt to show that, since this character is unchangeable, there was in fact no change in the beliefs of the Turks following their adoption of Islam. Below is an original page from the MoNE Grade 9 History textbook, showing a “Table of pre-Islamic and Islamic beliefs,” that is designed to serve this purpose.

An examination of the characteristics of the “Pre-Islamic beliefs” and “Islamic beliefs” given in the two columns of this table makes this objective even clearer. According to this table, the Turks previously believed in the Sky

1 It is observed that it is mainly nationalistic and conservative thinkers that use the words “nation” and “character” side by side and in an essentialist way. For example, Ali Fuad Başgil states, “What should be understood by the words character or temperament is, in the first sense, distinguishing psychological and spiritual features that distinguish one individual from all other individuals... The words character and temperament are also used with the same meaning in relation to particular groups of people, such as a race or nation” (Deren, 2006: 607).

yönümlayalım	
<p style="text-align: center;">İSLAM ÖNCESİ İNANIŞ</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gök Tanrı'ya inanılıyordu. • Türk töresinde hırsızlık, yalancılık, adaletsizlik yasaklanmıştı. • Ahiret inancı içinde iyi insanların ödüllendirildiği Ucağ (Cennet), kötülerin ise cezalandırıldığı Tamu (Cehennem) isimli yer inancı vardı. • Temizliğe önem verilirdi. • Farklı inanışlara hoşgörülü bir bakış söz konusuydu. • Din adamlarının herhangi bir üstünlüğü bulunmuyordu. 	<p style="text-align: center;">İSLAM İNANIŞI</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tek Allah inancı vardır. • İslam ahlak anlayışında hırsızlık, yalancılık ve adaletsizlik günah sayılır. • Ahiret inancı vardır. Ölümden sonra iyi, güzel ahlaklı insanların cennete, kötü ahlaklıların cehenneme gideceğine inanılır. • Temizlik imandandır ilkesi vardır. • İslamiyet hoşgörü dinidir. • Din adamlarına ayrıcalık tanıyan ruhban sınıfı yoktur.
Türkler Ansiklopedisi, C 4, s. 258'den özetlenmiştir.	

History 9, MoNE, p. 135.

God; after adopting Islam this was replaced by a monotheistic belief in Allah. When we look at the other items in the table we see that there is an assertion that there was no change in the essential beliefs of the Turks following their adoption of Islam, and that Islam is a religion suited to the “character of the Turks.” Religious education also follows this narrative. For example, according to the Grade 6 Religious Culture and Morals textbook, Turks adopted Islam because it was “suited to their lifestyle and character.”

- “Turks saw Islam as a tolerant religion that was suited to their lifestyle and character and that was very similar to their previous beliefs. They therefore looked favourably upon Islam and, over time, began to adopt this religion.” (Grade 6 RCM, MoNE: 117)

The emphasis in this passage on the fact that Turks adopted Islam because it is a tolerant religion is of particular importance. According to the construction of national identity in the textbooks, the Turks who became Muslim, thus protecting their national identity, created a tolerant civilisation, particularly in the Ottoman period.

The Turks founded a tolerant civilisation, but when “other nations embraced the ideal of nationalism” the Turks, who had long “neglected their nation,” became aware that they were a nation

The textbooks try to present tolerance both as a value that should be adopted today, but also as a quality that defines the Turks and shapes their history. According to the Grade 4 Social Studies textbook,

- “Being tolerant is one of the fundamental characteristics of the Turkish nation.” (Grade 4 Social Studies, Book 1, Tuna: 22)

According to the narrative in the textbooks, the Turks’ tolerance was one of the reasons behind the important historical role they played, since it was thanks to this characteristic that even Christian peoples greeted the Ottomans as “saviours and protectors.” A reading passage entitled “Ottoman Tolerance,” gives this “summary” of T. W. Arnold’s History of the Propagation of the Muslim Faith:

- “The Christian people living in Anatolia, and particularly in the Balkans, greeted the Ottoman conquerors as saviours and protectors. [...] Because the Byzantine regime continuously plundered the people and tax collectors oppressed them. Turks, however, were tolerant towards Christian subjects.” (Grade 10 History, MoNE: 25)

The Social Studies textbook cited below presents tolerance as an element that facilitated the Ottoman conquests. Geography textbooks emphasise that the Ottomans put an end to unfair approaches in the areas under their control and that they even removed the burden of taxation:

- “Tolerance and justice were among the main factors that facilitated the conquests of the Ottoman State.” (Grade 7 Social Studies, MoNE: 76)
- “In the areas they conquered, the Ottomans gave freedom of thought and conscience to the people who until that time had been oppressed and treated with contempt, and removed the burdens of taxation; in short they set out to unite with the people.” (Grade 11 Geography, MoNE: 139)

However, the textbooks reach the conclusion that “despite our tolerance, the other nations under our rule chased us from among them with sticks.” For example an information box entitled “Nation and Nationalism” in one Sociology textbook gives this statement from Atatürk:

- “In particular, our nation endured a painful punishment for having ignored its own nation. By embracing national beliefs, the many societies within the Ottoman Empire freed themselves with the strength of the nationalist ideal. We understood what we were, that we were a separate and foreign nation to them, when they chased us from among them with sticks.” (Sociology, Ekoyay: 60)

Therefore the atmosphere of tolerance did not prevent the societies within the Ottoman nation from embracing national beliefs. Indeed, as stated in this passage, other nations made Turks do the same by “chasing us from among them with sticks.” It is claimed that the atmosphere of tolerance caused “our nation to neglect its own nation.” Finally the “official story” arrives at the

current period of nationalism and the nation-state. The textbooks, however, portray this nation as being behind the times.

The Turkish nation remained behind the West “through no fault of its own”

The textbooks state that both during the modernisation process and today, Turkey and the Turkish nation lagged behind “civilised nations.” In History textbooks from the early period of the Republic, the Ottoman State and culture were clearly portrayed as the reason for the Turks’ lack of progress. Current textbooks (particularly Reform History and Kemalism textbooks) mention that the difficult nature of the Arabic script raised problems for literacy and hampered scientific development. However, other textbooks do not blame the “old” but instead say that the Turkish nation lagged behind “through no fault of its own”:

- “Despite the fact that in ancient periods of history the Turkish nation formed great civilisations and did great service to humanity, in recent centuries some political and social factors and obstacles have caused it to lag behind the West, through no fault of its own. However, at one time the West lagged behind the Turks. Therefore modernisation efforts brought a revival of the Turks’ civilised quality.” (Grade 11 Turkish Literature, MoNE: 23)

In the modern era, the West and modernisation come to the forefront in the story of these Turks who once founded great civilisations. There is an attempt to establish the collective identity in relation to the West and the modernisation process. As the above excerpt shows, textbooks state that the Turks lagged behind the West, but also emphasise that at one time the West also lagged behind the Turks. Still, based on the claim of the Turks’ fundamentally “civilised quality,” it is stated that modernisation was a revival of this quality. Atatürk is generally used as the vehicle of discussions on this discourse of being behind the times and of modernisation. In primary school textbooks, Atatürk is portrayed as a leader trying to raise Turkey to the level of modern civilisation: “Atatürk... Sought to raise our country to the level of modern civilisation” (Grade 3 Elementary Civics, Book 2, MoNE: 152). Sometimes, as in the following lines from a poem by Halim Yağcıoğlu, Atatürk is portrayed using angrily worded phrases such as, “I see that you are still in the same place, having made no progress” or “I want you to close the gap with civilised nations” (Grade 8 Turkish, Bisiklet Publishing: 48). Therefore the sense of lagging behind the West is not limited to the early period of the Republic, and the wish to “close the gap with civilised nations” is carried over into the present. Added to this is the feeling of being under threat, since according to the textbooks, Turkey and the Turkish language are both faced with constant threats.

The Turks are a nation whose language and country - due to its “geopolitical importance” - are under threat

When discussing the position of Turkey, textbooks at different grade levels frequently state that the country is under threat. The reasons given for this are, for example, Turkey’s “economic power,” or “geopolitical position.” It is emphasised that for this reason “certain states” have obstructed Turkey’s development. Below are some examples of this narrative:

- “With its young and dynamic population, wealth of natural resources and high potential for agricultural production, ours is a strong country. Turkey, located at the crossroads of civilisations, has a large economic power that is constantly growing, and a modern population that desires development. For this reason certain countries that do not want us to progress have made attempts to obstruct our success.” (Grade 5 Social Studies, Book 2, Pasifik: 191)

This paragraph, taken from the MoNE Grade 5 Social Studies textbook (original page shown in full below), clearly states this focus on the threat to the country:

- “With its common values and due to its position in the world, Turkey is a strong country in the region. [...] Turkey forms a bridge in the region where the continents of Europe and Asia meet. It has straits that join the Mediterranean to the Black Sea. Countries on the coast of the Black Sea use these straits to access other seas. Our country is the neighbour of countries with oil resources. [...] Turkey has a young and dynamic population and a large and growing economic power. Certain states see Turkey as a danger. With the aim of expanding their own lands and gaining control of the seas, these states attempt to weaken the State of the Republic of Turkey.” (Grade 5 Social Studies, Book 2, MoNE: 163)

This passage is an example of how the spirit of the National Security lesson, which was removed from the curriculum, lives on in other textbooks. After the above passage the following question is given for students to discuss in class: “What could be some of the duties and responsibilities of [Turkish] citizens when faced with these states that see our country as dangerous to them? Discuss.” Teacher’s manuals also ask teachers to warn students of domestic and foreign threats. For example, in the Grade 8 Turkish Teacher’s Manual, teachers are asked to read a text by İlbeyi Laçın, entitled “The Position and General Situation of Turkey,” which includes the following passage:

- “... Turkish interests clash with those of certain states in the region. Due to this clash of interests, Turkey faces constant threat.” (Grade 8 Turkish TM, MoNE: 133).

Ses Bayrağımızı: Türkçe

Dil, bir milletin en önemli değerlerindedir. Dili olmayan bir milletin özgürlüğünden söz etmek mümkün değildir. Anayasa'mızın 3. maddesinde ülkemizin resmi dilinin Türkçe olduğu vurgulanmıştır.

3. Madde: Türkiye Devleti, ülkesi ve milletiyle bölünmez bir bütündür. Dili Türkçedir. Bayrağı şekli kanununda belirtilen, beyaz ay yıldızlı al bayraktır. Millî marşı "İstiklâl Marşı"dır. Başkenti Ankara'dır.

1982 Anayasası

“Dili Türkçedir.” ifadesinin Anayasa'mızın üçüncü maddesinde yer almasının anlam ve önemi nedir?

Atatürk, Türk dilinin doğru ve güzel kullanılmasına büyük önem vermiştir ve bu konuda şöyle demiştir:

“Ülkesini, yüksek bağımsızlığını korumasını bilen Türk milleti, dilini de yabancı diller boyunduruğundan kurtarmalıdır.”

Ulkan Kocatürk, Atatürk'ün Fikir ve Düşünceleri, s. 260.



Bu afişte verilerek istenen mesaj nedir? Açıklayınız.



Türkiye, sahip olduğu ortak değerlerle ve dünya üzerindeki konumu nedeniyle bölgesinde güçlü bir ülkedir. Türkiye'nin konumunu yandaki haritadan yararlanarak inceleyiniz.

Türkiye, Asya ile Avrupa kıtalarının birleştiği bölgede köprü oluşturur. Akdeniz ve Karadeniz'i birbirine bağlayan boğazlara sahiptir. Karadeniz'e kıyaslı olan ülkeler diğer denizlere açılırken boğazları kullanır. Ülkemiz petrol kaynaklarına sahip olan ülkelere komşudur. Doğal kaynaklar ve tarım üretimi açısından zengin bir ülkedir. Birçok uygarlığın keşiştiği noktadadır. Genç ve dinamik bir nüfusa sahip olan Türkiye, gelişmekte olan büyük bir ekonomik güce sahiptir. Türkiye'yi bazı devletler kendileri için tehlikeli bulmaktadır. Bu ülkeler, kendi topraklarını genişletmek ve denizlerde egemenlik elde etmek amacıyla Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devleti'nin zayıflaması için çaba harcamaktadır.

Ülkemizi kendileri için tehlikeli bulan devletler karşısında vatandaşlara düşen görev ve sorumluluklar neler olabilir? Tartışınız.

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7. ÜNİTE

The Grade 7 Social Studies makes a similar request:

- “Point out that certain states is not wanted for [sic] our country to grow stronger. Point out that there are domestic and foreign threats against our country.” (Grade 7 Social Studies TM, Anittepe: 222).

In Social Sciences and Turkish lessons the identity of these “certain states” that are a threat to Turkey is not mentioned. The Grade 10 History textbook, however, draws attention to the “ambitions” of Greece; for example, the following quote appears after a source from an anonymous “newspaper article dated 28 May 2006,” entitled “Claims and the Truth about Pontus”:

- “As can be seen from the above article, Greece, a country that declared 19 May, the date of the beginning of the War of Independence, to be the so-called ‘Pontic Genocide Memorial Day,’ still has ambitions on Turkish lands.” (Grade 10 History, MoNE: 168)

Reflecting the spirit of the National Security lesson that was removed from the curriculum, the Reform History and Kemalism textbooks list three threats to the country, under the heading “Domestic and Foreign Threats against the Government of the Republic”:

- “One of the threats that puts the order and peace of our country at risk are separatist and destructive acts. These aim to create an atmosphere of chaos in society by using political, religious and ethnic differences, and to benefit from this chaos to divide the country. Alongside this threat are those involved in reactionary activities. They reject society’s modern values and attempt to bring back an outdated order through acts that go against reason and science...

Another threat is missionary activities. Missionary activities are not a straightforward movement to spread a belief. They are part of a systematic and organised movement that forces religious conversion. As well as religious objectives, missionaries also have political, cultural and economic objectives. Missionaries exploit people’s economic difficulties.” (High School Reform History and Kemalism, Netbil: 167)

Another perceived threat that is frequently mentioned in the textbooks is the threat to the Turkish language. The street photograph featuring the caption “Is this Turkey?” that appears on the above page from the MoNE Grade 5 Social Studies textbook, aims to strengthen this perception. It sends the message that the English signs in the picture are not appropriate for Turkey. This idea that the Turkish language is under threat is mentioned by different authors at almost every grade level. For example, in Grade 4 Turkish textbooks the following questions are posed:

- “What do you think about foreign names being given to shops instead of Turkish names? What do you think about foreign names being given to

television channels instead of Turkish names?” (Grade 4 Turkish, MoNE: 199).

In the Grade 6 Social Studies textbook, children are presented with role models on this subject. In an extended short story, some children speak with the manager of a snack bar called “*Donald Amca*” (Uncle Donald). The children convince the manager to use a Turkish name, and by the end of the story he changes the sign to “*İlhan Amca*” (Grade 6 Social Sciences, Doku: 119-126). When we look at the facts, it could be said that literature written in the Turkish language has made some significant achievements, with the Nobel Prize for Literature being awarded to Orhan Pamuk as one example of this. However, rather than mentioning such examples of success, textbook authors continually impose a perspective that focuses only on the threats to the language. According to a text entitled “Turkish Stabbed in the Back” in the Grade 12 Language and Expression textbook, one of the main institutions betraying the Turkish language is the media, particularly television. Finally, the authors propose activities based on this perceived threat:

- “Prepare a presentation on the subject of the corruption of the Turkish language.” (Grade 10 Language and Expression, MoNE: 22)

Many more examples of this perceived threat could be given. In short, even if they are writing lessons for different subjects all of the textbook authors agree that, just like its lands, Turkey’s language is under threat. As a result of all of these messages, the basic condition for Turkish identity and citizenship is to adopt the understanding of “national morals” and, if necessary, to sacrifice our lives for them.

We must therefore know the principles of “national morals” and sacrifice ourselves for sacred values

According to the textbooks, the story of the Turks who “began in Central Asia, grew stronger by adopting Islam, formed states as an army-nation but lagged behind the West in the modern period, and whose lands and language are today under threat” ends, as required by the narrative, with an understanding of morality “particular to us,” and an awareness of duty that glorifies militarism and sacrifice. As such the textbooks put forward the understanding of “national morals” to which we should conform. The Grade 7 Turkish textbook explains this concept in a text entitled “National Morals”:

- “The principles of national morals are to be honest and hardworking, to respect and love the people around you and the Turkish nation, to hold your country and nation above all else, to advance, to progress and to be ready to give up your existence for the Turkish existence.” (Grade 7 Turkish, Gizem: 66)

This text is an example of how the perspective of the Student Oath, the reading of which became non-compulsory in October 2013, is reflected in textbooks. The duty of “giving up your existence for the Turkish existence” is more explicitly expressed in the workbook for this same lesson with the phrase, “sacrificing yourself for sacred values”:

- “Every nation has its own understanding of morality. The Turkish nation’s understanding of morality includes the superior qualities of hospitality, mutual cooperation, and sacrificing oneself for values seen as sacred, such as the flag and the nation.” (Grade 7 Turkish SW, Gizem: 58)

The national identity that has been infused with the sentiment of lagging behind on the road to modernisation and the fear of being constantly under threat requires the country to raise citizens who are prepared to “give their lives, shed their blood.” This results in textbooks that continuously glorify death and militaristic values.

CHAPTER II

PROBLEMS OF THE NATIONAL IDENTITY AND “CONCEPT OF ‘US’” PRESENTED IN TEXTBOOKS

As stated in the previous chapter, textbooks are an instrument for presenting information on how a country's society is formed and who it is formed of, with the aim of developing a certain understanding of collective identity and citizenship. As such, various differences are seen in the approach of textbooks in different countries. Textbooks in Great Britain, for example, use maps to show that historically the country's population was shaped by migration from Scandinavia and Europe; the textbooks mention immigrant cultures, and state that the country has, particularly in recent years, received migration from around the world, resulting in a multicultural society (Mannitz and Schiffauer, 2004: 61). In France there is a dominant understanding that limits the use of religious and cultural symbols in public spaces. Thus, due to the political culture in the country, ethnic differences do not feature in textbooks in France as much as they do in Great Britain (Mannitz, 2004). A country's political history and culture therefore determines the collective identity and understanding of citizenship presented in its textbooks. In other words, it is impossible to consider or to create textbooks independently of the country's historical context (Köksal, 2010).

However, the answers developed by countries in response to the question of “Who are we?” are not static. On the contrary, collective identity is constantly revised as a result of developments over time. For example, until the 1970s, German textbooks included no information on the Holocaust. However, over time – and particularly after 1968 – these textbooks began to confront the Nazi period of the country's history and also to include information on immigrants in the country (Zepp, 2010). Of course, these examples do not mean that the textbooks in Great Britain, France and Germany are problem-free. For example,

however much they mention immigrants from Turkey, textbooks in Germany are still criticised for not putting enough emphasis on the contribution that immigrants have made to Germany's development, for considering immigrant cultures as being in some way deficient, and for confining those who have lived in the country for years to the status of "immigrant" (Nohl, 2009: 46; Mannitz and Schiffauer, 2004: 77-8). Similarly, both the British system that practices a multicultural education and the French system that sees the representation of different cultures in public spaces as problematic are strongly criticised by immigrants, and at times these criticisms turn into acts of violence (Osler, A. & H. Starkey 2001). It is important to state that developing a democratic system and collective identity in which different groups can exist on an equal basis remains one of the most crucial issues for societies today.

As such, the most important issue for Turkey is to develop a system and an imaginary that ensure that people who speak a language other than Turkish and who practise a religion other than Islam can live together on the basis of equal citizenship. Textbooks influence people's imaginary as well as their view of themselves and of those who are different from them, and they can therefore be an important instrument in Turkey's democratisation process. However, the national identity presented in textbooks, as summarised in the previous chapter, does little to develop a pluralistic imaginary and understanding of democratic citizenship. Instead, textbooks are written in a way that singularises and limits people's imaginary. As such, the textbooks contain all of the problems stated in Articles 11-17 of the Analysis Criteria, under the heading "Global vs Local, Us vs Them, Values Relating to the Furtherance and Maintenance of Peace." In this chapter the problems related to national identity, which were summarised with examples from textbooks in the previous chapter, will be discussed in more detail.

The limits of "us": The definition of citizenship as ethnically Turkish and denominationally Muslim

Firstly, it could be claimed that the biggest problem of the notion of "us" presented in textbooks is, to quote Article 11 of the Analysis Criteria, "the definition and exposition of citizenship, patriotism/nationalism and national values not from a universal/general viewpoint but from an ethnically Turkish and denominationally Muslim context." There is an academic debate on whether Turkish citizenship is based on an ethnic foundation or on a political and territorial approach; some claim that the concept of Turkish citizenship in constitutional texts is based on territory rather than ethnicity, while others point out that although this may be the case in theory, the emphasis on ethnicity gained importance throughout the Republican period (Yeğen, 2004; Keyman and İçduygu, 2005; Kadioğlu, 2007). We can also observe that this same debate is being held by the general public, particularly in current discussions on the constitution. Some groups claim that the concept of "Turk" refers to an ethnicity and that therefore the term Turkishness should not appear in the new constitution, whereas others state that the word "Turk" has no ethnic

connotations and that it is an overall identity that encompasses all groups living in the country.

In the context of this debate, it becomes clear that the concept of Turkishness in textbooks is used to describe a society whose origins lie in Central Asia and who, over time, adopted Islam. Therefore, the term “Turks” used in the Geography and Turkish textbooks that were quoted in Chapter I refers to an ethnic identity that includes the descendants of tribes that migrated from Central Asia, settled in Anatolia and adopted Islam, excluding everybody else. In the Promoting Human Rights in Textbooks II project, Dilara Kahyaoğlu pointed out that the traces of the Turkish History Thesis, which to a significant extent had been wiped out with the changes in the 1990s, were again becoming visible in textbooks (Kahyaoğlu, 2009: 201). The emphasis on Turkishness in reference to Central Asia that was observed in the study shows that the Turkish History Thesis, which was based on the 1930s concept of race, has been carried over into the 21st century.¹ It was even observed that in line with this thesis some writers use epic mythology in a way that fosters ethno-cultural understandings of Turkish identity. For example, the MoNE Grade 6 Social Studies Workbook provides an activity related to the ‘Epic of Ergenekon’ (the myth of the origin of the Turks), giving the following passage from Saadetin Gömeç’s *Türk Destanlarına Giriş* (An Introduction to Turkish Epics):

- “Years passed; there was no longer enough room in Ergenekon for the Turks. The time had come for them to leave this blessed homeland named Ergenekon. Because [...] the creation of the Turks held a purpose. They were not a nation who simply fired arrows and brandished swords. God sent them to earth to ensure justice and order.” (Grade 6 Social Studies SW, MoNE: 48)

Of course it is relevant for myths to be covered in textbooks, but what is important is whether they are presented in a way that encourages a critical perspective or in a way that indoctrinates a specific interpretation. The way the myth is covered in this book fosters an ethnic (or even racist) understanding of Turkishness, a fact that is particularly evident when we look at the follow-up question to the passage: “According to the text, what was the purpose behind the creation of the Turks?” (Grade 6 Social Sciences SW, MoNE: 48). Students who read the text are expected to give the answer, “The purpose behind the creation of the Turks was to ensure justice and order on earth.” The myth is not, therefore, placed within any historical context, while underlying the topic of the myth is an aim that is, according to today’s understanding of the term, a racist one. A text and activity on the Ergenekon epic also appears in the Grade 8 Turkish student workbook (Grade 8 Turkish SW, MoNE: 106).

The connection of Turkishness with Central Asia that such myths attempt to develop is also carried over into contemporary politics. The limits of the

1 For a discussion on the Turkish History Thesis in relation to education see Ersanlı Behar, 1996.

definition of Turkishness in the textbooks are expanded on an ethnic basis to include the countries of Central Asia. For this reason, Turkish, Social Studies and History textbooks from Grade 4 onwards feature a “Map of the Turkic World” (shown below).

According to this map, states that are now independent, such as Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan, are considered part of the Turkic world. Textbooks for a range of subjects – from Social Studies, Turkish and History to Music – feature passages aimed at strengthening this connection with Central Asia. Textbooks present activities based on the similarities between the Turkmen dialect and standard Turkish (Grade 6 Social Studies Student Workbook, MoNE: 95), or show the similarities between Uyghur Turkish and standard Turkish based on the pronunciation of one word in the two languages (Grade 6 Social Studies, Altın Kitaplar: 126). In one Music textbook, students are taught this “Homeland March” accompanied by its musical notation: “Uzbek Turkmen Uyghur Tatar Azeri are one race / Karakalpak Kyrghyz Kazakh are of the same blood...” (Grade 8 Music, MoNE: 52)

As well as such examples, the spring celebration of *Nevruz* is mentioned in textbooks as something that demonstrates a shared Turkish culture. From early grade levels, textbooks speak of *Nevruz* as a “seasonal festival” that is celebrated across the Turkish world. For example, according to the Grade 2 Turkish textbook, “Turkish folk dances are danced at weddings, [...] seasonal festivals such as *Hidrellez* and *Nevruz*, and following the harvest” (Grade 2 Turkish, MoNE: 138).

In another textbook the importance of *Nevruz* as an “official holiday” is explained in a passage entitled “*Nevruz* and Unity”:

- “This important national holiday (*Nevruz*) for the Turkish world was celebrated with even greater enthusiasm after independence was gained, and from now on the fact that it is celebrated as an official holiday in our lands too will strengthen the bonds between [the countries of] the Turkish world.” (Grade 8 Turkish, MoNE: 46)

As clearly shown in this excerpt, when the textbooks speak of “us” they refer to Turks either within the country or outside its borders. The “Turkification” of *Nevruz* in this way could be said to serve two aims. On the one hand it takes a Turkist perspective, stating that “we” have the same culture as Central Asia, therefore creating a sense of origin and the idea of a greater Turkic world. On the other hand it “Turkifies” this festival that, particularly in recent years, is in fact more actively celebrated by the Kurdish community and that has made the Kurdish identity visible on a political level. The Kurds, who do not feature in textbooks, are once again ignored, and the limits of “us” and the foundations of citizenship are therefore drawn on the basis of ethnic Turkishness or according to an ethno-culturalist approach.

The second element that defines the limits of Turkishness, and therefore determines what Füsün Üstel calls “acceptable citizenship” (*makbul vatandaşlık*) (2004), is Islam. As stated in the previous chapter, Islam is presented as the

TÜRK DÜNYASI HARİTASI



1. Türkiye Türkleri
2. Balkan Türkleri
3. Gagavuz Türkleri
4. Kuzaklar
5. Özbekler
6. Kırgızlar
7. Türkmenler
8. Karakalpaklar
9. Uygurlar
10. Sani Uygurlar ve Salarlar
11. Tatarlar
12. Çuvayrlar
13. Başkurlar
14. Kırımçaklar
15. Abhaz Türkleri
16. Azerbaycan Türkleri
17. Dağıstan Türkleri
18. Kumuklar
19. Karapaylar
20. Balkarlar (Makdarlar)
21. Nogaylar
22. Şamşopol Türkmenleri
23. Saha (Yakut) Türkleri
24. Altay Türkleri
25. Hekazlar
26. Tuva Türkleri
27. Tobol Tatarları
28. Barabalar
29. Söpler
30. Çulm
31. Kumand
32. Kuzak
33. Karagala
34. Uzunbay
35. İrak Türkleri
36. Sulya Türkleri
37. Kıbrıs Türkleri
38. Kapıyaylar
39. Harise Türkmenleri
40. Karaim Türkleri
41. Kırım Türkleri
42. Arap'taki Türkler
43. Kubardin-Bakır Türkleri

İŞARETLER	
Devlet sınırı	Devlet sınırı
Çanak Cumhuriyet ve idariyet sınırı	Çanak Cumhuriyet ve idariyet sınırı
Bağımsız Türk devletleri	Bağımsız Türk devletleri
Çanak Cumhuriyet, eyalet ve vilayetler	Çanak Cumhuriyet, eyalet ve vilayetler
Çanak sınırları Türk (Ulusal)	Çanak sınırları Türk (Ulusal)
Kanal (Gözyayırı Kanalı)	Kanal (Gözyayırı Kanalı)

BAĞIMSIZ DEVLETLER	
a) Azerbaycan C.	Bağımsız C.
b) Kazakistan C.	Bağımsız C.
c) Kırgız C.	Bağımsız C.
d) Kuzey Kıbrıs TDK C. (KKTC)	Bağımsız C.
e) Özbekistan C.	Bağımsız C.
f) Türkiye Cumhuriyeti	Bağımsız C.
g) Türkmenistan C.	Bağımsız C.

ÖZERK CUMHURİYETLER	
a) Bağımsız C.	Ulusal
b) Çarşamba C.	d) Saha (Yakutistan) Muhafazası
c) Çarşamba C.	e) Tuva C.
d) Çarşamba C.	f) Uygur (D. Türkistan) C.
e) Çarşamba C.	g) Manapsala h) Uygur (D. Türkistan) C.
f) Çarşamba C.	i) Tataristan C.
g) Çarşamba C.	Kontrat
h) Çarşamba C.	Nalok
i) Çarşamba C.	Nalok
j) Çarşamba C.	Nalok
k) Çarşamba C.	Nalok
l) Çarşamba C.	Nalok
m) Çarşamba C.	Nalok
n) Çarşamba C.	Nalok
o) Çarşamba C.	Nalok
p) Çarşamba C.	Nalok
q) Çarşamba C.	Nalok
r) Çarşamba C.	Nalok
s) Çarşamba C.	Nalok
t) Çarşamba C.	Nalok
u) Çarşamba C.	Nalok
v) Çarşamba C.	Nalok
w) Çarşamba C.	Nalok
x) Çarşamba C.	Nalok
y) Çarşamba C.	Nalok
z) Çarşamba C.	Nalok

religion that is “most suited to the character” of the Turks. Writers who attribute to a nation a concept such as character, which can be variable even in an individual, define Turkishness as an organic whole based on ethno-culturalist theories. Similarly, the textbooks use a language that considers everyone living in Turkey to be Muslim. For example, textbooks for the compulsory Religious Culture and Morals lesson frequently speak of “our religion” or “our belief.” Below are a few such examples:

- “If the worship instructed in our religion is carried out correctly – with sincerity and awareness – it leads people away from evil.” (Grade 11 RCM, Tutku: 39)
- “Our religion gave great importance to eloquence.” (Grade 11 RCM, Bisiklet: 124)
- “We believe in all of the prophets – from Adam to Muhammad – who have been sent.” (Grade 6 RCM, Yıldırım: 11)

If we look only at the last of these examples we see that in the assertion beginning “we,” the textbook assumes that everyone in Turkey believes in Islam, even though all students are obliged to take this lesson. In response to criticisms and lawsuits regarding the fact that Religious Culture and Morals lessons are compulsory, the MoNE claims that this lesson does not impose a single religion but, on the contrary, teaches religious culture (Kayabaş and Kütküt, 2011). Providing students with a lesson on culture that teaches information about religions can have many advantages. However, as stated by İřtar Gözaydın in the second project report, a textbook for such a lesson must be written not with a theological approach but with one based on religious studies (Gözaydın 2009).² As such, a textbook for a lesson on religious culture should use neutral statements and should take an approach that does not attempt to impose a specific religion. For example, this issue could be resolved by using statements such as “according to Muslims in Turkey...” or “according to Islam...” instead of “our religion.” Expressions, such as “our religion,” that assume everyone is a believer could be used in the elective religion lessons that have recently been added to the curriculum. However, using expressions that presume everyone is Muslim in the textbooks for a compulsory lesson not only ignores the differences that exist in Turkey but also causes the limits of acceptable citizenship to be drawn on the basis of (state-controlled) Sunni Islam.

The assumption that everyone in Turkey is Muslim is not limited to the textbooks of Religious Culture and Morals. A similar approach is also taken in the textbooks of other subjects in the curriculum. For example, in the Grade 3

2 Gözaydın explains the difference between the two approaches as follows: “Religious studies is an academic field in which religious beliefs, practices and institutions are studied within an interdisciplinary and secular approach. Studies taking a theological approach are carried out within the perspective of a specific religious tradition” (2009: 171).

Turkish teacher's manual, the following question is proposed in order to develop students' skills of "self-expression":

- "What preparations are made in your house before religious and national holidays?" (Grade 3 Turkish TM, Dörtel: 252)

Such a construct of citizenship and collective identity pushes many groups, for example minority (or to be more accurate "minoritised") groups, outside the borders of "us." As seen in the example below, textbooks sometimes openly defend the fact that minorities are kept outside the limits of Turkish citizenship:

- "In the final periods of the Ottoman State, trade was in the hands of foreigners and minorities. In a state established on the foundation of Turkish patriotism, this situation could not continue. The Republic had to, as quickly as possible, ensure that the Turkish nation played an active role in trade. Priority needed to be given to the interests of the New Turkish State and society." (High School Reform History and Kemalism, Netbil: 118)

This quote clearly explains the Republic's view of minorities. Saying that faced with the success of minority groups in trade, "the Republic had to, as quickly as possible, ensure that the Turkish nation played an active role in trade" also defines the limits of the concept of Turkishness. According to this perspective, minorities (e.g. Armenians, Greeks and Jews) are excluded from being "Turkish." Indeed, practices such as property tax had already been introduced on the basis of such an approach (Aktar, 2012). The concept of "republic" that we see here is far from being understood according to its universal meaning. Republic is a form of government that accepts everyone as equal, no matter what their religion, language or belief. The textbook of the Reform History and Kemalism lesson in which the above statements appear instead defines the republic as a form of government in which ethnic Turks are dominant, and that excludes minorities from the limits of Turkishness, when in fact they should have the status of equal citizens.

Another important question that we repeatedly raise throughout the study is that of what kind of attitude will be taken towards the increasingly visible ethnic and religious groups in Turkey. The attitude towards differences in the textbooks, which define citizenship as ethnically Turkish and denominationally Muslim, is clear. To use the language of Article 3 of the Analysis Criteria, textbooks are full of statements that marginalise, "ignore or make invisible that which is different."

Differences of ethnicity, religion and class that are ignored or marginalised

The national identity presented in textbooks ignores anything that is different from the dominant Turkish and Muslim identity. In textbooks, the ethnic and religious groups that are being discussed in political and social

debates in Turkey today are either ignored or spoken of using generalisations that create stereotypes. Of course, differences are not limited to those of ethnicity or religion. As shown by the examples below, the way that textbooks discuss (or do not discuss) people of an economic status outside the middle class, various age groups, people of different sexual orientations, women who wear the headscarf or people with disabilities is extremely problematic. The books are written with the vision of a “healthy citizen who is Turkish, Muslim, middle-class, urban and married/portrayed within a family,” and this profile is presented to students as the ideal and acceptable citizen.

Occasionally, information on groups of different beliefs or ethnicities living in Turkey or statements showing that these differences are accepted can be encountered in the textbooks. The first sentence of the passage below is an example of this:

- “There are people within our nation that hold different beliefs and opinions. However, these differences do not prevent us from being a nation or from living together as a unified whole, because we have the same history, homeland, culture and ideal.” (Grade 5 RCM, Doku: 118)

However, this excerpt, which on the surface appears to accept the existence in Turkey of people with different beliefs and opinions, also holds the fundamental problem found in the textbooks. As stated in the second sentence, people with different beliefs and opinions can only be accepted within the understanding of an organic society with a single culture/ideal. This approach again reflects the desire to assimilate any differences within a singular organic culture, undermining the positive steps that have been seen in recent years such as other belief groups being featured in some textbooks.

The fact that in recent years Religious Culture and Morals textbooks (particularly in the Grade 12 curriculum) have begun to mention different beliefs and denominations – from Judaism to Buddhism, Alevism to Nusayrism – can be seen as a positive step. For example, in the Grade 12 MoNE textbook, nine pages were accorded to Alevism-Bektashism, including subjects such as Alevi rituals (e.g. *Cem*, *Semah*, *Musahip*), place of worship (*Cemevi*) and prayers (*gölbenk*), the month of *Muharrem* (in which Alevi hold a fast) and the traditional dish of *ashure*. However, the textbooks frequently present Alevism together with Bektashism, and often as a homogenous folkloric branch of the Sunni faith:

- “People who love, respect and follow Ali are called Alevi. Alevi are Muslims who believe in the oneness of Allah, accept Muhammad as the last prophet, take the Quran as their holy book, and who worship the Prophet Muhammad and his *Ahl al-Bayt*.” (Grade 12 RCM, MoNE: 55)

Such generalised statements about Alevism do little to teach students about the realities of Alevism in Turkey or about the historical background to this topic. Instead, the presentation of Alevism more closely resembles the understanding of the Directorate of Religious Affairs, which represents Sunni Islam. Furthermore, the message put forward in textbooks until Grade 12 that

“the only correct and acceptable lifestyle is an Islamic one based on Sunni Islam” means that covering different beliefs at this grade level is merely symbolic. In other words, the fact that information on other beliefs is presented does not mean that a comprehensive democratic and pluralistic approach to education has been adopted. Furthermore, the textbooks contain many statements that show a prejudiced view of both Christianity and atheism. For example, in the passage below Christianity is shown to be a false belief:

- “In the time that the Quran was revealed, some people had false ideas and beliefs about Allah, angels and prophets. For example, some people had adopted an understanding of god as a trinity. The Quran shows that this belief is incorrect, saying in one verse, ‘... do not say (God is) three; desist, it is better for you. Allah is but one God...’” (Grade 10 MoNE, Özgün: 74)

The way that other religions are classified in the textbooks for religion lessons (“true/false religions”) is an important issue for religion teachers. When we look at this issue from the perspective of the problems examined within this study, it is clear that in a compulsory lesson that purports to provide information on religious culture, presenting the Christian faith as “false” risks developing in students a prejudice about a faith that has billions of followers. Similarly, statements on the topic of atheism are extremely problematic:

- “These are the general principles of atheism: They do not accept the existence of God. They live as though there were no God. They believe that the universe and phenomena in the universe came into being by accident.” (Grade 9 RCM, MoNE: 18)
- “There are many forms of belief that are not based on revelations. Atheism, polytheism and Satanism can be given as examples of these. These can give rise to the appearance and spread in society of false, baseless practices and beliefs that from time to time can even be harmful to society. As such, people turn towards superstition, false beliefs and harmful movements.” (Grade 9 RCM, Fem: 19)

In these excerpts, atheism is vilified in line with the discourse that being a believer is the one and only acceptable lifestyle, and false or generalised expressions are used when discussing atheists. As seen in the second passage, atheism is mentioned together with “harmful movements” such as Satanism. By stating that “they live as though there were no God,” the first excerpt claims that atheists live outside the “objective truth” (in which a belief in God is absolute). This discourse clearly contradicts the principle of freedom of conscience and religion enshrined in international human rights texts. According to this principle, just as everyone has the freedom to believe in any religion, they also have the freedom not to believe, and non-believers have the same rights and freedoms as believers. In order to ensure that the principles of human rights are fully upheld, education must be designed in line with these principles, and the

education system should enable students to become citizens who respect the rights and freedoms of those who lead a different lifestyle from them, and who even protect these freedoms together. When we look at the above passages in this context, the problem becomes even clearer. The approach of these textbooks presents both Christianity and atheism as illegitimate, therefore violating an important principle of human rights (freedom of conscience and religion) that should be instilled in students.

Other groups that are ignored or stigmatised in the ethno-culturalist approach that forms the basic philosophy of the textbooks are minorities. References to the existence, celebrations or history of people of Armenian, Jewish, Greek and Assyrian origin who are citizens of the Republic of Turkey are almost non-existent in the textbooks. In reference to short stories by Sait Faik Abasıyanık, non-Muslims with names such as Hristo and Koço are portrayed as figures of the past.

- “I know these men of the sea are also the ‘old’ friends of Sait Faik... That old man is Hristo. The other is Karavokiri, İbrahim, Koço.” (Grade 7 Turkish, Koza: 27)

Armenians hold a special place among these outdated “folkloric elements,” as the term “Armenians” is frequently encountered in textbooks in relation to what textbooks call “the Armenian issue” that is increasingly putting pressure on Turkey at an international level. The “Armenian issue” is covered in depth particularly in Reform History and Kemalism textbooks and the Grade 10 History textbooks, but also in the textbooks for Grade 11 History, Grade 7 Social Studies, and Modern Turkish and World History. In teacher’s manuals, teachers are even requested to cover this topic “in line with the principle of current relevance”:

- “Teachers should discuss the Armenian claims in line with the principle of current relevance and should explain that these claims do not correspond to historical facts.” (Grade 8 Reform History and Kemalism TM, MoNE: 35)

From the first grade level at which this topic is covered (Grade 7), teachers are requested to pass on to their students the state’s defensive discourse:

- “State to your students that the Russians also made some Armenians revolt on this front and murder many of our civilian citizens. Explain that the Ottoman State took certain measures following these developments, and in May 1915 implemented the ‘*Tehcir Kanunu*’ [Displacement Law] regarding the migration and settlement of Armenians in the battleground. Explain that care was taken to ensure that the land in which the Armenians who had to migrate were to settle was fertile, that police stations were established for their security and that measures were

taken to ensure they could practise their previous jobs and professions.”
(Grade 7 Social Studies TM, MoNE: 229)

We can say that there are two main problems with the way the textbooks deal with the Armenian issue. The first is that a very complex historical and political issue is presented from a single perspective and with a simple defensive logic. The second and related problem is that of the negative feelings (that can sometimes turn into violence) towards Turkish citizens of Armenian origin that is created by constant generalisation of “Armenians” in the textbooks. Therefore, while one problem is the fact that differences are often ignored, another problem is that in cases when differences are mentioned, generalisations are used that create prejudices and stereotypes.

Perhaps one of the most important topics in terms of the representation of differences is the situation of the Kurds. After the politics of denial that were maintained for many years, the fact that elective Kurmanji and Zazaki courses have been offered in schools is an important step for the acceptance of the Kurdish existence. Indeed, a peace process aimed at solving the Kurdish (or Turkish) issue is under way, even though it may be progressing slowly on a political level. Despite all of these developments, however, the existence of Kurds is not mentioned in textbooks. So much so that the word Kurd appears only once in the entire body of curriculum textbooks, including those of the elective Kurmanji and Zazaki courses. Kurds have no place in the textbook’s story of collective identity.

The only place in which the word Kurd is mentioned in the textbooks is related to “harmful societies” (*zararlı cemiyetler*) during the War of Independence, when it appears in the title of the movement *Kürt Teali Cemiyeti* (Society for the Rise of Kurdistan). However, as seen below it is even claimed that this Society was established by Turks:

- “As well as the societies established by minorities, there were societies established by Turks against the National Struggle. Among these were:

The Society for the Rise of Kurdistan: The aim of this society, which was established in Istanbul in May 1919, was to establish a separate state that would include our eastern provinces.” (Grade 8 Reform History and Kemalism, MoNE: 39)

In this way the textbook denies the existence of the Kurds even when speaking of “harmful societies,” resulting in an incongruous statement about “the Society for the Rise of Kurdistan that was established by Turks.” This attitude of denial is in line with the vision of a monocultural, monoethnic and mono-religious Turkish society that, as we have stated from the beginning of this report, dominates the textbooks. However, this situation also reveals that these textbooks represent a significant gap between the current political situation in Turkey and the educational structure. This gap, based on the denial

of the Kurdish existence, is found not just in History textbooks but in many others too. For example, as stated above, Social Studies and Turkish textbooks give an important place to the topic of *Nevruz*. In Turkey *Nevruz* is particularly celebrated by the Kurdish community, but in the textbooks it is presented as a festival belonging only to the Turkish world. As shown in the examples given in the previous section (Grade 8 Turkish, MoNE: 46; Grade 6 Social Studies, Altın Kitaplar: 126), *Nevruz* is used as a vehicle to strengthen the Turkish ethnic identity, while the Kurds are left outside of this historical discourse.

On the subject of differences, another of the categories under which information from the textbooks was gathered during the research process was disabilities, and some positive examples that raise awareness about the subject of disabilities were found. For example, in the Citizenship and Democracy textbook (which was removed from the curriculum during the 4+4+4 process) there is an attempt to raise awareness of this issue in the context of urban and housing design, with the following discussion topic: “What features are required for a house in which disabled and elderly citizens can live comfortably? Discuss in class” (MoNE: 145). Despite a few other positive examples of this nature, it was observed that the textbooks contain significant problems related to the representation of people with disabilities and to the approach to the topic of disability. The pictorial representations of or texts about people with disabilities generally create prejudices or strengthen the feelings of pity that are prevalent in society. Perhaps the most striking example in this area appears in the Sociology textbook for Social Studies High School students, in which the topic of disability is covered under the heading of “negative deviance,” defined as “deviance in terms of unaccepted, base and inadequate behavioural patterns” (Social Studies High School, Sociology 1, MoNE: 144). In the textbook, “negative deviance” is described as those who commit crimes against people or property and those who have mental deficiencies or psychological disorders. Later in the book people with “physical or organic” disabilities are included in this category:

- “People with physical or organic disabilities make up another category of negative deviance. These people cannot follow the usual living pattern that exists in society. However, they are very different from those who have psychological or moral abnormalities. People who are deaf-dumb, crippled or have chronic diseases cannot be expected to display the same behaviours that are expected of normal individuals. Even if they learn to participate at a certain level in society and culture as a result of their personal abilities and education, they mostly cannot achieve normal levels of behaviour.” (Social Studies High School Sociology 1, MoNE: 144)

The fact that the authors of a Sociology textbook state that there are “normal levels of behaviour” in society, and place people with “physical and organic” disabilities within the category of “negative deviance,” stating that

even if they do participate in society these people cannot reach “normal levels of behaviour,” is extremely problematic both in terms of sociology and also in terms of current perspectives in disability studies. Today, rather than the term *engelli* (handicapped), some people with disabilities prefer the term *sakat* (cripple), saying, “If there are no handicaps in society, in the streets, in the workplace, we are not handicapped” (Akbulut, 2012). According to new approaches in this field, disabilities are fabricated and can be overcome. When the obstacles in society are removed, “people with physical problems,” to use the phrase from the Sociology textbook, suffer from a loss of capacity in certain organs but they are not handicapped (Gül, 2009; Bezmez, Yardımcı, Şentürk, 2011). They cannot, therefore, be included in the textbook’s category of “negative deviance,” because as long as they are not confronted with obstacles they can receive an education and participate in working life just like any other person.

The textbooks are full of examples that, rather than developing this perspective based on human rights and the principle of equal citizenship, entrench the feeling of pity towards people with disabilities. For example, in Religious Culture and Morals textbooks this topic is usually mentioned in relation to charity and “behaviours that could be defined as good deeds”:

- “List behaviours that you have displayed that could be described as good deeds. Once I helped a blind person cross the road...” (Grade 5 RCM, MoNE: 50)

The basic problem with such statements is that it feeds into the stereotype that people with disabilities “need help.” When audio warning devices are placed at traffic lights and the pavements are suitably laid out, citizens with visual impairments are able to cross the road without help. This situation is the same for all people with disabilities. If textbooks were written from a perspective based on human rights, they could contribute to breaking down the stereotypes about people with disabilities. This could both support the empowerment of people with disabilities and also ensure that all students see people with disabilities as equal citizens.

Many other examples could be given from textbooks of statements that perpetuate stereotypes about many other groups in society as well as people with disabilities. For example, the research on discrimination revealed that there was a significant level of prejudice and stereotyping against specific age groups in society. In other words, just like disability, specific age groups (children/ youth/the elderly) also form categories of society, and the generalisations or stereotypes that are made about these categories can affect our behaviour towards members of these groups. One of the elements that form these stereotypes (or that on the contrary have the potential to break them down) is textbooks. It was observed that the textbooks studied also contained problems in this area. For example, in a section explaining the importance of values education, one teacher’s manual makes the following negative generalisation about “the youth and children”:

- “The youth and children of today are faced with a much wider range of choices compared to the past. Having so many alternatives has made them more confused and ill-mannered. Students require help in order to deal with this confusion and conflict.” (Grade 5 RCM TM, MoNE: 25)

The idea presented in this sentence that young people and children are “ill-mannered” is a generalisation that carries the risk of compounding the already existing stereotypes about these groups. By removing any room for variation, such stereotypes cause us to perceive all members of a particular group in light of negative stereotypes. In other words, when this stereotype becomes established, people may tend to take a negative approach towards every young person and child according to negative feelings and attitudes on the vague concept of manners. Ultimately, stereotypes of this kind – just like for other groups, such as women, people with disabilities or people of different sexual orientations – affect the participation in society of various age groups. It is therefore necessary for authors of textbooks to be sensitive to the topic of ageism.

A general overview shows that the textbooks in no way reflect the social diversity that exists in Turkey and this problem is not only limited to the social groups mentioned above. For example, just like the Kurds, women in headscarves are almost non-existent in textbooks. Even in Religious Culture and Morals textbooks, pictures of families generally feature middle-class women with no headscarf. It could even be claimed that the textbooks are based on the values and symbols of the middle class and as such, all images of students, teachers and other individuals in the textbooks exclude other socio-economic groups.

The fact that the textbooks’ borders of acceptable citizenship ignore the differences that exist in Turkey has many negative consequences. Firstly, rather than preparing students to deal with the differences they will encounter in society, textbooks in their current form limit students’ imaginary in this area, and do little to provide students with the citizenship skills required for modern society. Another consequence of the fact that differences are ignored or marginalised is that social inequality is recreated through education. Concrete examples of this can be seen in the works of critical pedagogues, particularly Bourdieu who claims that schools relay a specific cultural capital (a specific language and cultural skillset); through this capital that is valued by schools, the middle and upper classes recreate their own position of superiority. Lower class or working class children, whose cultural capital is not represented and is seen as worthless in schools, have little chance of social advancement (Aranowitz and Giroux, 1993).

One of the most generalised discourses in Turkey is the idea that schools should not deal with politics and that they are neutral/unbiased places. However, through the cultural capital upon which it is based, the school curriculum excludes specific groups while privileging the dominant groups, thus recreating inequality. It is therefore impossible for Kurds, Armenians, Alevis, Romanies or many other groups in Turkey to place themselves within the narrative of

identity in the existing textbooks or to feel as though they belong in the country, a situation that is clearly revealed by various field studies. For example, the fieldwork carried out by Bahar Fırat as part of the “Role of Education as a Vehicle for Social Reconciliation” project run by the History Foundation showed that education contains discriminatory practices and does little to achieve the objective of developing in students an understanding of equal citizenship. For example, when Kurdish students read a textbook or attend a history lesson they look at it from the perspective of – to use one teacher’s description – “is there nothing about me in here, Sir?” Many Kurdish citizens express their bitterness at the fact that the term Kurd is mentioned only in reference to “Harmful Societies (Society for the Rise of Kurdistan)” (Fırat, 2010). This situation in which certain groups are ignored is, to use the words of Bourdieu, a form of “symbolic violence.” Symbolic violence, as Gibson notes, results in “symbolic wounds personally experienced and socially evidenced” (Gibson, 1986: 42). Those symbolic wounds, as he notes, are sustained in the routine encounters of classrooms. As well as the study by Fırat, other recently-published works also point out the sense of deep hurt felt by Kurds (Can, Gök and Şimşek, 2013).

Members of other groups also express similar feelings to those experienced by the Kurds. This can be seen, for example, in these words spoken during a meeting by Rober Koptaş, editor of the Armenian newspaper Agos: “From now on when I say ‘we’ I don’t want to refer only to Armenians; when I say ‘we’ I want to be a person expressing his opinion on every issue that is of interest to this country.” Koptaş also stated that being reminded of the fact that he is Armenian every day was “humiliating” for him, saying, “to live together in a democratic Turkey I should [be able to] forget that I am Armenian” (Radikal, 10 March 2012).

The perspective of a Kurdish student who asks “is there nothing about me here, Sir?” and Koptaş’s words, “when I say ‘we’ I don’t want to refer only to Armenians” show that the demands of Kurdish and Armenian citizens are not only legal demands but are also related to collective identity and the feeling of belonging. Koptaş’s demand to be included within a construct of “we” in which Armenians are treated equally without being reminded every day of the fact that they are Armenian highlights the difficult process that lies ahead of Turkey regarding the creation of the new constitution and the revision of textbooks. These examples show the necessity of the development in education, as in many other areas, of an ethnic blind understanding, in other words an understanding that does not deny ethnic identities but that at the same time does not constantly remind people of those identities. In other words, an understanding of collective identity that does not surrender to the sectarianism of identity politics in Turkey, and that is egalitarian while also being open to differences. It is impossible, however, to achieve such an aim with the existing textbooks, because, as stated in Article 14 of the Analysis Criteria, the dominant mentality that forms the textbooks perceives differences not as an asset but as a threat. One of the main reasons for this is that the textbooks are written from an essentialist perspective.

The consequence of essentialism: Diversity-difference presented as a problem rather than an asset

One of the most significant problems and consequences of the presentation of a national identity that excludes differences is that the textbooks are written with a nationalist approach that limits/singularises students' and teachers' imaginary. As stated in the Analysis Criteria in Appendix 1, "When understood as the love of an individual for his/her country and for the people alongside whom he/she lives in that country, nationalism can be seen as a natural and appropriate phenomenon that is worthy of respect." However, the nationalism that is reflected in textbooks rules out the possibility of a pluralistic existence, instead promoting an understanding in which pluralism is presented as a problem. For example, as mentioned above, there is a need to develop a collective identity that includes Kurds and the Kurdish language, yet the textbooks present not only the Kurdish language but also the different regional dialects in Turkey as a major problem. Under the heading "The Relationship between Language and Culture," the Grade 9 Language and Expression textbook asks students the following question:

- "What would happen if people in Turkey made applications to government agencies written in the spoken dialect of the regions of the Black Sea, the Aegean or Thrace? Express your opinions orally." (Grade 9 Language and Expression, Karizma: 28)

With such questions, the textbooks constantly emphasise the importance of the use of "standard Turkish" in order to avoid confusion in society and in government agencies. As such, those who speak a regional dialect in Turkey are another of the groups who are excluded from the idea of acceptable citizenship. In other words, those who are unable to speak "Istanbul Turkish" are subjected to symbolic violence during the education process:

- "You should speak not in a regional dialect but in the standard Istanbul Turkish." (Grade 8 Turkish TM, Bisiklet: 57)

When we also take into account the approach seen in other textbooks, we can see that this approach sees having one dialect, one language and one religion as paramount to ensuring a "healthy society," while any differences are either ignored or seen as a threat. At the root of all of these problems is the essentialist school of thought. Essentialism is discussed and analysed within the final section of the Analysis Criteria (Educational Philosophy / Development of a Critical Outlook) and examples of essentialist statements will be given and discussed in the final chapter of the study. However, at this point some explanation of essentialism needs to be given in order to discuss the problems of the construct of identity.

In the broadest sense of the term, essentialism is a philosophical stance that accepts the existence and supremacy of an "essence." In this sense, essentialist thought is not limited to one field and can be encountered in almost every area,

from gender studies to historiography or sociology. The dictionary definition of essentialism is “a belief that things have a set of characteristics which make them what they are; the doctrine that essence is prior to existence.” If further clarification is necessary, essentialism is,

The doctrine that asserts that all tangible objects are separated from each other into a number of natural categories; that it is possible to distinguish the category or class to which an object belongs from other categories of objects using rigid and specific boundaries; and that every being or object has an essence that makes it a member of a particular category of objects (Cevizci, 1999: 724).

The problem of essentialism becomes clear if we replace the words “all tangible objects” in this definition with the concepts of “Turkish/Greek/German culture” or “the Turkish language.” An essentialist approach to culture asserts that cultures, like objects in the above definition, are divided into natural categories, and that it is possible to distinguish cultures from each other using strict boundaries. Essentialist thought asserts that every identity, culture and language has an essence that is independent of history, and the presentation of the Turkish language in textbooks is an example of such essentialist thought:

- “At its origin, without influence from other languages, the Turkish language was able to meet all needs. This language had a structure that was suited to rapid development and that was sufficient to create words and concepts from word roots. With the inclusion of numerous concepts of first Arabic and then Farsi origin when Turkish societies adopted the religion of Islam, the unique structure of our language was corrupted.” (Grade 8 Turkish TM, MoNE: 118)

These statements are a reflection of essentialist thought, as the Turkish language is presented in this passage as something that alone could “meet all needs,” ignoring the truth that historically almost every language was formed through constant interaction. Turkish is presented as an element that is in itself sufficient, and it is stated that concepts entering Turkish from Arabic and Farsi corrupted the “unique structure of our language.” In other words, the Turkish teacher’s manual from which this passage was taken presents interaction with other cultures not as an asset but as something that, in line with essentialist thought, corrupts “the essence that should remain pure.” Essentialist thought gives identity and culture a fixed meaning and always perceives interaction with other cultures as a threat.

On this issue it should be pointed out that essentialist thought is “one of the most comforting and reassuring intellectual harbours for the human mind” (Belge, 2008: 11), as it provides people with a sense of a specific origin when faced with the confusion and changes of life. In other words, the belief that identity and culture have an essence that remains unchanged throughout history can provide a sense of reassurance, continuity and security during periods of transformation. However, such essentialist thought contradicts the constructivist philosophy upon which the educational programmes is said to

be based. The constructivist approach aims to enable students to evaluate and construct information by themselves, and proposes that students play an active role in the information-building process (BoE, 2009; Çayır, 2009b),³ and lesson curricula therefore include learning outcomes such as the development of critical thinking skills. However, it is impossible to reconcile an approach that presents information about the “Turkish language” in such a rigid and essentialist way, as seen in the above examples, with critical thinking. Essentialism is, to put it mildly, an approach that is in direct opposition to critical thinking and that in fact completely destroys a critical approach.⁴ Another significant consequence of this essentialist approach is that it infects textbooks with all of the problems mentioned in Articles 13 and 16 of the Analysis Criteria: Attributing some values only to “us.” Statements that create the impression that positive attributes “belong only to us” and therefore encourage contempt for others.

The superiority of the Turkish nation and the violation of the principle of respect for a shared human culture

Both individuals and societies feel the need to create for themselves a positive identity image, and it is therefore understandable that textbooks are used as a tool to reinforce the positive collective identity that every nation creates about itself. However, here it is important to look at whether national identity and culture are presented as completely different from and superior to other cultures; such an approach adopts an ethno-culturalist perspective

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- 3 The constructivism that replaced behaviourism with the 2004 curriculum reform was presented by the MoNE as being neutral and objective and as the most scientific approach in education today. However, constructivist education is not based on an approach that is free from power relationships. Constructivist theories that have become popular since the 1970s are based more on developments in the fields of neuroscience, cognition and biology rather than on developments in social sciences. These theories are therefore criticised for ignoring the socio-cultural aspects of experience. Some studies conducted in recent years have attempted to overcome the reductionism present in constructivism and to more strongly connect this approach with social sciences (see Neubert, 2003). During revisions of the textbooks used in Turkey it will be necessary to look at constructivism from a critical perspective and to develop a stronger theoretical approach. Some criticism of the constructivist reform also came from Turkey. For example, in the second Promoting Human Rights in Textbooks report, Betül Çotuksöken stated that during the process in which Turkey adopted constructivism, not enough attention was given to the advice of educational philosophers (2009). The new constructivist curriculum has also been criticised for having been designed with the aim of raising neoliberal individuals, in other words “individuals who are sensitive not to democracy but to the market economy” (İnal, 2013), or for being based on an approach that excludes traditional information (Gür, 2006).
 - 4 In a study that demonstrated the problems in essentialist statements about Turks in textbooks, Yücel Kabapınar showed candidate teachers adapted excerpts from the textbooks. In texts that praise Turkishness, Islam and war, the word Turkish was replaced with English and the word Islam with Christianity, etc. When read in its new format, some candidate teachers said that this text that praised Englishness was biased and problematic. Over half of the candidates said that the text was not appropriate for use in history lessons (Kabapınar, 2008).

and also violates the principle of respect for a shared human culture. It is also possible, however, for identity and culture to be presented as elements that develop through constant interaction, while local/national belonging can be regarded as “universality and membership in the human family,” as stated in the Analysis Criteria. Such an approach is based on an intercultural approach to education that does not reject local identities but bases them on universal pluralist values.

When seen in this context, we can see that textbooks in Turkey are written using statements claiming that positives qualities “belong only to us,” while elements of national identity are presented with an approach that may give rise to contempt for other identities and cultures. Authors constantly take an approach that claims that the Turkish language is superior to other languages and that the Turkish culture is superior to other cultures. For example, a passage from a Social Studies textbook beginning “I, Mahmud al-Kashgari,” gives Kashgari’s reasons for writing his famous *Divan-ı Lügati’t Türk* (Compendium of the Turkic Dialects):

- “I prepared this dictionary in order to show, by providing Arabic meanings against Turkish words, that Turkish is a stronger and more comprehensive language than Arabic.” (Grade 6 Social Studies, Altın Kitaplar: 78)

Before the 2004 curriculum reform, the “superiority of Turkish” was legitimised in textbooks through discriminatory statements against other languages. For example, as stated in the first analysis report published in 2003, the MoNE’s High School Linguistics 1 textbook included a statement that compared the Greek language to the “hiss of a snake”: “Turkish has neither the successive ‘y’s or strong ‘r’s of Italian, nor the repeated use of the letter ‘s’, reminiscent of the hiss of a snake, of Greek” (cited in Gemalmaz, 2003: 50). Here it is important to point out that no statements containing such open discrimination were encountered in the current textbooks. However, textbooks continue to present Turkish as superior to other languages:

- “There are those who say that the most charming languages in the world are Italian and Greek. However, those with experience acknowledge that if there is a language in the world that sounds the nicest and that charms and enchants even those who do not understand it, that language is the Turkish spoken in Istanbul and the large cities of the country.” (Grade 10 Language and Expression, MoNE: 48)

With this unreferenced quote, Turkish is presented not as one of the many languages of the human family but as a language that, more than any other, “charms and enchants even those who do not understand it.” The idea that “the best language is our language” is also seen when other cultural characteristics are presented, often using Atatürk as spokesperson:

- “No other nation has ever shown as much respect as our nation has to the beliefs and traditions of foreign elements. It could even be said that

our nation is the only nation that is respectful to the religion and nation of followers of other religions.” (Grade 9 RCM, Fem: 94)

Such an ethnocentric perspective that was encountered during the research for the second study carries “what could be called a fanatic claim that there is a *specific quality* or *difference* that places Turkey/Turkishness outside global experiences or universal values” (Bora, 2009: 138). This situation opens the door to a “self-interested perception of the world,” which is nurtured by claims that almost every invention in history was discovered by Turks:

- “Uyghur Turks taught Muslim Arabs and Europeans how to make paper. Uyghurs knew of the printing press and were printing books centuries before the Europeans.” (Grade 6 Social Studies, Altın Kitap: 74)
- “Romans learned to wear linen from the Turks.” (Grade 6 Social Studies, MoNE: 76)
- “[Turks] reached a shared awareness of history because they had the world’s best, most disciplined and most heroic army. They used the first fabric in the world, printed the first paper money and were the first to tame and use horses.” (Grade 11 Geography, MoNE: 138)

Rather than relating Turkishness to universal values, these claims again feed into the “self-interested” perception of the world. One of the results of this is that when, for example, the national literature movement or the Turkish language is being taught, an isolationist worldview is imposed under the guise of patriotism. For example, the following question is posed in preparation for a unit on the general characteristics of the national literature movement:

- “Does a nation have more interest in texts that use the nation’s own language to express their own lives, joys, hopes and loves, or in those of foreign nations? Give reasons for your answer.” (Grade 11 Turkish Literature, Biryay: 216)

It is clear that rather than preparing students for the topic of “the general characteristics of the national literature movement,” the learning outcome that lies behind this question advises students to show an interest in national literature and to keep their distance from the literature of “foreign nations.” This isolationist worldview that takes the stance that “the Turk has no friend but the Turk”⁵ is also presented when teaching the Turkish language:

- “Do you get on better with people who speak the same language as you and therefore share the same culture, or with people who speak different languages and have different cultural values? Explain your answer using examples.” (Grade 8 Turkish TM, Enderun: 142)

5 *Türkün Türkten başka dostu yoktur*; a widespread nationalist motto.

Such statements can be interpreted as a reflection of ethnocentrism. A more benevolent interpretation could be that these excerpts are based on an understanding that perceives people within specific cultural moulds and that claims that people are more comfortable within their own cultural sphere. This in fact corresponds to what is currently a very problematic multiculturalist approach, which sees cultures as islands disconnected from each other. However, it would be no exaggeration to say that many textbooks subscribe to this problematic multiculturalist understanding, clearly indicated by the way the discourse of tolerance is used in the textbooks. To cite Article 17 of the Analysis Criteria, such an approach maintains *“the ‘implicit hierarchy’ contained within the term ‘tolerance’ rather than promoting the culture of living together as equals along with our differences.”*

The discourse of tolerance: Equality or maintaining the hierarchy?

In the textbooks, tolerance is presented as a “value” that must be taught in various lessons. The Grade 4 Social Studies teacher’s manual describes this value as “Respect for feelings and ideas, Tolerance” and gives the following definition:

- “The [concept of] *hoşgörü* finds its equivalent in almost all languages in the word tolerance. It means to permit, to overlook, to ignore or to put up with. Being tolerant [*hoşgörülü*] means to be able put up with people’s mental states, ideas, events and worldviews, to share all their beauty, and to be at peace with everyone.” (Grade 4 Social Studies, TM, MoNE: 34)

In a section entitled “Despite the Differences,” the Grade 7 Social Studies textbook gives the following definition of the concept of tolerance:

- “As far as possible, tolerating all things by approaching them with understanding; suffering, tolerance.” (Grade 7 Social Studies, MoNE: 76)

Teaching students, as a part of values education, to “accept and respect differences and to live together” is extremely important, particularly for today’s societies. It is of particular relevance to modern-day Turkey because, as has been pointed out from the beginning of this report, the country is currently trying to develop a framework within which different groups can live in peace. However, the way that tolerance is defined in the textbooks is of little service to the development of such a framework. As seen in the two textbooks cited above, tolerance is defined as “permitting,” “putting up with”, or “suffering” other ideas, a definition that is extremely problematic in terms of the ideal of equality that modern societies strive to achieve. Numerous studies show that it is difficult to ensure peace in an environment in which certain communities feel that they are in an unequal position compared to other groups (Çuhadar Gürkaynak, 2012). As such, the main criticism of the definition of the concept of

tolerance found in textbooks is that, rather than encouraging living together side by side, it maintains the “implicit hierarchy” between groups. Therefore, if what is understood by the concept of tolerance is, as defined above, “permitting and putting up with” other groups, this definition contains a hierarchy and is therefore not compatible with the modern concept of equality.

In this context, it is also necessary to examine the concept of tolerance that is directly discussed in textbooks in relation to Ottoman practices. As a reflection of essentialist thought, the textbooks present tolerance as one of the qualities of the Turkish nation rather than within a particular sociological or historical context:

- “Being tolerant is one of the basic characteristics of the Turkish nation.” (Grade 4 Social Studies, Book 1, Tuna: 22)

This basic characteristic is presented as one of the reasons for the important historical role played by Turks; it was thanks to their tolerance that even the Christian peoples “greeted the Ottomans as saviours and protectors” (Grade 10 History, MoNE: 25). Moreover, the textbooks state that the Ottomans even put an end to “the burdens of taxation” in the areas they conquered:

- “In the areas they conquered, the Ottomans gave freedom of thought and conscience to the people who, until then, had been oppressed and treated with contempt, and removed the burdens of taxation; in short they set out to unite with the people.” (Grade 11 Geography, MoNE: 139)

It is a historical fact that the Ottoman State showed more tolerance towards other groups compared to other regimes in Europe during the same period. After all, the Ottoman State accommodated differences within a multicultural structure, and in particular gave rights to other religious groups through the *millet* system. However, it is also a fact that rather than removing the burdens of tax, as the textbooks claim, the Ottomans imposed special taxes on non-Muslims. It is important to point out that the special taxes and restrictive measures imposed on non-Muslims show that the tolerance of this period contained a hierarchy between different groups, and is therefore incompatible with the modern understanding of equality. After all, within the Ottoman Empire Muslims were described, in a manner characteristic of the time, as superior to other communities and as the dominant nation. Today it is crucial that, in place of a narrative of tolerance that maintains this hierarchy, we develop a vision in which all of the different groups in Turkey can live equally.

A closer look at the textbooks shows us that the discourse of tolerance contains a much more serious problem than the simple perpetuation of this hierarchy. In fact, it could be claimed that the way the concept of tolerance is covered in textbooks could, rather than instilling this desired value in students, create a completely contradictory mentality, as the textbooks also say that at one point the nations to whom “we” had shown tolerance “chased us from among them with sticks.”

An information box entitled “Nation and Nationalism” in one Sociology textbook gives this statement from Atatürk:

- “In particular, our nation endured a painful punishment for having ignored its own nation. By embracing national beliefs, the many societies within the Ottoman Empire freed themselves with the strength of the nationalist ideal. We understood what we were, that we were a separate and foreign nation to them, when they chased us from among them with sticks.” (Sociology, Ekoyay: 60)

The narrative in this book portrays tolerance as “putting up with other groups,” while also serving to develop negative feelings against them. According to this excerpt, the system that was implemented in the Ottoman period led us to “neglect our nation.” Here it is important to highlight the essentialist perspective that sees the concepts of nationalism and nation not as the products of modernism but as eternal ideas. Furthermore, the excerpt states that despite the tolerance shown in the Ottoman period other ethnic groups “did not appreciate our value” and “chased us from among them.” In some textbooks it is claimed that non-Muslims were misled by others and did not appreciate the value of the Turks. For example, in one textbook an Armenian citizen, presented as “Karapit Nedeniyan, a carpet maker in the Grand Bazaar,” is quoted as saying the following (cited as appearing in the journal *Bilim ve Aklın Aydınlığında Eğitim* no. 38: 11):

- “Oh, those that caused this; may your houses crumble. We lived so happily. We enjoyed the good life that the Muslims could not. They deceived our youngsters and made them work for their own ambitions. Now each of us is in a different place in the world.” (Grade 8 Reform History and Kemalism, MoNE: 34)

As a result, the way that the value of tolerance is portrayed gives rise to a more serious problem than the perpetuation of the hierarchy. The narrative that throughout history “we tolerated them but they...” feeds into a sense of “us versus them” that still today requires citizens to be on guard against domestic and foreign enemies. In short, as stated in the Analysis Criteria, the textbooks still define national identity through exclusion, threats and perceived enemies.

The definition of identity through exclusion, threats and perceived enemies

Textbooks set out to teach the concept of country and the importance of the country from early grade levels. The concept of country is presented to students through a comparison to “home”:

- “I live in this country. I love this country like I love my home. At home I always feel safe. Our country is also our home.” (Grade 3 Elementary Civics, MoNE)

It is not a coincidence that the textbook authors present the concept of country together with a sense of “safety.” The reason behind this is the shared emphasis in all of the textbooks that the Turkish identity, culture and language are under threat, as shown by the passages in Chapter I that reveal the narrative of national identity. From Grade 1 onwards, national identity is presented in a way that supports this general narrative. From as early as Grade 1, particularly in Elementary Civics⁶ and Turkish textbooks, national identity is explained with references to poems about Atatürk and through various quotations and speeches by Atatürk. From Grade 1 onwards students are taught about national identity and patriotism in conjunction with the concepts of enemies, war and occupation, as seen in the following poem entitled “23 April” in the MoNE Grade 1 Elementary Civics textbook:

- “Before we came into the world/it was full of enemies/Atatürk chased/ these enemies from our country.” (Grade 1 Elementary Civics, MoNE: 25)

Students therefore encounter the concepts of “soldier and enemy” as early as Grade 1, while they are still learning to read and write. In the Grade 2 Elementary Civics textbook, students are introduced to the character of Efe, who explains why we celebrate 19 May (Commemoration of Atatürk, Youth and Sports Day). During a dialogue between Efe and his father, Efe’s father asks, “Why do we have a national holiday on this date?” to which Efe replies:

- “When Atatürk landed in Samsun, the War of Independence began. We won this war that began on 19 May. We saved our country from its enemies. This is why we have a national holiday.” (Grade 2 Elementary Civics, Book 2, MoNE: 156)

The same narrative continues in Grade 3:

- “Before the Republic was formed, our country was occupied by enemies. [...] Atatürk worked in solidarity with the Turkish nation to save our country from these enemies.” (Grade 3 Elementary Civics, Book 2, Evrensel İletişim: 139)

Particularly in the first three grade levels, no explanation or rationale is given for the concept of “enemy” that is presented through the figure of Atatürk, and at this level the definition of the enemy remains an abstract one. From Grade 4 onwards these “enemies” begin to be named. Reading passages in Turkish textbooks touch on this topic:

- “At the end of World War I [...] Greek soldiers landed in Izmir. The Italians occupied Antalya and Konya; the French occupied Adana, Gaziantep, Kahramanmaraş and Şanlıurfa.” (Grade 4 Turkish, Bilim ve Kültür: 38)

6 *Hayat Bilgisi*. This lesson, taught in Grades 1-3, covers topics that, according to the MoNE website, aim to teach children about “the natural and social environment in which they live and to develop the skills required to adapt to this environment” (http://orgm.meb.gov.tr/alt_sayfalar/HayatBilgisiDersi.htm).

Some may claim that the above excerpts on World War I can be interpreted as presenting historical facts in a neutral way. However, as shown by the discussion on the concept of “us” in Chapter I, the perceived threats that are mentioned when presenting the concepts of nation and national identity have not remained in the past. According to many textbooks, Turkey remains under threat today. Here it may be necessary to give a reminder of some of the passages cited in Chapter I. Today’s textbooks tell students that “Some states see Turkey as a threat,” before giving them the following question to discuss: “What could be some of the duties and responsibilities of [Turkish] citizens when faced with these states that see our country as a threat? Discuss” (Grade 5 Social Studies, Book 2, MoNE: 163). “Being on guard against enemies” is therefore presented as one of the responsibilities of modern citizenship. The warning of enemies and threats is more evident in Reform History and Kemalism textbooks than in other textbooks, and it can even be said that the archaic language of the previous National Security and Citizenship textbooks is maintained in these books. Today’s Reform History textbooks still present “separatist activities,” “reactionaries” and “missionary activities” under the heading of domestic and foreign enemies.

Furthermore, as shown in Chapter I through various examples, according to the textbooks it is not just the country that is under threat; the Turkish language and culture are also under threat of being corrupted. Authors are certain that “Turkish has been surrounded from all sides” (Grade 10 Language and Expression, MoNE: 9) and that “Our Turkish is lost” (Sociology, Ekoyay: 199).

- “Prepare a presentation on the subject of the corruption of the Turkish language.” (Grade 10 Language and Expression, MoNE: 22)

This perception of being under threat serves to further support the essentialist, monocultural and ethno-centric perspective discussed above. However, we must also point out that the claim that this country and its language is under threat also contradicts the essentialist and ethno-centric claims. On the one hand the Turkish army is presented as the “world’s best, most disciplined and most heroic army” (Grade 11 Geography, MoNE: 138), while on the other hand the country that this army protects is under constant threat from domestic and foreign enemies. Similarly, Turkish is presented on the one hand as the “language in the world that sounds the nicest and that charms and enchants even those who do not understand it” (Grade 10 Language and Expression, MoNE: 48), while on the other hand it is said that modern Turkish has been corrupted. Making claims of being the best and most powerful while also feeling weak and threatened points to the dictionary definition of an inferiority complex. Individuals suffering from an inferiority complex see themselves as inferior in certain ways, while at the same time attempting to prove themselves. As such, it could be claimed that the textbooks that constantly present these two perceptions may create an unhealthy understanding of citizenship that is insecure, mistrustful and contains a sense of inferiority.

Research shows that people in Turkey have strong feelings of insecurity and mistrust regarding the international system and other countries. Based on information from various databases, Emre Erdoğan asserts that Turkey holds a special place in terms of its levels of mistrust towards other countries (Erdoğan, 2013). The data show that individuals in Turkey reported more negative opinions about foreign countries than respondents from any other country. It may be true that the current international system and law has many aspects that can be criticised. The problem, however, is that such a high level of mistrust of Europe and the world will likely foster a sense of Turkishness, and a nationalism and particularism that are insular and disconnected from universal values. As a result, Turkey will become a country that, however much its international relations increase, constantly perceives those around it as a threat, that sways between insecurity and overconfidence, and that makes a limited contribution to the creation of universal values.

When looked at from this perspective we can see that the national identity presented in textbooks fosters this insular approach and mistrust. The following activity from a Turkish lesson shows the mental backdrop upon which national identity and the understanding of patriotism are presented in textbooks from Grade 1 onwards:

- “Using the following concepts, write a poem about ‘patriotism’: land, soldier, world, border, foreign, sacrifice, bravery, love, work, protect.” (Grade 8 Turkish SW, Enderun: 77)

There is nothing more natural than loving the place that we see as our homeland or than textbooks being written using statements that encourage patriotism. However, what is important here is to look at what kind of patriotism the textbooks are trying to develop. For example, in the above activity the concepts provided to express patriotism could have been “democracy, rights, responsibilities, country, peace, love, work, world, etc.” Had this been the case, in order to express the concept of patriotism students would have been expected to say something along the lines of, “I love my country, I work towards ensuring that it is filled with harmony and peace, I use my democratic rights to work towards this aim and I carry out my responsibilities.” However, it is no coincidence that the curriculum and textbooks, which constantly describe the national identity and the country with regard to threats, present students with militaristic concepts (land, soldier, border, foreign, etc.) in order to express patriotism. We can therefore say that textbooks at various levels are again full of examples that extol militaristic values.

Militarism in textbooks

In the first and second Promoting Human Rights in Textbooks projects, Ayşe Gül Altınay mentioned the problems of the militaristic approach in education, particularly in the National Security lesson (2003; 2009). The content of this lesson taught students in Turkey to look at their neighbours and the world

using military concepts and to evaluate events in the context of domestic and foreign enemies, while a separate problem was the fact that the lessons were taught by uniformed officers with no pedagogical training. There is no doubt that the removal of this lesson from the curriculum in 2012 was an important step, but our research shows that the militaristic spirit and language of the National Security lesson live on in other subjects. It was observed that militaristic content is systematically presented in every lesson, from Turkish to English and from Elementary Civics to Music.

Striking examples of this are found from as early as Grade 1, where the “ideal” of being a soldier is one of the first concepts that students encounter. Among the first syllables that students learn in the textbooks for Grade 1 Literacy published by both the MoNE (Grade 1 Turkish: 52) and by Kartopu (Grade 1 Turkish, Book 1: 46) is “er” (soldier). As shown below this syllable is accompanied by an image and is presented to students in the context of the sentence “Ata er ol” (Ata, be a soldier).

After having learned to read through sentences such as “Ata, be a soldier,” Grade 2 students are presented with a reading passage entitled “Child Soldier” in their Turkish lesson. The reading passage begins:

- “Mustafa was young. Because of this he had been given a job to do. He was a red-cheeked, sharp-nosed, round-bodied child soldier. [...] He had to catch up with the troops before dawn.” (Grade 2 Turkish, Book 2, Yıldırım: 125)

The job given to Mustafa the “child soldier” becomes apparent on the second page of the passage, reproduced above. Mustafa is a “soldier assigned the duty of carrying water to the troops.” The commander gives Mustafa the duty of taking water to the soldiers in the opposite trenches who are “still humans, even if they are enemies.” An important point to mention here is that the reading passage is accompanied by images. When we consider that images are a more effective tool than text for children who have just learned to read, it is clear that the images in the textbooks attempt to enable the children to envisage more clearly both the “child soldier” and the “enemy.” In Turkish and Literature textbooks at higher grade levels, students are also presented with reading texts on soldiers and war. In these textbooks, conveying the militaristic perspective seems to be almost more important than teaching Turkish.

According to the constructivist approach adopted in 2004, the textbooks were required to be written in a way that would encourage students to be more active and participatory in lessons. In line with this we can see that the authors created questions that attempt to involve students more actively in the topics. However, the questions and expected answers that aim to increase students’ active participation are again related to militaristic values. As seen in the examples below, students are frequently asked to imagine the war years and to identify with the values and people of that time:

n sest


5

a → an → an an

r → an

e → en → en en

r → en



i → in → in in

r → in

Ata en ol.

en en

6

an → ana


a → ana

en → ene

e → ene

in → inli

i → inli



Ela ene inli inli  ol.

7


ana → ana → na → na na

na → rana → Rana

na → rana

R R

na → nar 

r → nar

ta → tana

na → tana

li → lina

ra → lina

Mustafa, ellerini kaldırdı. Düşman askerlerinin eline düşmüştü. Bir yandan üzülüyor, bir yandan da nasıl kurtulacağıнын planlarını yapıyordu.

Çok geçmeden onu kumandanlarının yanına götürdüler. Mustafa hemen bir asker selamı çaktı. Kumandan tercüman vasıtasıyla sordu:

— Kaçak mısın?

— Asla!

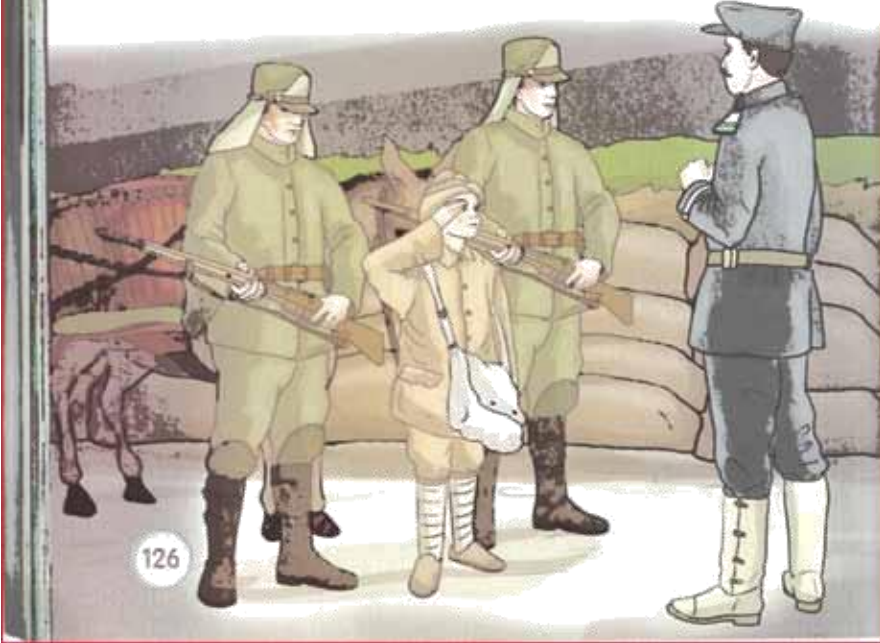
— Nerelisin?

— Kastamonuluyum.

— Burada ne arıyorsun?

— Efendim, ben bölüğe su taşımakla görevli bir askerim.

Bizim tarafta bol su var. Ama sizin tarafta kıtlık varmış. Bizim binbaşı çok iyi askerdir. Beni çağırdı. "Mustafa, karşı siperdeki düşman susuzluktan ölüyor. Düşman da olsa insandır. Fiçilerin katıra yükle, düşmanı bir sulayiver. Benden de yüzbaşıya selam söyle. Seni geri bırakmak da onun şanına yakışır." dedi.



- “If you were one of the children who greeted the Turkish army in Izmir, what would you have liked to say to Mustafa Kemal Pasha?” (Grade 4 Social Studies, Book 1, MoNE: 55)
- “If you had been appointed as commander of the Western Front, what would have been the first thing you did?” (Grade 8 Revolution History and Kemalism, MoNE: 66)

Values related to war, martyrdom and the army have spread throughout the curriculum to such an extent that even in English lessons students are given speaking activities on the theme of war. For example, the Grade 8 English textbook gives a picture of a veteran of the War of Independence and asks the following question:

- “Think about the life of the veteran in the picture. Was his life difficult during the war? Discuss with a partner.” (Grade 8 English SW, MoNE: 62)

Similarly, role play cards for oral practice in English are related to war and the War of Independence. The following role play card given in one activity describes the character of Hasan Çavuş as follows:

- “You are Hasan Çavuş. You are from a small village in Adana. You are 100 years old. You were 13 years old when the war started. [...] You joined the army and fought against the Greek forces in Sakarya. You had a lot of difficulties. For example, you couldn’t find food and clean water.” (Grade 8 Spot On SW, MoNE: 193)

Many more similar examples could be given from the textbooks. These examples that at first glance seem to describe the years of World War I and the War of Independence cannot in fact be seen as simple historical descriptions. Similar statements that are repeated not just in Social Studies but also in Music and English lessons indoctrinate a specific understanding of citizenship that is problematic in terms of the human rights framework upon which this study is based. This problem, which at its most basic can be described as the presentation of a militaristic perspective, contains numerous interconnected issues that can be elaborated upon under a few different headings.

Firstly it is necessary to evaluate the above excerpts within the narrative of Turks as an “army-nation.” In Chapter I we pointed out that the textbooks are full of statements such as, “the tradition of the army-nation lay in the general character of our people,” (Grade 6 Social Studies, MoNE: 69) or “The Turkish nation is the best example of the unity of the army-nation” (Grade 6 Social Studies, MoNE: 73). As stated by Ayşe Gül Altınay, the term army-nation is one of the founding myths of post-1930s Turkish nationalism, and as a result of this myth the military became “culturalised.” In other words the concept of being a soldier “began to be perceived not as an extension of the army or the organisation of the state, but of *culture*” (2009: 146). The broadest definition of militarism is the following: the interconnection of the military with culture and the inability to think of all civil/political/social/economic fields independently



Çok geçmeden cevap geldi. Gönüllü olma isteği kabul edilmişti. Küçük Hasan o gün çok sevindi. Hemen öğretmenlerine gitti ve durumu bildirdi. Bu habere öğretmenleri hem üzümüş hem de sevinmişlerdi. Artık İstanbul'da bir elin parmağı kadar kalan öğrencileri de bir bir cepheye gidiyorlardı. Küçük Hasan öğretmenlerinden ayrılırken,

— Hocam sizlerden ricam var, dedi.

Öğretmeni şaşırıp ve merakla sordu:

— Nedir Hasan'ım?

— Efendim ben hastane olarak kullanılan okulumuzu bir kez daha ziyaret ettim. İkinci katta yolun arkasına gelen bir yerde küçük bir pencerenin çerçeveleri siyaha boyanmamış.

— Yani?

— Eğer benim şehit haberimi alırsanız o pencerenin çerçevelerini siyaha boyar mısınız?

Bu istek öğretmeni çok şaşırtmıştı. Ne diyeceğini bilemedi. Âdeta gönü tltredi. Zorlukla,

— Boyanm tabi Hasan, dedi.

— Teşekkür ederim efendim, bugüne dek bize hocalık yaptınız. Üzerimizde hakkınız vardır. Helal ediniz.

— Helal olsun Hasan'ım! Bizim hakkımız sizin gibi cepheye koşan öğrencilerin hakkı yanında çok küçük kalır. Asıl siz hakkınızı helal ediniz.

— Helal olsun!

Küçük Hasan uzaklaşırken onun arkasından bakan öğretmenin gözleri dolu dolu olmuştu. Âdeta kimsenin duymamasını istercesine mırıldandı:

— Güle güle... Büyük işler yapmak için büyük vazifeye soyunan Küçük Hasan güle güle...

from the military. The expectation that children will become soldiers and the emphasis on the idea that the most sacred duty is to fight and die, as seen in the examples given above, point to the militarisation of education (Altınay, 2009).

The result of such a mentality is that citizenship is also militarised. When looked at in this context it is clear that it is no coincidence that as early as Grade 1 students are presented with the sentence “Ata, be a soldier” accompanied by an image. As in the examples above, presenting students with activities in which they have to imagine themselves as a “commander of the Western Front,” or “a Turkish soldier on the front,” has the objective of making them identify with the role of the soldier and adopt the values required by the military. The worst aspect of the above examples, particularly in the “Child Soldier Mustafa” text and the images that accompany it, is the fact that they normalise the idea of “child soldiers.” Current international law is very sensitive to the subject of child soldiers, who are frequently used in certain warzones. Therefore, the fact that the characters of soldiers Mustafa and Hasan, whom the textbooks present as part of Turkish history, are today held up as role models is extremely problematic in terms of the human rights conventions upon which this study is based. In more concrete terms, these textbooks contravene the articles of the Convention on the Rights of the Child that aim to protect children against violence.

Other problems with the militaristic approach of the textbooks is that it normalises, or even glorifies, war, death and killing, and does so using sexist content. We will examine these two problems under Article 4 of the Analysis Criteria, with the heading “*statements that glorify death.*”

Statements in textbooks that glorify death

Statements that glorify death, which are required for the militaristic perspective, are mainly seen in Religious Culture and Morals textbooks. Both protecting the country and dying for the country are legitimised with religious concepts. For example, the following excerpts are taken from the unit entitled “We Love Our Country and Our Nation”:

- “In our religion it is considered sacred to protect your country. Muslims who gave their lives protecting their country were recognised as martyrs.” (Grade 5 RCM, Doku: 114)
- “Our forefathers considered it an honour to be martyred for the country, nation and flag. They would go to the front saying, ‘If I die I will become a martyr; if I survive, a veteran;’ they fought to protect the country and nation.” (Grade 5 RCM, Doku: 120)

Deplorably, the Grade 9 textbook also adds “honour” to the list of values for which we should be prepared to die:

- “Our religion orders us to be prepared to give our lives, where necessary, for sacred values such as the country and honour, and gives an important place to martyrs and veterans.” (Grade 9 RCM, MoNE: 90)

Similar statements are made in music lessons, where in one activity students are presented with a song that again glorifies death and asked to “form and play a rhythmical accompaniment to the following song paying attention to the themes of the song”:

- “Oh my country, my country [...] This life is always ready to be sacrificed for your sake.” (Grade 8 Music, MoNE: 34)

Finally, Language and Expression textbooks use passages that glorify death in textual analysis activities. The “Hennaed Ali” text from the Grade 10 Language and Expression textbook is an example of this. The text tells the story of Ali, who is going to the Gallipoli front and whose hair is hennaed by his father. Ali, who becomes the subject of ridicule among his colleagues because of the henna in his hair, tells his father not to do the same to his brother, to which his father gives the following response:

- “We apply henna for three reasons: Firstly, to a girl getting married, so that she goes as a sacrifice to her family and her children. Secondly, to a sacrificial goat, as a sacrifice to Allah. And thirdly to our brave young men going to war, as a sacrifice to the country.” (Grade 10 Language and Expression, Zambak: 121)

All of these excerpts show that militarism glorifies death at every opportunity. To do this, a very functional religious terminology is used, and this task is assigned to the curriculum of the Religious Culture and Morals lesson. As seen in the first two examples of this section, the unit entitled “We Love Our Country and Our Nation” is full of concepts such as “frontline,” “giving your life” and “martyrdom.” The textbooks make a direct leap from loving the country to dying for the country.

At the same time it is possible to see from these examples how militarism is a sexist ideology. If we recall the examples above, all of the images presented as role models (Ata, be a soldier; child soldier Mustafa; hennaed Ali) are male. Therefore those who fulfil the “most sacred duty” are not women but men. As such the country-state-military-citizenship link is established from a male perspective, and a narrative of first-class citizenship based on masculinity is developed. Of course, this is a masculinity that excludes those who are “defective,” in other words people with disabilities, gay men and conscientious objectors (Altınay, 2009: 148). Again, this sexism is strengthened with religious concepts. A parallel is drawn between the henna that is applied to a sacrificial goat and that applied to a bride or a soldier. When we consider violence against women in Turkey, a country where “honour killings” remain a major problem, it is unacceptable that a Grade 9 textbook states that “our religion” orders us to die for “honour” as well as for the country. Considering that women represent honour in the dominant cultural codes in Turkey, it is not difficult to understand what these statements mean. Therefore, while glorifying war and death, the militaristic perspective in the textbooks uses an extremely patriarchal and sexist language. Various studies have stated that the militaristic perspective

defines citizenship on the basis of masculinity, assigning to women a “logistical citizenship” as self-sacrificing mothers who give birth to children (or perhaps we should say soldiers) (Üstel, 2004; Kancı and Altınay, 2011).

The problems of militarism in textbooks could easily fill many pages. At its most basic, this perspective undermines concepts such as the right to life and the right to peace, and does not allow students the possibility to imagine or desire a peaceful environment/history free from violence. Among all of the problems, it may be important to mention two points that are related to Turkey’s current political developments. The first is linked to the aspect of militarism that normalises and glorifies death. Research shows that in countries where large massacres and genocides have taken place, one of the elements that made such tragedies possible was education. For example, Lynn Davies, who works in the field of education and social conflict, claims that the presentation of war as inevitable within the education system played a role in the acceptance of the invasion of Iraq by the American and British public (Davies, 2010). Rwanda is an even more striking example. In Rwanda, where over one million people were killed in a short period as a result of conflict between the Tutsis and Hutus, history education was seen as one of the elements that prepared the ground for the genocide, and history education was suspended until new textbooks were written in 2003.

In Turkey, thousands have died in armed conflicts related to the Kurdish issue. It could be claimed that, besides many other elements, the militaristic education outlined above is one of the reasons for which for many years the Turkish public did not question these deaths. However, in recent years both Turks and Kurds have begun to question this war and the deaths on both sides. An important legitimising factor of the “Peace Process” that began in 2013 is the statement, taken up by various politicians, that “now there have been no deaths for months.” As such, it is necessary once again to emphasise the need to revise the militaristic approach in textbooks that glorifies death in order for this peace process to succeed.

The second problem related to Turkey’s current context is that such an ideology restricts the civil and political arenas (Altınay, 2009), because with the militaristic perspective we are required to look at events in terms of rigid, black and white concepts; other countries or people are always defined in the categories of friend or enemy; and politics is constantly assessed in the context of domestic and foreign threats. However, political issues and daily life are much more complicated than these clear-cut categories. Amid this complexity, politics means the capacity to solve problems by sometimes taking different positions. In recent years, significant steps have been taken in Turkey to reduce the dominance of the military in the country. Even though it is a painful process, initiatives that aim to solve the Kurdish issue on a political level are being implemented. In order for politics to increase its problem-solving capacity it is important to erase the traces of the militaristic mentality from education and textbooks, as from all other areas. Or to look at the matter from the opposite perspective, it is impossible to expand the political arena in Turkey and to create

a pluralistic and democratic country if we continue to educate citizens to look at the world with the categories of friends and enemies, and who see dying and killing as normal.

Final notes about developing a new understanding of “us”

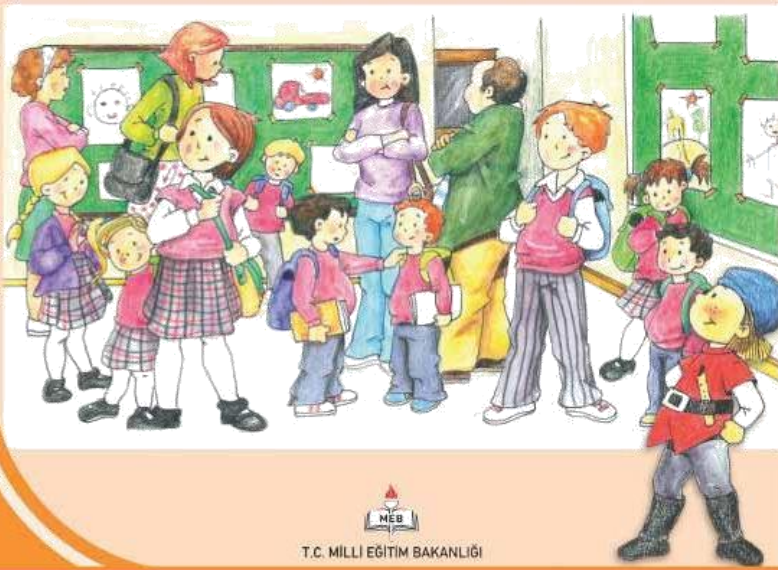
During the research for this report, not only did we look at the problems that exist in the textbooks, we also recorded positive examples, as will be seen in the following chapters. However, on the topic of national identity, it is unfortunately next to impossible to find any positive examples in the textbooks. As has been stated from the very beginning of this report, the national/collective identity in the textbooks is based on an ethno-culturalist understanding of citizenship that excludes all differences. This understanding corresponds neither to the current situation in Turkish politics, nor to the intellectual body of knowledge in Turkey. In fact, steps taken in recent years by the MoNE in order to meet certain social demands have created a conflict between the existing educational philosophy and practice. For example, the introduction in schools of elective classes for the Kurmanji, Zazaki, Adyghe, Abaza and Laz languages shows that there is an official recognition of the existence in this region of languages and cultures other than Turkish. The fact that despite this the historical narrative and collective identity in textbooks are still constructed around Turkishness and the Turkish language creates an ironic situation. In other words, the official approach both recognises people who speak different languages, while at the same time excluding them from the historical narrative. For this reason, one of the basic premises of this study is that textbooks need to be revised according to Turkey's current political/social developments and in a way that develops a pluralistic imaginary.

It is impossible to consider textbooks independently of the constitution, laws and political developments. Therefore the revision of textbooks is a process that must go hand in hand with such developments. It is evident that the construction of social peace and the development of a new collective identity will be a long process. It must also be pointed out that textbooks based on a pluralist collective identity will not solve all Turkey's problems or provide us with the key to the solution for longstanding issues. However, we must not ignore the fact that potential changes to textbooks could make a very important contribution to this process. To give an example, during this process topics related to different ethnic identities that are currently taboo can be covered from multiple perspectives, therefore opening up the possibility for debate. For example, the political authorities went some way towards a public apology regarding the Dersim Massacre. However, this has not removed the taboo surrounding the subject, which remains something that cannot easily be discussed in educational environments (sometimes even at university level). Until the topic of Dersim and other longstanding problems are covered from different perspectives in textbooks, it will not be possible to discuss such issues openly. To counter this premise it could be argued that in order for such topics to find their way into textbooks, we first need to confront them within society. However, the inclusion

5-8.
SINIFLAR

АҢСШӘА АРҘАГА ШӘКӘЫ

ABAZACA DERS KİTABI
• MODÜL 1 •



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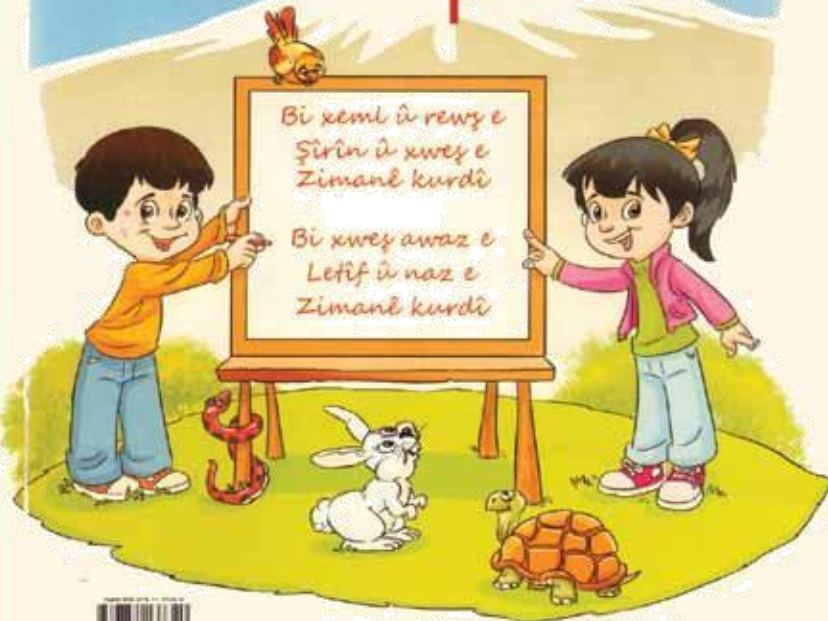
KURDÎ

NIVÎSKAR

Prof. Dr. Kadri Yıldırım
Yrd. Doç. Dr. Abdurrahman Adak
Yrd. Doç. Dr. Hayrullah Acar
Öğr. Gör. Zülküf Ergün
Öğr. Gör. İbrahim Bingöl
Öğr. Gör. Ramazan Pertev

5

Kurmancî



Bendrol Uygulamasına İlgilin Usul ve Esaslar Hakkında
Yönetmeliğin 5 inci maddesinin ikinci fıkrası çerçevesinde
bendrol taşıması zorunlu değildir.



BU DERS KİTABI
MILLÎ EĞİTİM BAKANLIĞINCA
ÜCRETSİZ OLARAK VERİLMİŞTİR.
PARA İLE SATILAMAZ

in textbooks of words and topics that are considered taboo could allay the fears that prevent public debate. For example, the Citizenship and Democracy textbook that was prepared in 2010 included many texts and activities related to the concept of discrimination. Thanks to these activities, teachers were provided with the possibility to hold a freer and more open discussion on certain types of discrimination, whether in Turkey or other parts of the world. Therefore the inclusion of such concepts in textbooks relaxes the boundaries of the “official discourse” on that topic, expands the limits of the established norms and makes room for debate on collective identity.

It should be pointed out that the suggestion of such changes to textbooks has not found favour with all groups in Turkey. Some educators strongly object to the development of a multiple-perspective on events in textbooks, to the removal of discriminatory statements and to the creation of a new understanding of “us.” For example, according to history professor Hale Şivgin, the requests outlined in the Council of Europe’s “Recommendation on history teaching in twenty-first-century Europe” are in some ways incompatible with the foundations of the Turkish national education system. According to Şivgin,

- “The Council of Europe requests that negative statements against others are removed from textbooks. While incredibly strong, hostile statements against Turks remain in place, particularly in Balkan countries and in the textbooks of Greece and Bulgaria, it is requested that statements that are completely innocent in comparison are removed from our textbooks, and it is proposed that the teaching of national history is abandoned in favour of universal history.” (2009: 47-8)

Şivgin defines those who aim for “a peaceful understanding of history in line with the values of the modern world” as “global historians” and claims that such an understanding of history plays into the hands of the global system of exploitation. She states that, “discourses such as universal history all aim to diminish the strength of the nation state and national identity. In other words, they aim to strip the Turkish people of their identity” (2009: 51). Finally Şivgin makes the following judgement: “It is not possible for the basic aims of the Turkish National Education and the general aims of history lessons to change; if attempts are made to change them it will lead to a crisis in the country” (2009: 47).

One of the problems of the perspective represented by Şivgin is that it considers the concepts of local and universal to be opposites, and, just like in the textbooks, perceives the Turkish identity as weak and under threat. According to this perspective, removing negative statements against others from the textbooks means being “stripped of our identity.” If we look at this from a different angle, the perception of enemies and threats in textbooks is, according to such a mentality, a natural and necessary part of national identity. An understanding of national identity constructed in this way bases its own existence on “other” nations and sees discriminatory statements in the textbooks as normal.

Perhaps the most serious problem of this perspective is that it considers identity (here the Turkish identity) to be a fixed and unchangeable phenomenon. Saying “it is not possible for the basic aims of the Turkish National Education and the general aims of history lessons to change” attributes an unchangeable essence to identity. In other words, according to this perspective the Turkish identity (and in fact every identity) has an unchanging essence. However, we must not forget that the idea of fixed identities belongs to the modern period, and making identities this rigid is in fact a product of the Western positivist tradition (Bekerman, 2002). It should also be remembered that it is mainly modern ideologies (e.g. National Socialism) that reduce identity to a fixed and unchangeable category. Until modern times people could easily change their identity, for example their religious affiliation. When identity is attributed with an unchanging essence this is not possible: a Jew can only be a Jew, an Armenian can only be an Armenian and there is no possibility for them to be anything else. This means looking at society, life and education in an essentialist way. Yet history shows us the heavy price that has been paid for attributing identities with a fixed definition through an essentialist approach. In fact the issue is not just about defining identities and cultures (the Turkish culture in this case) as essentialist on a discursive level. As Phina Werbner stated, throughout history the political decisions of states, ethnic cleansings and even genocides have always been caused by essentialist definitions (1997: 229), and essentialism therefore has a close link to racist and discriminative discourse and practices.

Furthermore, saying that identity, culture and the aims of National Education in this field cannot change means turning a blind eye to the problems that Turkey is trying to solve today. The issue today is to be able to develop a framework in which people in Turkey who speak a language other than Turkish or practise a religion other than Islam are able to live alongside other groups on the basis of equal citizenship. The claim that the concept of “Turkishness” is a uniting factor does not solve the existing problems. Above all, when the understanding of Turkish culture is founded upon the basis of an unchanging essence throughout history, it forms a framework that excludes other identities. Contrary to the claims of essentialist thinkers, national identity is not in fact based on a “national character” independent of the historical context. The identity of a society is related to how that society was formed; it is not homogenous and it always contains contradictory elements. Collective identity is constantly being revised according to both historical developments and to the changing aims, ideals and sense of identity of the members of society (Parekh, 1995). Even with just a cursory examination of textbooks from throughout the history of the Republic, it is possible to understand the different ways in which national identity was constructed at different times. For example, in the 1930s, before the development of the Turkish History Thesis, Geography textbooks presented a different narrative, in which the names of peoples such as Kurds, Georgians, etc. were also mentioned. Later, however, the textbooks become dominated by a construct of Turkishness that excluded differences, and since the 1980s an emphasis on a Turkish-Islamic culture can be seen in education, accompanied by

compulsory religious education. Therefore the premise that “national identity cannot change” is also problematic within itself, since national/collective identity *naturally and as a result of historical developments* undergoes constant change.

Today we are on a new historical threshold, as demonstrated by the developments in Turkey. The nation state that was a product of the modernisation project and the national education and understanding of culture that support it no longer meet the demands of society. We therefore need to redefine the understanding of both national culture and collective identity, and textbooks offer an important space for debating these issues. In order to further the debate on this issue, it is necessary to expand the scope to include the concept of human rights that I will discuss in the following chapter.

CHAPTER III

THE CONCEPT OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN TEXTBOOKS

In Turkey the concept of human rights and international human rights conventions increasingly began to appear in textbooks after 1995. One of the most important factors in this was the declaration by the United Nations of the period 1995-2004 as the Decade of Human Rights Education, and the call for member states to form their own national committees in this area. In 1998 Turkey was one of the first member states to form a National Committee on the Decade of Human Rights Education (Çayır, 2007), and thus important steps were taken regarding the inclusion of human rights themes in education. For example, the subject of Citizenship in schools was renamed Citizenship and Human Rights Education, and became a compulsory subject in Grades 7 and 8. With this change, topics such as human rights conventions and the development of human rights gained a more significant place in the Citizenship curriculum. However, these lessons had an eclectic and problematic structure, as texts that pointed out the importance of human rights stood side by side with a discourse of citizenship shaped by a militaristic perspective and perception of threat (Çayır, 2009a). With the curriculum reform in 2004, this compulsory lesson was removed from the curriculum and it was decided that topics related to human rights would be taught in other subjects as interdisciplinary learning outcomes (Bağlı, 2013). As such, human rights themes were included within the topics of the following lessons: Elementary Civics, Turkish, Social Studies, Religious Culture and Morals, Reform History and Kemalism, and Citizenship and Democracy Education. Here it should be pointed out that themes related to human rights are covered in the elective Democracy and Human Rights lesson at the high school level, and also in the Human Rights, Citizenship and Democracy lesson that was introduced to the Grade 4 curriculum after the 4+4+4 reform but that does not yet have a textbook. It was therefore observed in our research that themes related to human rights are covered in various textbooks. There

are numerous problems regarding the way in which human rights are covered, but some passages in the textbooks were recorded by the research team as “positive examples,” so let us first take a look at some passages that could be considered successful in their presentation of human rights, before moving on to the problems.

Positive examples of the coverage of human rights

The textbook for the Citizenship and Democracy Education lesson, which was introduced to the Grade 8 curriculum in the 2011-12 school year (and removed with the 4+4+4 reform), contains many positive examples of how the themes of human rights are covered. For example, as well as the concept of human rights and human rights conventions, concepts such as “prejudice,” “discrimination,” and “gender discrimination” are covered in textbooks in an explicit and positive way for the first time. A general overview shows that the student workbook for this subject includes more concrete examples of human rights themes than the textbook and braver examples of expression and activities than in the past. The workbook suggests innovative activities that aim to achieve the desired learning outcomes related to these concepts. For example, under the heading “Democratic Culture,” one activity (the full text of which is given below) tells students, “you want to rent out your house for economic reasons.” The table that follows gives a list of 12 families with different “opinions, thoughts and beliefs” who have applied to rent the house, and students are asked with whom they would prefer to live. Here the textbook gives an activity that enables discussion about prejudices and discrimination through examples such as “three friends who carry out political activities; a black South African family who have come to our country to find work; a family with a different belief or religion than you”(Citizenship and Democracy Education SW, MoNE: 51).

This activity can be considered a positive example for many reasons. Firstly, it could be said that such an activity demonstrates a move away from the homogenous collective identity discussed in the previous chapter. In the textbooks (and in the dominant discourse in society in Turkey) there is a belief that speaking about identities can be dangerous and divisive. Simply by making reference to different religious groups in Turkey, this activity in the Citizenship and Democracy Education textbook allows for a debate on prejudices and provides teachers with a space in which, during work on discrimination, they can cover extremely important concepts such as social distance, prejudice and stereotypes. A teacher who is sensitive to these issues could therefore conduct a lesson that would provide students with the necessary knowledge about the reasons behind discrimination and what can be done in the fight against it.

Again, in the same Citizenship and Democracy Education textbook, we find examples of successfully written passages in terms of developing an understanding of the universality of human rights. This passage on gender equality is one such example:

10. ETKİNLİK

Ailenizle birlikte üç katlı tarihi bir binada oturuyordunuz. Ailenin üye sayısı çeşitli nedenlerle (ölüm, evlenme, eğitim vb.) azaldı. Evi yeniden düzenlediniz, ortaya üçer odalı, üç yeni daire çıktı. Bu evleri biraz da ekonomik nedenlerle kiraya vermek istiyorsunuz. Görüşleri, düşünceleri, inançları, anlayışları ve kültürel değerleri birbirinden farklı 12 kişi/aile başvuruda bulundu. Kimlerle birlikte yaşamak isterdiniz? Başvuruda bulunanlar arasından evinizi kiraya verebileceğiniz üç kişiyi/aileyi belirleyerek "Kiraya Veririm" bölümüne, kesinlikle kiraya veremeyeceğiniz üç kişiyi/aileyi de "Kiraya Vermem" bölümüne işaretleyiniz.

Sıra	Başvuru listesinde yer alan kişiler	Kiraya Veririm	Kiraya Vermem
1	Yalnız yaşayan bir kadın.		
2	Siyasi faaliyet yürüten üç arkadaş.		
3	Şehrin en seçkin pastanesinde çalışan mülteci bir aile.		
4	Sekiz kişilik bir aile.		
5	Köpekleri olan bir aile.		
6	İki çocuklu öğretmen bir aile.		
7	Gelir düzeyi düşük bir işçi.		
8	İş bulmak amacıyla ülkemize gelmiş Güney Afrikalı siyah bir aile.		
9	Bir üniversitenin müzik bölümünde piyano ve şan dersleri veren bir erkek.		
10	Emekli, sakin bir yaşam süren aile.		
11	Babanın eski hükümlü olduğu bir aile.		
12	Sizden farklı bir inanç ya da mezhebe sahip bir aile.		

Sorular

1. Tercihinizi hangi kriterler doğrultusunda yaptınız?
2. Farklı özelliklere sahip insanlarla bir arada yaşamak nasıl bir duygudur? Açıklayınız.
3. Seçimlerinizde ön yargılarınızın etkisi oldu mu? Nasıl?
4. Ev arayan ve seçilemeyen kişilerden biri siz olsaydınız ne hissederdiniz? Bu tür durumlarla karşılaşmamak için neler yapabilirsiniz?
5. Ön yargılarımızla nasıl mücadele edebiliriz?
6. Ayrımcılığın nedenleri nelerdir? Ayrımcılıkla mücadele konusunda bireysel olarak neler yapabiliriz?

- “None of our characteristics can be the cause of discrimination or privilege. For example as ‘human beings,’ men and women are equal in terms of freedom and responsibility and they hold the same rights. Discrimination based on gender [...] causes women in particular to encounter obstacles to enjoying their rights in the fields of education, health, politics, etc. These obstacles go against their human rights.” (Citizenship and Democracy Education, MoNE: 52)

Compared to previous curricula, in the textbooks for this subject we see more concrete examples of human rights violations, such as incidents of gender discrimination, and some sections even give examples of how to claim rights or mention active civil society organisations; these can be seen as positive steps that encourage students to claim their rights. Similar positive examples are also found in MoNE Social Studies textbooks for Grades 5, 6 and 7, while the following passage shows that learning outcomes related to human rights can even be reached through Mathematics textbooks:

- “When she arrived home and realised that the jumper she had just bought was damaged, my sister was very sad. But my mum said that there was no need to be sad, because according to the Consumer Rights Law she has the right to return it within 15 days. She bought the jumper on 19 October, let’s work out until which date she can return it.” (Grade 4 Mathematics, Book 1, MoNE: 44)

There is a general view that topics related to human rights can only be covered in “humanities” subjects. The example above, however, is a striking example of how the topic of the Consumer Rights Law can be included in a Mathematics question. This example shows that well-qualified textbook authors who are sensitive to the issue can open up various fields in the area of human rights to both students and teachers. However, as well as these positive examples, in many textbooks human rights are mentioned out of context, falling victim to essentialism and anachronism aimed at legitimising the discourse of national identity and “glorifying our history.”

Essentialist and anachronistic approaches in the presentation of human rights

When the concept of human rights is presented in textbooks, the most serious problem encountered is the reappearance of the essentialist reasoning that appeared frequently in the discourse of national identity. Rather than presenting the concept of human rights within a historical context, textbook authors attempt to develop a sense of “national pride.” In this context, some Social Sciences and History textbooks and also some Religious Culture and Morals textbooks claim that “we, our history and our religion hold the essence” of human rights; this essence is sometimes portrayed in the context of Ottoman history, sometimes in the period of the prophet Muhammad. The textbooks often refer to the edict of Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror, written in Milodraz

on 28 May 1463 upon conquering Bosnia-Herzegovina. For example, the Grade 6 Social Studies textbook provides the text of the edict, and then places human rights within the following context:

- “Compare the fundamental human rights and freedoms given below with the statements that appear in the edict:
 - Freedom of conscience and religion
 - The right to life
 - The right to physical integrity
 - Freedom of thought
 - While in 1463 the fundamental rights and freedoms mentioned in the edict could be achieved with the permission of the sultan, today human rights and freedoms are guaranteed through national and international laws.” (Grade 6 Social Studies, Altın: 148)

The underlying message of this passage is this: “Fundamental rights and freedoms have existed throughout history. In 1463 these were achieved with the permission of the sultan, today they are achieved through laws. Therefore there is no difference between today’s understanding of fundamental rights and freedoms and that of the 1400s.” When presented in this way the fundamental rights and freedoms of today are seen as equal to those of the regime of the Ottoman sultans. Human rights are therefore removed from their historical context, while the rights and freedom that are today guaranteed under law are said to have “already existed in our history.” Similarly, the Grade 12 Religious Culture and Morals textbook quotes the entire text of the edict and, comparing Turkey with the West, makes the claim that “we held the essence of these rights”:

- “This edict that ensured the freedom and tolerance of those of different religions and races [...] is one of the oldest known human rights movements in history; it was implemented [...] 326 years before the French Revolution, and 485 years before the 1948 International [*sic*] Declaration of Human Rights.” (Grade 12 RCM, MoNE: 81)

As we will discuss below, when the Ottoman tolerance mentioned in reference to the edict is compared to certain practices in the West, it can be seen as an important step in the development of human rights. However, it is crucial to note that the textbooks consider the collective rights and privileges provided to some religious groups before the modern period as equivalent to the modern concept of human rights. In the text the authors claim that the same rights laid out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 were implemented by “us” 485 years earlier. Rather than placing the concept of human rights within a specific historical context as part of the universal experience of humanity, the authors use it as a response to the West, and they do this with an essentialist approach that claims that “just like everything positive, the essence and origin of human rights lies with us.”

In some textbooks the origin of human rights is attributed to the Ottoman period, in others to the time of the prophet Muhammad. Here it is emphasised that, rather than the West, it was the prophet Muhammad who first expressed these principles:

- “Human rights was a subject to which the prophet Muhammad gave great importance. The universal values accepted in the West and the provisions related to human rights were announced to the world centuries ago by the prophet Muhammad.” (Grade 6 Social Studies, MoNE: 161)

The text in which the prophet Muhammad declared these rights was his Farewell Sermon, and it is in this context that the discourse claiming that the essence of human rights is found in Islam is repeated at different grade levels:

- “In his Farewell Sermon, the Prophet described personal rights and freedoms as follows...” (Grade 10 RCM, MoNE: 91)

Students are even asked to compare the Farewell Sermon with the Declaration of Human Rights. In the table reproduced on the following page (Grade 9 History, MoNE: 116), students are asked to give examples of different human rights (Security of Person and Property; Right to Property; Women’s Rights; Criminal Responsibility). The message that this activity aims to give is the same: “The content of the Declaration of Human Rights that is today considered important was declared ‘by our religion’ centuries earlier.” By juxtaposing the Farewell Sermon with the Declaration of Human Rights in this activity, the textbook aims to substantiate this claim.

The main problem with the approach that attributes the origins of human rights to the Ottomans or to the time of prophet Muhammad is that the concept of human rights is covered in an anachronistic way. This approach is anachronistic as the authors use a concept (that of human rights) that is not applicable to the periods in question in order to explain the individuals and events of those periods (prophet Mohammed/Farewell Sermon; Mehmet the Conqueror/Edict). With such an approach it is impossible to understand the development of the concept of human rights or the periods of the Ottomans and the prophet Muhammad within their own specific contexts. Such an anachronistic historiography therefore results in a distorted presentation of the concepts and the historical periods.

Practices in the Ottoman period do in fact present authors with the opportunity to discuss the development of human rights. As stated by experts in the field, compared to the treatment of Muslims and Jews by European Christians, the tolerance shown to non-Muslims in the Ottoman *millet* system was ahead of its time (Kymlicka, 1996: 157). Therefore, it could be acceptable for the *millet* system of the period to be presented in textbooks as a source of pride. However, the religious freedom in the Ottoman period is not the same as the freedom of conscience and religion contained within the concept of human rights, but a right given to a particular community. To a certain extent

uygulayalım

İnsan Hakları Evrensel Beyanname'sini araştırarak Hz. Muhammed'in Veda Hutbesi'nde ortaya koymuş olduğu ilkelerle karşılaştırınız.

	Veda Hutbesi (632)	İnsan Hakları Beyanname'si (1948)
Can ve mal emniyeti		
Mülkiyet hakkı		
Kadın hakları		
Suçun şahsiliği		

Hz. Muhammed'in vefatı, İslam dünyasında büyük bir şaşkınlık ve üzüntüye yol açtı. Müslümanların ileri gelenleri bu durumu değerlendirdiler. Dinin ve devletin geleceğini güvence altına almak için devlet başkanı olan kişinin dini bir unvanının da olması gerektiğini belirterek bu kişinin din adına yeni kurullar koyamayacağı hususunda görüş birliğine vardılar. Bu unvanı da halife olarak belirlediler. Halife, sonradan gelen anlamındaki Arapça halef kelimesinden türetilmiş bir unvandır. İslam'ın ileri gelenleri, Hz. Ömer'in önerisiyle Hz. Ebu Bekir'i halife seçtiler. İslam Devleti'nin Hz. Muhammed'den sonra devlet başkanlığı sorununun bir çeşit seçimiyle çözülmesi, dönemine göre ileri bir uygulamadır.

■ Hz. Ebu Bekir Dönemi (632-634)

Hz. Ebu Bekir, Hz. Muhammed'in ölümüyle ortaya çıkan karışıklıkları önlemek için kesin tedbirler aldı. Hz. Ebu Bekir, ilk olarak Yemen'de ortaya çıkan yalancı peygamberleri ortadan kaldırdı. Zekat vermek istemeyen Arap kabileleri üzerine ordu gönderdi. Bu kabilelerin zekat vermesi sağlandı.

Hz. Ebu Bekir'in büyük hizmetlerinden birisi de Kur'an-ı Kerim'in bir kitap hâline getirilmesidir. Hz. Muhammed'e gelen ayetler, vahiy kâtipleri tarafından yazılmış ve Müslümanlar tarafından ezberlenmişti. Hafızların bir bölümü savaşlarda şehit olunca Kur'an-ı Kerim'in bir kitap hâline getirilmesi zorunluluğu ortaya çıktı. Hz. Ebu Bekir'in isteğiyle, Hz. Muhammed'in vahiy kâtiplerinden olan Zeyd bin Sabit'in başkanlığında bir kurul oluşturuldu. Bu kurul, ayrı ayrı sahifelerde bulunan Kur'an sure ve ayetlerini bir araya toplayıp, hafızların ezberledikleri Kur'an ile bunları karşılaştırarak kitap hâline getirmiştir. Hz. Ebu Bekir Döneminde Suriye topraklarında yapılan **Yermük Savaşı**'nda (634) Doğu Roma kuvvetleri ağır bir yenilgiye uğratıldı. Bu zaferle, ileride yapılacak büyük fetihlerin önü açılmıştır.

Hz. Ebu Bekir, Yermük zaferinden kısa bir süre sonra vefat etti (634).

öğrenelim

KORUNAN KİTAP

Kur'an-ı Kerim İslam dininin ana kaynağı olduğundan onun kitap hâline getirilmesi İslamiyetin özünü koruması hususunda önemli bir adım olmuştur.

Nuri Ünlü, *Ana Hattarıyla İslam Tarihi*, s. 59'dan özetlenmiştir.

yerunlayalım

HZ. EBU BEKİR'İN TALİMATNAMESİ

Hz. Ebu Bekir'in Suriye'nin fethi için görevlendirdiği komutanlara verdiği tavsiyelerinden:

"Gizli ve açık her konuda Allah'tan kork, ondan utan. Çünkü Allah hem seni hem de yaptıklarını görür."

"Seni, senden daha önce Müslüman olan, İslam'a senden daha çok hizmet eden, senden daha faziletli olan üzerine komutan tayin ettiğimi biliyorsun. Allah için çalışıp Allah'ın rızasını isteyenlerden ol. Yanındaki gibi davran."

"İnsanların gizli hâllerini araştırma, işinde ciddi ol. Düşmanla karşılaştığın zaman korkma. Ağır hareket edenleri ikaz et. Arkadaşlarına yapacağın nasihatler kısa ve veciz olsun. Sen doğru ol ki beraberinde olanlar da sana bakarak doğru olsunlar."

İsmail Müttü, *Dört Halife Devri*, s. 70-71'den özetlenmiştir.

? cevaplayalım

Hz. Ebu Bekir'in komutanlarına yaptığı tavsiyeleri devlet yönetimi açısından değerlendiriniz.

the *millet* system institutionalised religious tolerance. However, it is important not to confuse this tolerance with the modern concept of human rights that is based on the idea that every individual is born equal. If these two notions are confused, and the Ottoman period (or that of the prophet Muhammad) is examined in the light of the modern concept of human rights, this is called anachronism.

At this point it is necessary to question why such an anachronistic historiography appears so frequently in the textbooks. Anachronism is generally a result of presentism, which is “the reflection on historiography of today’s needs, issues and approaches” (Öztürk 2011: 37). It could therefore be claimed that recourse is made to anachronism as a response to a significant problem of today: the syndrome of being underdeveloped compared to the West. As shown in the examples in Chapter I, textbooks constantly position Turkey as being less developed, and with this in mind texts are formulated as a response to the West/Europe. The way that the concept of human rights is constructed in the above passages is an example of this. Authors (and of course curricula) cannot deny the concept of human rights or the human rights conventions developed in the modern period, and place is given to these in textbooks as interdisciplinary learning outcomes. However, by saying that “human rights were implemented by us centuries before the West” they both give a response to the West, while also creating a sense of ethno-culturalist pride through such anachronism. This approach in fact aims to overcome the sense of being behind the West, and to develop a strong national identity that is not dependent on the West. Ironically, however, attributing the implementation of human rights to Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror or to the prophet Muhammad through an essentialist and anachronistic approach and a never-ending desire for revenge against the West means that Ottoman-Turkish history is constantly read as a reflection of the West. In other words, authors who are trying to overcome the sense of being behind the West in fact read history in reference to the West and place the country behind the West. In the 2004 curriculum reform, the Board of Education pointed out that curricula aimed to see “our historical and cultural knowledge and experience as a tool for ensuring a unique contribution to universal culture” (BoE, 2009). However, an anachronistic approach such as that discussed above cannot make a contribution to universal culture; on the contrary it exposes and fosters Turkey’s inferiority complex against the West (see Çayır, 2009b).

It is important to point out that placing human rights within a historical context does not mean attributing the concept in an essentialist way to the West. When looked at from a historical perspective, human rights “were as foreign to traditional Asian societies as they were to their Western counterparts” (Donnelly 1999: 66), because human rights is a concept that appeared in the West during the modernisation process. As highlighted by Michael Ignatieff, when placed within the historical context, the concept of human rights does not emphasise the superiority of the European civilisation. On the contrary, when we consider the two world wars that took place in Europe, the stalemate of the nation state,

and the Holocaust, human rights could instead be seen as a way of ensuring that the rest of the world does not repeat the mistakes of Europe (Ignatieff, 2001: 65-70). As such the “essence” of the concept of human rights belongs neither to the Ottomans nor to Europe, but is instead the product of specific historical conditions. It is therefore not possible to develop respect for human rights and freedoms today by claiming that “the essence of this concept lies with us” but only by presenting them within their historical context.

CHAPTER IV

THE CONCEPTS OF REPUBLIC, DEMOCRACY AND SECULARISM IN TEXTBOOKS

Renowned political philosopher Charles Taylor states that describing democracy as a regime in which the people rule is less simple than describing the concept of monarchy. It is comparatively easy to describe monarchy as “a regime ruled by a monarch” and to expect people to understand this concept. Democracy, however, represents a more complicated system, and in order for the concept of democracy to be understood, adopted and implemented, people need to be able to “imagine” democracy (Taylor, 2007). In more concrete terms, in order for democracy to exist, citizens need to participate in society, fight for their rights, and believe that they can solve their problems through a democratic process. For this to be possible, various instruments that help to develop a democratic imaginary are necessary.

In schools, textbooks (alongside various other practices, such as student councils) are an important instrument for enabling students to develop a democratic imaginary. It is therefore important for textbooks to provide accurate definitions of concepts such as republic, state, democracy, civil society or secularism, to present these within a historical context, and also to communicate the understanding that the solution to problems is possible through a pluralist democracy based on citizens’ participation. Here it is important to reiterate that such a democratic imaginary is of particular importance to Turkey. As has been emphasised since the beginning of this report, Turkey is a country that is undergoing a rapid social transformation and is looking for a framework that includes different groups on a democratic foundation. Therefore, in order for students to play a role, both now and in the future, in bringing solutions to the

problems Turkey faces, it is essential for them to develop an understanding of and the skills required for effective citizenship.

In this context, the way that concepts such as republic, state, democracy and civil society are covered in the textbooks is, with the exception of a few positive examples, extremely problematic. The problems that we will discuss in this chapter fall mainly under Articles 18, 21, 22 and 23 of the Analysis Criteria. We can summarise these problems as follows: in the textbooks, concepts such as republic and democracy are approached from the perspective of national security; are insufficiently or inaccurately defined; are presented not within a specific historical context but in an essentialist way; are mentioned in relation to authority, which is frequently attributed with metaphysical meaning; and are given meaning within a vision of society that is shaped by an emphasis on unity that sees differences of opinion as negative.

Concept of republic presented with the discourse of “protecting and strengthening the country”

From the very earliest grade levels textbooks begin to teach students about political processes, with units entitled, for example, “What do you know about the form of government of our country?” (Grade 3 Elementary Civics, Book 2, MoNE: 156). Primary school textbooks generally focus on the concept of republic. For example, in the unit on the form of government in Turkey in the MoNE Grade 3 Elementary Civics textbook, two pages of which are pictured below, students are told that “the students of class 3/D are discussing what can be done to protect, strengthen and develop the Republic” and the textbook then presents the ideas of three students in speech bubbles. The students voice the following opinions:

- Student 1: “The national duty of every citizen is first and foremost to protect and strengthen the Republic.”

Student 2: “We have to stand up for our national values and democracy.”

Student 3: “We have to raise citizens’ level of education. We have to be modern in the fields of philosophy and science. We have to work hard while being open to innovations and following developments.” (Grade 3 Elementary Civics, Book 2, MoNE: 156-7)

The fact that important concepts such as republic and democracy are presented within such a narrative points to various problems in the textbooks. Firstly, students are introduced to the concept of republic alongside verbs such as “protect and strengthen.” In these pages no information on the concept of republic is given, while the expressions used in the speech bubbles are beyond the level of children of that age. However, the authors repeat the perspective, mentioned in the previous chapter, of Turkey being under threat and link the concept of republic with the act of “protecting.”

The word “republic” is referred to alongside concepts such as “protection,” “defence” and “standing up for,” rather than those of “peoples,” “equality,”





etc. Furthermore, it would be no exaggeration to say that the presentation through simple poems of Atatürk as the country's sole saviour is a cliché that has been adopted by a large section of the population. However, it is important not to downplay the function of this set of stock phrases and clichés that at first glance appear banal. The concept of “banal nationalism” (Billig, 2013) in the literature of sociology says that it is in fact elements that appear banal that go the furthest towards strengthening the national imaginary, because nationalism is internalised through everyday practices and concepts. The symbols, way of thinking and reactions that are valued by the national identity are assimilated into the public consciousness by becoming part of the routine of daily life. Therefore the poems and clichés that appear in the textbooks, such as “protecting and developing the nation,” play an important role in developing the desired national identity and imaginary. However, with such an approach it is incredibly difficult for students to become citizens with the skills required for a pluralist democracy.

Democracy and secularism as “fundamental values of the Turkish nation”

Another significant element in the textbooks that inhibits the development of a democratic imaginary is that democracy and secularism are presented in an essentialist way. In other words we see the concepts of democracy and secularism presented with the same mentality that we saw in the previous chapter that claims “the origins of human rights lie with us; we implemented human rights centuries before the West.” In the textbooks, the essentialist ideas within the subject of democracy are presented by Atatürk as an unchallengeable figure of authority. For example, when the “Characteristics of the Turkish Republic” are being explained in this Grade 7 Social Studies textbook, the concept of democracy is briefly described under the heading “Democratic State,” before swiftly returning to the words of Atatürk. The textbook presents an information box with the following quote from Utkan Kocatürk's *Atatürk'ün Fikir ve Düşünceleri* (Atatürk's Views and Opinions), which is cited in almost every textbook:

- “Our nation is fundamentally democratic. The most ancient periods of the nation's culture and traditions prove this. With its famous *kurultays* (councils) and by selecting its heads of state through these *kurultays*, the Turkish nation showed how strongly it was committed to the idea of democracy.” (Grade 7 Social Studies, MoNE: 149)

This quote is an example of the essentialist and anachronistic statements that are frequently found in the textbooks. As well as attributing the origins of every positive concept to the Turks, the textbooks declare that the Turkish nation is “fundamentally democratic.” In these passages, Turkish history is again covered in an anachronistic way; in other words, the modern concept of democracy is used to understand earlier periods in history, while decisions

made in the *kurultay* before the modern period are presented as democracy. The authors therefore present history with essentialist statements, while also distorting the concept of democracy, discussing the concept without placing it within a specific historical context. We can see similar examples of essentialist thought in units that teach the development of democracy. For example, under the title “Democracy’s Present,” the Grade 6 Social Studies textbook provides a year-by-year chronology. It discusses the fall of the Berlin Wall but also provides the following information in a separate information box at the bottom of the page:

- “Throughout history it is possible to see the democratic characteristics of governance in the Turkish states. The *Kurultay*, *Toy* and *Divan* were places where discussions were held and decisions taken on matters of state. The ruler would consult and listen to the opinions of the public.” (Grade 6 Social Studies, Altın Kitaplar: 143)

Therefore, even in a section that describes developments in the 1980s, textbook authors try by all means (in this case by inserting an information box) to present the regimes of historical Turkish states as democracies. These examples show to what extent both scientific ethics and the principle of critical thinking can be violated in textbooks.

Even a concept as important as secularism falls victim to the textbooks’ essentialist and anachronistic approach. First of all, we should point out that secularism is not mentioned in the textbooks as frequently as the concept of republic, and is mostly mentioned in the textbooks of the Reform History and Kemalism lesson. However, in these textbooks not only is secularism not placed within a historical context, it is also claimed that even “the Turkish states that were established thousands of years before Christ” were secular:

- “If we look at the oldest periods of Turkish history, we see that very early on the Turkish nation understood the necessity and importance of separating religion and belief from state and political issues. This was the result of a developed intellect. [Unlike] Central Asia, China and other regions [...] in the Turkish states that were established thousands of years before Christ, everybody had freedom of religion and belief. [Bekir Palazoğlu, Atatürk İnkılapları p. 268]” (High School Reform History and Kemalism, Netbil: 197)

From the perspective of this report’s basic focus, this textbook presents the concept of secularism in a distorted way. As well as various other problems created by the essentialist narrative, this approach denies students the chance to make a connection with history, because “the Turkish experience” is again presented as unique and disconnected from history. Saying that, to quote the passage above, “in the Turkish states that were established thousands of years before Christ, everybody had freedom of religion and belief” in a way previously unseen in the regions of “Central Asia, China and others,” emphasises the

unique quality of Turkish history. Taking into account the other texts in the textbook, the narrative on the topic of secularism can be understood as the following: “The Turkish nation is, at its essence, secular. The Ottomans destroyed this essence. The Republic of Turkey again separated matters of religion and state, re-establishing secularism.” On the topic of secularism some Social Studies textbooks use a similar black and white approach to history, and secularism is presented with the stock phrase, “the separation of matters of religion and state.” The following passage is just one example of many on this subject:

- “[The Republic] ensured the separation of matters of religion and state in line with the principle of secularism, paving the way for the modernisation of the Turkish nation. Before the Republic, our country was ruled by sultans. In the governance of the country, matters of religion and state were dealt with together. With the principle of secularism that was adopted upon the foundation of the Republic, the state government was based on national sovereignty rather than religious rules, gave importance to reason and science, and guaranteed our people’s freedom of conscience and religion under the constitution.” (Grade 5 Social Studies, Book 1, Pasifik: 56)

Just as with the concepts of republic and democracy, this example shows that secularism is also presented using generalisations and stock phrases. Again, a concept as important as secularism is not placed within a historical perspective. Furthermore, the topic is taught using clichés such as the claim that during the time of the sultans “matters of religion and state were dealt with together” or that with the establishment of the Republic “secularism arrived and the people obtained freedom of conscience and religion.” In the current political and social climate, expecting textbooks to present contemporary issues in Turkey related to secularism (problems faced by Alevis, etc.) is little more than fantasy. However, it would be possible for this concept, which should be defined as the state’s impartiality towards different beliefs, to be covered from different perspectives in connection with an understanding of pluralist democracy.

When we consider the demands for equality from citizens in modern Turkey who believe in denominations or religions other than Sunni Islam or who are atheist, it is clear that the concept of secularism is one of the most important elements for enabling different groups to live together in peace. As such, the presentation of secularism in connection with the ideas of republic and democracy is of great importance. However, as a result of the essentialist approach, the concepts of both republic and of secularism are not presented as the results of historical experience. On the contrary, in the textbooks the concept of republic is accompanied by the phrase “the character of the Turkish nation”:

- “Why is a republic the most appropriate form of government for the character of the Turkish nation?”(High School Reform History and Kemalism, MoNE: 69)

On a final note, let us simply say that it is embarrassing, to put it lightly, for the concept of republic that developed as a result of many historical struggles to be attributed to the “character” of a nation that is, in line with racist theories, seen in an organic way. Ultimately, with the perspective outlined above, it is not possible for the links between the concepts of republic, secularism and democracy to be presented accurately.

An understanding of “unity” that leaves no room for civil society or differences of opinion

The emphasis on “unity” that forms the basic philosophy of the textbooks is based on a vision of society that makes it impossible to consider a democracy that includes different beliefs and ideas. There is no doubt that it is important for a society to demonstrate solidarity and even, when necessary, unity. However, the understanding of “unity” in the textbooks constantly supports the vision of a homogenous and organic society. This emphasis on “unity” is particularly seen in lessons explaining the nation-building process, and the concept is used to legitimise the reforms that were implemented in the country. For example, the following passage describes the 1924 Law for Unification of Education:

- “In the late stages of the Ottoman State, schools that took a modern approach to education were opened as well as *madrasas*. However, the education provided was different in each school. This situation was a significant obstacle to ensuring national unity.” (Grade 5 Social Studies, Book 1, Pasifik: 52)

After the declaration of the law, intervention was made in foreign (and minority) schools in order to prevent “cultural differentiation”:

- “It was decided that the inspection of foreign schools would be carried out by the inspectors of the ministry. Principles were introduced according to which Turkish, history and geography lessons would be taught by Turkish teachers and in the Turkish language. This practice put an end to the dichotomy in society, prevented cultural differentiation, and was an important step in the formation of the national identity. During the Republican Period, educational policies began to be centrally administered. In this way, the aim [of education] was to raise individuals who, rather than having different thoughts and views, gave importance to the national identity.” (High School Reform History and Kemalism, Netbil: 94)

According to this passage it is impossible to develop a national identity and culture with “individuals who have different thoughts and attitudes.” We can assume that many teachers in Turkey would agree with this analysis and would say that we must hold “similar thoughts and attitudes for national unity.” However, here we must point out that the concept of “social solidarity and unity” is confused with “cultural unity.” A sense of solidarity and shared codes of living

between the different groups living in a country are of great importance, but suggesting that “it is impossible to develop a national culture with individuals who have different thoughts and attitudes” imposes the condition of cultural unity in order to be a society. According to this understanding, the development of national culture means that everyone in the country, with all their differences, is taught in line with a monocultural approach, equivalent to assimilationist policies. Ultimately, throughout the Republican period in Turkey, the educational practice that rejects the existence of different cultures, languages and religions and teaches all the different groups of society as though they spoke one language and practised one religion is the reflection of these policies. The passage above uses the concept of “foreign schools” and states that Turkish teachers were sent to these schools to ensure cultural unity. Today, in line with this mentality, teachers of Armenian or Greek origin who are citizens of the Republic of Turkey are not trusted, and it is stipulated that “cultural” lessons must be taught by “Turkish” teachers (Kaya, 2012).¹ This implies a definition of “Turkishness” that is based on an ethno-culturalist approach rather than on citizenship, and that excludes other ethnic and religious groups.

The understanding of “unity” in the textbooks is based on such a uniform vision of society that, as well as the centralisation of education, the clothing reform is also presented as an element that strengthened unity. The 1925 Law on the Wearing of Hats is described as follows:

- “As such, the practice during the rule of the Ottoman State that allowed people, politicians and civil servants of different religions and nations to wear different clothes came to an end. The change in clothing strengthened national unity and ensured harmony with modern states.” (Grade 5 Social Studies, Book 1, MoNE: 47)

As well as the need to raise “individuals with the same ideas and views” in order to reinforce national unity, this example adds the need to wear the same clothes, and the prohibition of different forms of dress is even presented as modernisation. This example demonstrates that, in the name of unity, there is an aim to develop in students a singular imaginary. In other words, the textbooks glorify a vision of a monocultural society formed of people who are uniform in every way, from their education to their clothing.

Although they may be relatively few in number, it is also possible to encounter in the textbooks positive examples, in which concepts such as democracy and participation are covered in a broader way. For example, in the Grade 3 Turkish textbook, a father gives the following message to his two children who are fighting over who will sleep on which bunk: “Democracy is based on acting fairly and coming to an understanding by talking to each other, it is based on making compromises” (Grade 3 Turkish, Book 1, MoNE: 12). Some of the best examples of the presentation of the concepts of state, democracy and citizenship were

1 For a discussion of policies towards minorities in Turkey in relation to citizenship see Kaya and Tarhanlı, 2006.

found in the Citizenship and Democracy textbook, which will not be taught in future years as it has been removed from the curriculum. For example, in a passage entitled “Democracy as a Way of Life,” the link between republic, democracy and human rights is successfully established. The textbook states that humans and human dignity are the foundation of all of these concepts:

- “Modern democracy, the form of government that best protects human dignity, came into being through the development of human rights and people’s desire and struggle to live in dignity. What is valued above all else in democracies is the human being; and what gives humans their value is dignity.” (Citizenship and Democracy Education, MoNE: 37)

However, it is important to point out that even these examples of well-written texts, which can be counted on one hand, are lost among the dominant vision in the textbooks of an organic society that excludes differences of opinion.

To conclude this chapter we could say that the concepts of republic, democracy, secularism and civil society discussed here are of crucial importance for the notion of citizenship. In order for students to develop a democratic imaginary and understanding of citizenship it is necessary for them to be taught certain information and skills. As such, the concepts in question must be correctly defined using universal standards, the relationship between the different concepts within the democratic process should be clearly explained, concrete examples that show how concepts such as democracy and secularism can enable the pluralist structure of societies to live together must be given, and students must be enabled to “imagine” democracy.

Unfortunately the content of the textbooks still has a long way to go before it can achieve any of this. The approach in the textbooks does not aim to provide students with information and skills related to the links between or the process behind concepts such as republic, democracy and secularism. Instead, it persistently emphasises the ethno-culturalist discourse that the origin of these concepts lies with the Turks. In doing so, the textbooks place both Turkey and Turkishness as disconnected from any global or historical context, while also presenting these concepts in an essentialist and anachronistic way. The idealised vision of society that we see in the textbooks is still based on the idea of an organic nation from the 1930s single-party regime. With such a narrative, the textbooks constantly impose an understanding of unity that excludes differences and differences of opinion.

With such a narrative, the development of a democratic understanding of citizenship, constructivist education or the critical thinking skills that are frequently emphasised in the curriculum is impossible. To a certain extent it is acceptable for the textbooks to expose students to the dominant political and civil codes and expect them to comply with them, because textbooks under the control of the nation state are expected to develop citizens that adopt the political norms of the country. However, while doing so it is also necessary to equip the students with the skills they need to express their approval and/or criticisms of the dominant political and social imaginary within the democratic

process. Yet the textbooks examined within this study want full compliance and obedience from students to the perspective they present, leaving no room for critical thinking. Furthermore, the content presented in an essentialist and anachronistic way conflicts with the citizenship skills required in Turkey and in contemporary society. As well as obtaining information on political processes, democratic citizenship education is closely linked to the way we perceive those who are different and what kind of relationship we develop with them in society (Kymlicka, 2001: 304). Textbooks that call on us to behave as though society were “a single organism” do not have such concerns. In short, the textbooks still contain all of the problems indicated by Mutlu Öztürk in the second analysis report: if we consider the universal meaning of the concepts, the textbooks “are not republican; are not secular; are not democratic/pluralist; and are ignorant of multicultural/intercultural education” (2009: 72).

CHAPTER V

GENDER IN TEXTBOOKS

The concept of gender represents the formation and production of male and female roles through social experience, in the same way as other social norms and values. The roles attributed to men and women are learned through the practices of daily life, with no need for specific teaching/memorisation methods (Tanrıöver, 2003; Bora and Üstün, 2005). The way that girls and boys are raised, the reactions children receive for the behaviour they display and the role models they see around them convey messages about the gender regime, and norms about gender are internalised through such messages.

An important resource through which gender roles are learned is textbooks and practices at schools (Gümüšoğlu, 2013). On the subject of gender, the biggest problem for today's societies is the fact that gender roles place women in an inferior position compared to men, and are defined in a way that nurtures discrimination against women. Writing on the issue of gender for the second Promoting Human Rights in Textbooks project, Güvenli and Tanrıöver gave examples of various studies carried out in different countries showing the effect of textbooks in women's acceptance of this inferior position given to them (Güvenli and Tanrıöver, 2009). In the second analysis report it was also mentioned that textbooks in Turkey are particularly problematic due to their potential to perpetuate unequal gender roles (Çotuksöken, Erzan and Silier, 2003).

In the second analysis report, Güvenli and Tanrıöver stated that in terms of the Analysis Criteria, the violation most frequently seen in primary education was that of the "unquestioning acceptance of the unequal distribution of social roles," including the "use of sexist language" and a "patriarchal understanding of family; male-dominated depiction of the family," while at secondary level the most frequently encountered violation was "sexism in the language." They also point out that there had been no radical change in this area in the textbooks

prepared after the 2004 curriculum reform compared to the textbooks that were examined in the first project.

Although the basic problems related to the issue of gender continue in the 2012-2013 textbooks that were analysed for this project, it was observed that the number of positive examples that can help to overturn sexist stereotypes and language had increased. In order to understand the concept of “positive and problematic examples,” it may at this point be useful to give a reminder of a principle that we adopted when analysing the textbooks for issues related to gender. Showing a woman doing housework in the textbooks may not in itself be problematic. The problem arises when women are mainly portrayed in a textbook as fulfilling roles within the household, as this can cause us to define women with specific stereotyped roles. Similarly, if all of the images of doctors in the textbooks are men, this creates a pattern regarding gender. In this study we attempted to identify such patterns. For example, images or texts in the textbooks portraying a man doing housework were accepted as “positive examples” in terms of overturning sexist stereotypes, and we will discuss these examples before moving on to the problems encountered.

Positive examples of the representation of gender

When the textbooks are examined from the perspective of gender stereotypes, it can be seen that images and examples are beginning to appear in the textbooks that can help to overturn the traditional patriarchal family image. These examples are mainly found at primary level in the Elementary Civics and Social Studies textbooks, which include topics such as “cooperation in the family” or “helping out in our family” that can be used to look at examples of gender roles. Under the title “Everyone in the family has work to do,” the first of the examples given below presents a father figure who is able to wash and iron clothes (Grade 3 Elementary Civics, Book 1, MoNE: 96), while the second example features a man mopping the floor (Grade 5 Social Studies, Book 2, Pasifik: 171).

Similarly, in Social Studies textbooks we encounter examples that portray men feeding babies with a bottle (Grade 2 Social Studies, Book 2, Ada: 95) or washing the windows at home (Grade 1 Social Studies SW, Anittepe: 73). The authors of the MoNE Grade 6 Science and Technology textbook, who draw attention to the sexism in our daily language by using the term *bilim insanı* (person of science) rather than *bilimadamı* (man of science) throughout the textbook when referring to scientists, also give place to examples that successfully overturn the traditional gender roles. For example, a unit on the physical and chemical changes in substances is presented with a picture and text in which the father of the family also participates in the preparation of the evening meal (Grade 6 Science and Technology SW, MoNE: 64). The best examples of passages that tackle and question gender inequality were again found in the textbooks of the Citizenship and Democracy lesson that has now been removed from the curriculum. For example, in this textbook students are

AİLEDE HERKESİN BİR İŞİ VAR

Evinizde hangi işleri yapmayı seversiniz?

Resimde görüldüğü gibi Arda'nın ailesinde herkesin bir işi var. Arda ve ailesi hangi işleri yapıyor?



96

170. sayfadaki görsellerde görülen davranışlar, toplum içinde kendiliğinden oluşan ve kuşaktan kuşağa miras olarak geçen yazısız kurallardır. Bu kurallar doğru sözlü olmayı; büyüklerimize saygı, küçüklerimize sevgi göstermeyi; hoşgörülü ve güleryüzlü olmayı gerektirir. Yazısız kurallar birlik ve beraberliğimizi güçlendirir, toplumda huzuru sağlar. Bu kurallara uymayanlar, toplum tarafından ayıplanır ve dışlanırlar.

Evimizde de uymamız gereken birtakım kurallar vardır. Evde iş bölümü ve dayanışma içinde anne ve babamıza yardımcı olursak ev işlerimiz kısa sürede biter, daha az yorulur, ailemizle birlikte hoş zaman geçiririz. Aşağıda yer alan görsellerdeki çocuk, ailece belirledikleri kuralları yerine getiriyor. Ailenizdeki bireylerin, aile içinde yerine getirdikleri kurallar nelerdir? Açıklayınız.



👉 Yazısız kurallara başka hangi örnekler verebiliriz? Siz, bu kuralları kimlerden öğrendiniz?

presented with various pictures that question the distribution of roles, and are then asked the following question:

- “What should be done in order to prevent gender inequality when distributing tasks at home, school or in the workplace?” (Citizenship and Democracy Education, MoNE: 55)

This textbook also contains excellent texts that explain the concept of gender inequality. Here we should point out that such examples that help to overturn the traditional male and female roles also provide teachers who are sensitive to these issues with an important space for discussion.

The textbooks also contain a high number of images that could be seen as positive examples of the representation of gender roles in relation to professions. We did not find, for example, that all doctors in the textbooks were portrayed as men. On the contrary, there are many examples in which women are portrayed as doctors (Grade 7 Science and Technology, MoNE: 28; Grade 1 Turkish, Kartopu: 89; Grade 6 Social Studies, Altın: 168), dentists (Grade 4 Turkish, Korza: 85), engineers (Grade 5 Social Studies, Book 1, Pasifik: 25), police officers (Grade 1 Elementary Civics, Anittepe; 82) and school principals (Grade 6 Mathematics, MoNE; 68).

There are also many textbooks that portray men as doctors, police officers, tailors and chefs, but the representations of women mentioned above mean that certain professions are no considered male-only professions. Images showing women in different professions are extremely important, particularly in primary school textbooks, as it is known that images have a greater impact on children of this age group than text. Through such images it is possible to influence the stereotypes that children begin to develop at an early age, and to diversify their perception of male/female roles. In societies such as Turkey the gender regime is very strong, and it is therefore obvious that overturning such stereotypes will not be easy. However, it is also true that with such textbooks a teacher who is sensitive to the topic of gender can achieve important results in the topic of gender equality. It is important to point out that even if the teacher does not mention the topic, such images alone are important in helping to break down sexist categories.

“My mum cooks, my dad goes to work”:

Representations of traditional role distribution

As well as the growing number of positive examples of the representation of gender roles, it was observed that many textbooks are written with the mentality of preparing men and women for traditional patriarchal and unequal gender roles. In textbooks that relay an “unquestioning acceptance of the unequal distribution of social roles,” to use the language of the Analysis Criteria, we can see the development of a sexist pattern throughout successive grade levels. The distribution of roles within the family sees mothers and daughters doing the housework, and fathers and sons doing work outside the household. The

teacher's manual for the Grade 1 Elementary Civics lesson requests teachers to "Ask students what jobs need to be carried out at home and then read out the following examples":

- "Ayşe folded the laundry with her mother. Ali went shopping with his father...
While her mother was vacuuming the house, Selen dusted the furniture. And Mehmet went to the shop to buy bread.
Tell your students, 'The examples I read show help and cooperation in the family. Now I want you to give examples of how you help each other out in your family.'" (Grade 1 Elementary Civics TM, MoNE: 174)

The authors are in agreement that cooking is a job only for women, and if we are to believe the textbooks the only people who cook food in the home are women. Below are some examples that develop this pattern at different grade levels:

- "Ask your students to watch their mothers [*sic*] preparation of a meal, cake or cookies." (Grade 2 Turkish TM, MoNE: 80)
- "Do you help your mother while she is cooking?" (Grade 2 Turkish, MoNE: 84)
- Aylin says the following to her husband: "This kitchen is very small. We can't eat dinner here. I can't do my work easily." (Grade 2 Elementary Civics, Book 2, Ada: 119)

The pattern that represents women carrying out household tasks is also found in Mathematics and Science textbooks:

- [Accompanied by an image] "There were 12 glasses on the shelf. Your mother took some of the glasses to the table. How many glasses did your mother take to the table?" (Grade 1 Mathematics, Book 2, MoNE: 147)
- "Mrs Fahriye [ate] $\frac{3}{4}$ of the cookies she made on the first day..." (Grade 6 Mathematics, MoNE: 28)

Even in the English textbook students encounter the character of Bruce, who learned about the sexist roles within the family at a very young age:

- "Dear Ralph,
It is a horrible Sunday. Spring is here. All the family members are busy with the cleaning. I can't play video games because my mum's sweeping the living room. I can't play with my toys because my sister is tidying my bedroom. I can't play outside because my dad is cutting the grass. It is lunchtime and I'm very hungry, but my mum is not cooking. I hate these cleaning days. Is it the same with your family? If so, good luck!
Best wishes
Bruce" (Time for English Grade 5, MoNE: 142)

This letter from an English textbook is an example of how the sexist mentality has infiltrated English teaching in the same way that it has other lessons, with women and girls again portrayed as doing the housework and cooking. Unequal gender roles are unquestioningly presented as the norm.

“Mr architects, make every building strong”: Professions and sexist messages

Above it was mentioned that the number of textbooks that portray women as doctors or police officers has increased. However, some textbooks continue to use texts, poems and images that present professions such as medicine and architecture as male professions. For example, in the following excerpts the authors, using the phrases *doktor amcalar* (“uncle” doctors) or *mimar beyler* (Mr architects), associate these professions with men:

- “Strong foundations, strong houses/I am speaking to you Mr architects/ Make every building strong/So that our towns, our villages do not fall.” (Grade 5 Social Studies, Book 1, MoNE: 75)
- “Last week some gentleman [lit. uncle] doctors came to our school and told us we had to have vaccinations.” (Grade 4 Turkish, MoNE: 79)

Examples that give the message that professions such as civil engineering are not suitable for women are also found in the textbooks. In the following example Tuğba, a female civil engineer, is pictured with a speech bubble in which she explains that she had failed to take her interests into account when choosing a career:

- “I work in a company as a civil engineer. But I don’t enjoy my work. If I had chosen a profession in which I could communicate with others and spend time with children I would have been happier.”(Grade 7 Social Sciences SW, MoNE: 93)

As well as giving the message that engineering is not a suitable career for women, through Tuğba’s dream of a career in which she could “spend time with children” this example also has the potential to strengthen the traditional stereotypes that limit women to specific careers. This approach should not be considered as an isolated example: the textbooks include many examples that perpetuate traditional roles, whether in terms of the toys children play with or of their dreams of the future. For example, while they are still learning to read and write, students are introduced to the sound ‘e’ with an image of a woman rocking a baby on her knees and singing a lullaby (Grade 1 Turkish Literacy, Kartopu: 21). In an English textbook Tom “buys toy soldiers” whereas Meg buys “a doll” (Joygul English 1, Book 2, MoNE: 132). In a unit entitled “Past, Present, Future” in the Grade 2 Elementary Civics textbook (shown below) a girl describes her dream of the future as being married with children, while the boy’s consists of having a prestigious career, such as being a doctor (Grade 3 Elementary Civics, Book 2, Evrensel İletişim: 120).

A summary of the mentality that forms the framework for this patriarchal family structure and traditional gender roles can be found in the Sociology textbook quoted below. In this textbook the topic of “role conflict” is explained in a text entitled “May Your Happiness Last Forever,” written by Ali Çankırlı, a pedagogue well known in conservative circles:

- “The most important thing for a happy marriage is for roles to be shared within the family and for everybody to be happy with their roles. I want to share with you a personal anecdote related to this topic. Years ago when I was working in America, I attended evening courses at a Marriage School. One evening, during a discussion on ‘Role Sharing in the Family’ a woman stood up and asked to speak. She said that she was facing an unsolvable problem that had pushed her marriage to the breaking point. The lecturer, who was also a therapist, asked, ‘What is the problem that seems unsolvable to you?’ Smiling, the woman replied, ‘My husband is really perfect. But this perfection bothers me.’ The lecturer asked, ‘Could you explain a bit further what it is about this perfection that bothers you?’ The woman started to explain: ‘Well, my husband is a translator and playwright. He spends most of his day working from home. He is so good at housework that he sweeps the house, does the laundry and cooks dinner, and there is nothing left for me to do. I’m a banker, in other words I’m a working woman. When I come home in the evening I see that everything has been done, including dinner. Maybe this is what most working women dream of, but not me. At home I feel useless, worthless and insignificant as a woman, and this really bothers me. I have tried to share my feelings with my husband time and time again. I have told him that I don’t feel like a woman at home because he doesn’t leave me any jobs to do and that this bothers me. But each time my husband replies that he enjoys doing housework and is trying to help me, and that he can’t understand why I complain about it rather than thanking him.’ The lecturer said that the problem the woman had described was called ‘Family Role Conflict’ and opened the topic up for debate. Role sharing in the family can only be achieved through mutual agreement between all members of the family and with everyone agreeing to their roles. If in a family the roles of grandmother, grandfather, mother, father, woman, man, older brother, older sister and children are not clear and become confused with each other, then we cannot speak of a family order.” (Social Sciences High School Sociology 1, MoNE: 97-8)

After this text, students are presented with the following prompts for discussion: “Find other examples of role conflicts and share them with your classmates. Discuss the effects that role conflicts can have on the individual and society” (p. 98).

Aside from the problems in the text itself, when presented with these discussion prompts this passage represents a problem that is frequently observed

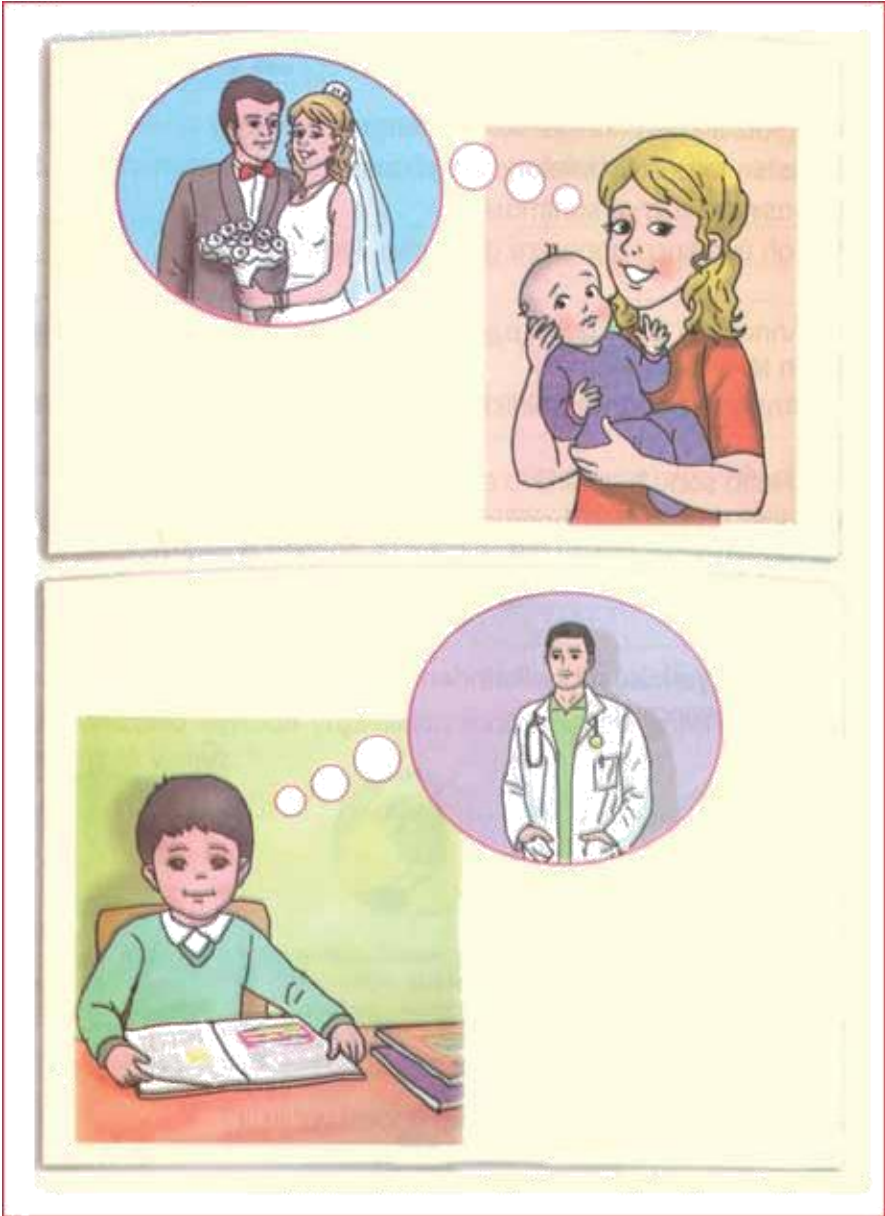
in the textbooks, which is the fact that almost all topics in the textbooks are covered from only one perspective. In other words, a textbook can present such conservative viewpoints on the topic of gender roles, but such examples should be placed alongside other viewpoints and should be debated through questions that help to develop students' critical thinking skills. Instead however, normative perspectives are presented as factual/scientific truths. The textbook unquestionably accepts the situation given above as an example of role conflict and asks students to find "other examples of role conflicts."

Beyond this, however, Ali Çankırılı's approach is extremely problematic in terms of the representation of gender roles. With such texts, the authors in fact relay several messages at the same time. Most importantly, the claim that the "working woman" who suffers from having a husband who does all the housework does not "feel like a woman" at home imposes fixed traditional male/female roles. Even if the woman in a relationship has a career, if she does not do the housework it will cause a role conflict and the "family order" will be disrupted. In other words, housework is identified with womanhood through an essentialist approach. The actual message that is relayed is clear: women must be aware of their womanhood and men of their manhood. As such, according to the author, men doing housework is also problematic. The author presents this claim through the authority of a therapist in America, and as such a normative approach is presented as though it were scientific knowledge, and through this example taken from the West, the textbook tacitly presents Turkish conservatives' criticism of Westernisation. If, like in the West, the man works from home and does the housework and no jobs are left for the woman, the family order will be disrupted. Furthermore, rather than using the word *kadın* (woman) which reflects an individual's gender, the author presents this claim by using the form of address *bayan* (lady), which is a reflection of sexist language. At this point we should take a look at examples of sexist language in the textbooks.

Sexism in the Turkish language

Language is a phenomenon that reveals the unequal role distribution between genders and that enables this inequality to continue. In other words, language is another of the areas in which the gender regime perpetuates itself, as the words in a language are sometimes used in a way that signifies a certain gender. The most significant example of this in Turkish is the word for scientist, *bilim adamı* (man of science), which makes a direct link between science and manhood, and the social imaginary is shaped accordingly. As such, sexism is perpetuated every time this term is used.

The findings of the first two Promoting Human Rights in Textbooks projects showed that many textbooks used such sexist words and terms (Tanrıöver, 2003; Güvenli and Tanrıöver, 2009). According to the findings, textbooks that were prepared after the 2004 curriculum reform used both the term *bilim adamı* and the term *bilim insanı* (person of science), which was created in an attempt to



Elementary Civics 3, Book 2, Evrensel, p. 120.

overcome this example of sexism in the language. In some cases both terms are found in the same textbook, most likely caused by the fact that the textbooks had multiple authors and did not undergo an adequate editorial process (Çayır, 2009a). According to the findings of this study, the inconsistency in the use of these two terms has decreased in many textbooks, and the term *bilim insanı* is becoming more widespread. *Bilim insanı* is widely used particularly in Science and Technology, Turkish and Social Studies textbooks. To give some examples:

- “Many years ago there lived a scientist [*bilim insanı*] named Hazerfan Ahmet Çelebi.” (Grade 1 Turkish TM, MoNE: 133)
- “If you were a scientist [*bilim insanı*] what kind of research would you like to carry out?”(Grade 3 Turkish TM, Dörtel: 221)

It should be pointed out that as well as these examples the term *bilim adamı* is also frequently encountered in textbooks:

- “While scientists [*bilim adamları*] are researching games, there are of course tasks that also fall to children.” (Grade 2 Turkish, Book 2, Özne: 155)
- “Scientists [*bilim adamları*] calculated that the World orbited the Sun in 365 days and 6 hours.” (Grade 3 Turkish TM, Dörtel: 218)

Terms in the Turkish language that demonstrate sexism are not limited to *bilim adamı*. In the textbooks children are asked “if you were a businessman...” (*iş adamı*); the word spaceman (*uzay adamı*) is given as the equivalent of astronaut; and the form of address *bayan* (miss/lady) is chosen over the word *kadın* (woman). Below are a few such examples:

- [In an activity entitled “I’m an importer”]: “Imagine that you are a famous businessman.” (Grade 5 Social Studies, Book 2, Pasifik: 117)
- “In short, the term astronaut means ‘spaceman.’” (Grade 3 Turkish, Book 2, MoNE: 104)

The following question that appears in the Psychology textbook published by Ekoyay can be seen as a successful model for all textbooks in terms of questioning and changing the sexism in the language:

- “Today, the term ‘*bilim adamı*’ is being changed to ‘*bilim insanı*’. How would you explain this from the point of view of the interaction between language and thought?” (Psychology, Ekoyay: 153)

If sexism in the language is approached in other textbooks with the critical perspective seen here, it will prepare the ground for students to understand the relationship between language and society and for sexist expressions in the language to be weeded out.

The image of the family and women’s “logistical citizenship”

There are many studies showing that the patriarchal family model is one of the institutions that teach and perpetuate sexist role models and the unequal social role played by women (Bora and Üstün, 2005). In such a model the woman is placed in the role of the servant of the family, and women are expected to represent fixed traditional roles and “if necessary sacrifice herself for her husband,” as shown in the example below in which teachers are asked to carry out the following activity with their students:

- “Give one of your girl students the role of the bride. Ask the other girls in the class to sing a *kına türküsü* [folk song sung on the bride’s ‘henna night’ before the wedding] from your region or the one given in the textbook (p. 40). Ask your students to act out applying henna to the bride’s hand while they are singing the folk song. [...] Tell your students that the henna is applied in order to symbolise that the girl will remain loyal to the household, and that it emphasises that if necessary the bride will sacrifice herself for the household and her husband.” (Grade 5 Social Studies TM, Pasifik: 83)

The basic problem here is that such a problematic language and phenomenon is presented without question. This henna/sacrifice belief is a social phenomenon seen in many regions of Turkey. However, presenting this to students without question or a critical perspective blends the line between the “factual” and “the way things should be.” Students may well interpret this example, which is in fact a presentation of a specific phenomenon, as “the way things should be.” Therefore an existing problematic norm is perpetuated. However, this phenomenon could have been included in the textbooks alongside a critical perspective. For example, this topic could be discussed in relation to the effect of the belief that women should “if necessary [...] sacrifice herself for the household and her husband” on the violence against women that has been on the rise in Turkey in recent years. As such it would open up an important space for discussion on gender discrimination.

Another finding of the study is that textbooks glorify women’s fertility and their role as mothers, and present problematic messages about women’s role in the family and in the protection and development of the country. In the textbooks women are presented as figures that “provide the country with children” and are declared “heroines” for giving birth to conquerors and warriors such as Mehmed the Conqueror or Hayreddin Barbarossa:

- “Every mother is a heroine. Because those who raised Mehmet the Conquerors, Hayreddin Barbarossas and Alp Arslans were these mothers of ours, my son.” (Grade 3 Turkish, Book 2, Dörtel: 114)

All of these examples show that in the textbooks women are portrayed not as individuals but, to use the term of Füsün Üstel, as “logistical citizens” (2004); in other words, they are given the duty of providing the country with children.

Such messages that restrict women to specific roles are in clear conflict with the modern understanding of equal citizenship.

One of the fundamental problems of the representation of the family is that marriage is shown as the only way to live as an adult in society. The psychology textbook cited below presents this as a “duty of early adulthood”:

- “One of the duties of early adulthood is to establish a loving long-term relationship with a person of the opposite sex, to get married and have children.” (Psychology, MoNE: 47)

When family is mentioned in the textbook, what is meant or portrayed is, in general, the modern nuclear family. As emphasised in the example above with the statement “of the opposite sex,” this is always a heterosexual family. The only example of single-parent families is found in the MoNE Grade 3 Elementary Civics textbook (p. 90) shown below.

As seen in this example, as well as an extended family and a nuclear family, the textbook shows the families of Selda, who lives with her father, and Can, who lives with his mother. Another aspect of this example that could be considered successful is that in the teacher’s manual for this textbook, teachers are asked to use the above example and state the following:

- “Emphasise that different family structures can be seen in society and that we have to respect this. Help your students who only live with their mother or father to describe their family structure.” (Grade 3 Elementary Civics TM, MoNE: 152)

This example is important in terms of enabling students to understand the variety of family structures in modern society and to see this as normal, and also in terms of giving students of single-parent families a space in which they can express themselves. Ultimately, the modern society in which we live is becoming increasingly heterogeneous both in terms of people and institutions. In order for the differences and different structures that appear as a result of this increasing heterogeneity to be able to live together, textbooks authors need to increase the number of such examples that broaden students’ imaginary, and in doing so the authors must avoid putting women and men in stereotyped roles or using sexist language.

Women’s rights presented within the essentialist concept of “us”

The presentation of women’s rights and of the historical development of the women’s movement is extremely problematic. Rather than presenting women’s rights in a scientific, critical and multidimensional way, textbooks for subjects such as History, Reform History, Social Studies and Elementary Civics present them in an essentialist way. Essentialism in the textbooks is seen on two levels. Firstly, the textbooks contain a black and white historical narrative in which women are said to have gained all of their rights with the establishment of the republic. On the second level it is stated that for the “ancient Turks” men and women were always equal.

HERKESİN AİLESİ FARKLIDIR

Evinizde kimlerle birlikte yaşıyorsunuz?

Resimlerdeki aileleri karşılaştırınız.



Ben Selin. Biz sekiz kişilik, geniş bir aileyiz. Dedem, babaannem ve halam da bizimle birlikte yaşıyor.

Ben Serdar. Annem, babam, ben ve kardeşim birlikte yaşıyoruz.



Ben Selda, babamla birlikte yaşıyorum.



Ben Can, annemle birlikte yaşıyorum.



Siz nasıl bir aileye sahipsiniz?

Kendi ailenizle bir arkadaşınızın aile yapılarınızı karşılaştırınız.

If we first look at the relationship between the Republic and women's rights, the textbooks present the idea that the gains in terms of women's rights were bestowed by Atatürk and that developments in this area all began with the Republic. The textbooks state that together with Atatürk and the Republic, men and women began to have equal rights:

- “Thanks to Atatürk men and women gained equal rights. The most important of these was the right to education.” (Grade 3 Elementary Civics, Book 2, Evrensel İletişim: 94)

Of all the textbooks, it is those for Reform History and Kemalism that present the Ottoman and Republican periods from the most black and white perspective. There is an attempt to pass this perspective on to students by a comparative table of the *mecelle* (Ottoman code of civil law) and the civil code of the Republic. As shown in the passage below, the textbooks claim that with the civil code women gained equality and began to practise all of the professions carried out by men. There is also an attempt to develop in students a perspective along the line of “old equals darkness, new equals enlightenment”:

- “With the Civil Code, Turkish women gained equality with men in society, gained a voice, gained respect, started to practise all the professions of working life that were carried out by men, changed and strengthened their position in the family and began to claim their rights.” (High School Reform History and Kemalism, Netbil: 102)

Such an approach is essentialist as it labels the old (Ottoman) as “essentially bad” and the new (Republic) as “essentially good.” This passage is based on an approach that is very dated in terms of the literature of women's studies in Turkey, because studies in this field show that there was an active women's movement during the late periods of the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, the black and white account in which everything is said to have started with the Republic is not a reality. It is true that with the civil code women gained many rights, but some gains (division of property, etc.) were not made until the 2000s and it is a social reality that in many areas in Turkey women still face violence and discrimination. Ultimately, the textbooks should present women's rights within a historical perspective by getting rid of the sense of the need to settle scores with the past.

Unlike the Reform History and Kemalism textbooks, in recent years examples have been found that mention the leaders of the pre-Republican women's movement, particularly in Social Studies textbooks. For example, the Social Studies textbook quoted below mentions Fatma Aliye, a novelist and daughter of Ahmet Cevdet Pasha. However, this time the essentialist discourse is used not to disparage the old but to glorify it, and Fatma Aliye is presented as “the first woman in the world to stand up for women's rights”:

- “Fatma Aliye Hanım, who was the first woman in the world to stand up for women’s rights and to speak of male-female equality, was Turkey’s first female writer.” (Grade 6 Social Sciences SW, MoNE: 202)

There is no doubt that Fatma Aliye was a significant figure, and it is important for students to know about her in order to break down this black and white understanding of history. However, the claim that Fatma Aliye was “the first woman in the world to stand up for women’s rights” is the same essentialism that claims, as we saw with the concepts of democracy and human rights, that “we implemented women’s rights before anybody else (i.e. the West).”

Another form of essentialism in the textbooks appears in the subject of the ancient Turkic states. Male-female equality is a modern concept that still has not been achieved. Due to their field of expertise, the authors of Sociology textbooks should be very aware of this, yet they state that in ancient Turkic societies there was no “inequality between men and women”:

- “We do not see inequality between men and women in ancient Turkic societies.” (Sociology, Ekoyay: 143)

Just as we saw claims for the concept of democracy that “Throughout history it is possible to see the democratic characteristics of governance in the Turkish states” (Grade 6 Social Studies, Altın Kitaplar: 143), this essentialism is also reflected in the issue of gender equality. The authors sometimes use figures such as Dede Korkut (hero of the epic stories of the Oghuz Turks) to express this essentialist approach in the topic of women’s rights. In the Grade 6 Social Studies textbook, students conduct an interview with Dede Korkut for the school newspaper. The students state that “It was difficult to get an appointment but we said we wanted to speak about a serious topic like women’s rights” upon which he made time for them. Dede Korkut says the following to the students:

- “[Children], from the early days of history, the Turks did not discriminate between men and women.” (Grade 6 Social Studies, Altın Kitaplar: 155)

History textbooks, which contain unit titles such as “The Role of Women in [Ancient] Turkish Society,” continue this discourse:

- “In the Turkic states women did not only work at home, they were also their husbands’ helpers in the field, at the market and even in state affairs, and they played a particularly important role in social activities.” (Grade 9 History, MoNE: 89)
- “In relation to women’s place in government, the Turks had a practice that was different from practices in other Muslim states. The pre-Islamic Turkic states gave *‘hatunlar’* [women of the ruling class] a voice in state government, and this was continued in the Islamic period.” (Grade 11 History, MoNE: 22)

These excerpts are examples of an anachronistic and essentialist reading of the important topic of women's rights, disconnected from its historical and sociological context. Just as was seen in the discussion of the concepts of human rights and democracy, here we see the past interpreted through a concept of the modern period, that of women's rights. As well as violating the right to a quality education, this is an approach that restricts students' critical thinking and makes it impossible for them to correctly understand developments in Turkey and the world.

There are a small handful of positive examples that can help to overturn this problematic approach in the area of women's rights. One of these is found in the Grade 6 Social Studies teacher's manual, published by Altın Kitaplar:

- "You can create the atmosphere for a class discussion on the topic of positive discrimination towards women.
- You can inform your students about the issue of violence against women by giving them newspaper articles to read on the subject." (Grade 6 Social Studies TM, Altın Kitaplar: 217)

An increase in examples of this kind would provide an important space in which teachers, both male and female, who are sensitive to the issue of women's rights can debate this important issue in relation to current affairs. In order to weed out the problematic examples found in the textbooks and increase the number of examples based on universal standards, the most important step is to take a critical look at the educational philosophy on which the textbooks are based.

CHAPTER VI

THE EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHY OF TEXTBOOKS AND THE (NON-)DEVELOPMENT OF A CRITICAL OUTLOOK

One of the expectations of a high quality textbook is that it will contain texts and activities that develop students' critical thinking. There is a number of different dimensions to critical thinking, including the awareness of hypotheses, reasoning on the basis of proof, being able to justify one's ideas, and distinguishing between normative and scientific statements (Gürkaynak, Üstel and Gülgöz, 2004; Crawford et al, 2009). An individual who has developed the skills of critical thinking can be expected to look at phenomena, whether in the sciences or humanities, from different perspectives. As such, a textbook written with the aim of developing critical thinking should emphasise that there may be more than one reason and explanation for events, that we still have not found the answer to some questions, and that we should not be afraid of uncertainty. Activities in the textbooks should be written in line with this aim.

Here it is important to point out that since the 2004 curriculum reform there has been a greater focus on critical thinking skills as a learning outcome, and the textbooks suggest various pedagogical methods aimed at developing critical thinking skills (paired reading, brainstorming, six thinking hats, etc.). However, when we look at the analysis reports produced during this study, the examples of lesson content that have been successfully designed in line with these methods are few and far between. The activity shown below from a Grade 8 Science and Technology textbook in which students are asked to discuss the topic of hydrogen vehicles using the six thinking hats method is one of these successful examples:

- “Imagine that in our country the automobile companies have decided to only produce vehicles that use hydrogen as their fuel. Let's assess the

scientific, technological and social consequences of this situation, taking into account the guidance given in our six hats.” (Grade 8 Science and Technology, MoNE: 207)

Through the six thinking hats method, students are directed first to collect data on the subject, then to look at the emotional aspect of the situation, and to discuss its positive and negative sides, therefore being encouraged to look at the subject on the basis of knowledge and in a multidimensional way. It could be claimed that the passage cited below from a Grade 6 Turkish teaching manual creates a space for a critical assessment of the social impact of proverbs through group discussion:

- “Ask your students what effects the proverbs such as the following could have on society: ‘He who doesn’t beat his daughters beats his own breast;’ ‘What a child eats is *halal*, what he wears is *haram*;’ ‘Beating comes from heaven.’ Give the following questions as the speaking topic and get the students to discuss: ‘Do you think that the advice given in these proverbs is valid? Why/Why not?’” (Grade 6 Turkish TM, Doku: 205)

Such questions open up an important space in which teachers sensitive to the issues of violence and gender can develop their students’ critical thinking skills. However, aside from successful examples such as this one, there is a huge gap between the critical thinking skills that are presented as a learning outcome and the activities suggested in practice. For example, in the teacher’s manual for the Grade 4 Religious Culture and Morals textbook, the unit “Let’s Be Clean” states the following:

- “In this unit the main skills that will be developed are critical thinking and social participation. To achieve this, frequently direct your students towards critical thinking, speaking and active participation.” (Grade 4 RCM TM, Gizem: 19)

As we can see here, the teacher’s manual asks teachers to focus on critical thinking skills during a unit on hygiene. However, when we look at the content of the unit, there are no texts or questions that help to develop critical thinking, and in the textbook the subject is presented with a didactic approach. It was observed that the methods used in many textbooks to promote student participation are not used to develop critical thinking but to teach the learning outcome of the unit. For example, one textbook exclaims “LET’S BRAINSTORM” before giving the following text:

- “Whatever the limits of the education they receive, the children and youth that we raise must first be taught the need to fight against all elements that are enemies to the independence of Turkey, his/her cultural identity, and national traditions.” (Grade 8 RCM, MoNE: 95)

This text is a quote from Utkan Kocatürk’s book *Atatürk’ün Fikir ve Düşünceleri* (Atatürk’s Views and Opinions), which is used in almost every

textbook. Following the passage the textbook gives following instruction: “Brainstorm the main ideas of the above text.” We will discuss the subject of brainstorming after looking at the excerpt below, examining the two examples together:

- “Who protects and defends the nation? If the people cannot protect the nation what consequences might arise? Using such questions, get your students to brainstorm and try to get them to understand the link and loyalty between the nation and the people. Give examples of related quotes from Atatürk.” (Grade 5 RCM TM, Doku: 128)

Firstly, these two examples are extremely problematic both in terms of the application of the method in question and of content. Brainstorming is an important method in the development of critical thinking skills, as it “is a problem-solving method that enables participants to use their imagination and encourages their creativity” (Gözütok, 2007: 246). Participants in brainstorming activities “speak without limiting their ideas” (Gözütok, 2007: 247). However, rather than creating an environment in which students can use their creativity, the examples above teach students about “fighting against enemy elements” or to “understand the link between the nation and the people.” In these examples, rather than covering topics from different angles, the textbooks aim to achieve learning outcomes from a single perspective and with an authoritarian language, and the term “brainstorming” that accompanies this approach is little more than decoration. These examples do not therefore develop critical thinking but instead give priority to a way of thinking that stifles critical thinking with clichés and set frameworks. Yet from Grade 1 onwards, textbook authors attempt to associate this single-perspective approach with the concept of critical thinking. The learning outcome and skills for a lesson in the Grade 2 Elementary Civics teacher’s manual are an example of this:

- “Learning outcome: Students will associate the positive emotions they feel at home with the positive emotions they feel in the country in relation to patriotism. Connection to skills: This aims at developing critical thinking skills.” (Grade 2 Elementary Civics TM, MoNE: 192)

Just as in the two previous examples, the learning outcome here is clear: from an early age teachers should get students to memorise the concept of the nation and to do so should use the metaphor of home. Furthermore, this is again taught in a problematic way through the concept of safety. In other words, just as we feel safe in our homes it teaches students to understand the concept of nation through the notion of safety. There is nothing more natural than a country’s education system aiming to develop in students a love for their country; however, when we consider the militaristic content based on the idea of safety/security that is present in the textbooks, it is clear that the association between the home and the nation is not suitable for, to quote the textbook, “developing critical thinking skills.” Indeed, there is very little to link the achievement of this learning outcome with the skill of critical thinking.

These examples show that the aim given to authors of “associating topics with the skill of critical thinking,” an important focus of constructivism, is used in an extremely problematic way.¹ There is an enormous gap between what the authors understand by critical thinking and the concept of critical thinking in its scientific sense. One of the main reasons for this gap is the essentialist approach that forms the basic philosophy of the textbooks.

The essentialist and single-perspective viewpoint in the textbooks

From the beginning of this report we have emphasised the fact that the textbooks present everything from national identity to the concepts of democracy, human rights and gender with an essentialist approach. We also touched on the obstacles that essentialism places in front of the development in students of a pluralistic imaginary. During the research process, the topic of essentialism was reported under Article 33 of the Analysis Criteria, related to the educational philosophy and critical thinking in the textbooks. Essentialism is one of the biggest obstacles to critical thinking, because essentialism, as stated in the Analysis Criteria, is “the belief that there are innate characteristics that are considered ‘part of our nature,’ eternal and immutable, and unaffected by external factors.” Examples were given of how the textbooks present the Turks as a nation that is militaristic, democratic and egalitarian by nature. The following examples from textbooks could serve as a useful reminder here:

- “Our nation is fundamentally democratic.” (Grade 7 Social Studies, MoNE: 149)
- “We do not see inequality between men and women in ancient Turkic societies.” (Sociology, Ekoyay: 143)

We can find similar examples in many textbooks on almost every topic. For example, when covering the topic of Sport and Health, one Science and Technology textbook gives the following quote:

- “The Turks are a nation of born sportsmen. You will even see country children who have just begun to walk wrestling in the fields. [Ferit Celal Güven, Yücel Magazine, vol. X, no: 57, 1939, p. 130]” (Grade 8 Science and Technology TM, MoNE: 49)

These texts are examples of an essentialist approach, and such an approach develops clichés and stereotypes, whether about Turks or other nations. The consequences of this essentialist approach on the issue of Turkishness can be understood by looking at the following questions: “If Turks are born soldiers, why were they defeated in some wars?” or “If Turks show equality between men and women, how can we explain the inequality in Turkey today?” Somebody who thinks in strictly essentialist terms will reply, “Because we have

¹ For an assessment of incompatibility between the aims of the constructivist curricula and textbooks in relation to History lessons, see Aktekin, 2010.

become distanced from our essence.” In other words, change (that is to say any change that is not in line with essentialist values) is seen as a corruption and disintegration of society. As such, the approach we see in almost every textbook is in line with this idea. As shown in previous chapters the textbooks are all in agreement that the Turkish language is being corrupted, that Turkey is under threat and that the Turkish society is disintegrating, and this argument is presented to students from a single perspective. However, just as in every society, there are people in Turkey that see the processes of transformation (Westernisation, democratisation, etc.) in many different ways. Social change is a very complex phenomenon, and therefore needs to be covered in a multidimensional way.

This single perspective approach is even seen in Sociology textbooks, which should be the most aware of the need to present the pluralism and multiple dimensions of society. However, as stated by Gürol İrzık in the second report, one of the most important pedagogical characteristics, particularly of social studies and the humanities, is to be able to approach a topic from different angles, and it is possible to develop an active classroom with a critical perspective by covering an issue from different viewpoints (2009: 309). However, just like in the other textbooks, the dominant approach seen in Sociology textbooks does not leave room for such an environment. It could be useful to discuss this topic in reference to two books: a textbook published by the MoNE, and a second book published by the History Foundation. Three texts feature on this page from the Social Studies High School Sociology 1 textbook (MoNE: 303).

All three of these texts put forward the same argument on the topic of cultural change, which can be summarised as “our country is under cultural imperialism.” A significant problem in terms of the referencing of sources can be seen for all three texts. The first text is presented as an “internet article” with no reference provided, while for the third text an undated reference is given to the homepage of the Ministry of Culture. When we look at the second text we understand that it is a quotation from a book entitled *20. Yüzyıl Türkiye ve Dünya Tarihi* (20th Century Turkish and World History) by an author named Gökçen Faruk Alpkaya. Firstly it is important to point out that the given reference is inaccurate and that this book was written by two authors, Gökçen Alpkaya and Faruk Alpkaya. Furthermore, a look at page 63 of the original of this book (reproduced below) shows that the passage quoted in the Sociology textbook does not in fact appear here. More importantly, as well as the carelessness in the referencing, there are striking differences between the book *20th Century Turkish and World History*, published by the History Foundation, and the single-perspective approach of the Sociology textbook. Unlike the three texts in the Sociology textbook that impose a single perspective, the book by Alpkaya and Alpkaya presents texts containing two different viewpoints on the process of Westernisation. One of these texts is by Abdullah Cevdet, known as a supporter of Westernisation, while the other is by Sheikh Mihriddin Arusi who criticised this process. A closer examination of this book reveals that it was written with a philosophy that aims to debate not only Westernisation but all the topics it



Aşağıdaki metinleri okuyarak soruları cevaplayınız.



Noel Baba Yerine Dede Korkut

Noel Baba yerine Dede Korkut'u öneriyorum. Yıllardır düşünürüm niçin batıya mal olmuş semboller, mitler genç kuşakta yaygınlaşıp ortak değerler haline gelirken, bizi biz yapan değerler unutulmaya yüz tutuyor?

Çocukluğumuzdan beri gördüğümüz Noel Baba kültürü bize hitap etmemekte ve geleneklerimizi yansıtmamaktadır. Onun yerine Türk Edebiyatının şaheserlerinden olan "Dede Korkut Hikâyeleri" tüm Asya'da hatta dünyanın pek çok ülkesinde bilinmekte ve tanınmaktadır

Farklı bir kültürün sembolü olan Noel Baba'yı anlatmak, tanıtmak yerine çocuklarımızı kendi kültürel mirasımıza olan Dede Korkut'u anlatmak ve tanıtmak daha iyi olur. Böylece hem tarihsel değerlerimizi çocuklarımıza aktarmış ve sevdirmiş, hem de Türk coğrafyasında önemli bir yere sahip olan Dede Korkut'u yetişen nesiller aracılığıyla tüm dünyaya tanıtmış oluruz. Bu yolla hem kültür emperyalizminin önüne geçmiş hem de Türk Kültürünü ve bize has olan sembollerini yaşatarak kalıcı kılabiliriz.

(İnternet haberi, 30.12.2009)

Noel Baba yerine Dede Korkut'u öğrenmenin toplumumuza sağladığı faydalar neler olabilir? Tartışınız.

KÜLTÜR EMPERYALİZMİ: ADI DEĞİŞSE DE TADI AYNI

Türkiye'de gerçekten de ülkesine ve milletine karşı yabancılaşan, yozlaşmaya uğrayan ne Avrupalı ne de Türk olamayan bir kesim olduğunu hepimiz tarafından bilinmektedir.

Magazin kültürü, sosyete yaşantısı, lüks hayat tarzı, pop kültürün sunduğu rahatlık ve haz duygusu uğruna, bilmek eyleminin gerçek saadetini kaybetmiş bir neslin yetiştiği konusunda herkesin bilgisi vardır.

Evet, bilim ve teknolojiye, sanatta en ileri uça yer almalıyız. Ama Batının kültürünü almak, onlar gibi yaşamak zorunda değiliz. Evrensel değerler vardır ancak bu alınan evrensel değerlerin de gerek aydın kesim gerekse devlet eliyle bir süzgeçten geçirilmesi gerekir. Bu açıdan ailelere de iş düşmektedir.

(Gökçen Faruk Alpkaya, 20. yy Türkiye ve Dünya Tarihi, s.63)

ATATÜRK DİYOR Kİ;

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün : "Terbiye ya dinî olur ya da millî. Biz dinî terbiyeyi aileye bıraktık. Millî terbiyeyi de devlete bıraktık." sözü, bu açıdan önemlidir. Bugün hepimize düşen ortak görev; ulusal değerlere, bilince, cumhuriyete sahip çıkmak, Çanakkale'yi, Kurtuluş Savaşı'nı kazanan ruhu korumak ve bu bilinci gelecek kuşaklara aktarmaktır. Türk ulusu dili, kültürü, tarihi ve saygın kimliğiyle aydınlık yarınlara el ele güçlü biçimde yürüyecektir."

M. Kemal Atatürk: "Dünyanın bize hürmet etmesini istiyorsak, evvela biz, kendi benliğimize hürmet edelim. Benliğimize ve milliyetimize bu hürmeti hissen, fikren, fiilen, bütün fiil ve hareketimizle göstereyim. Bilelim ki, millî benliğini bulmayan milletler, başka milletlerin şikârdır."

(www.kultur.gov.tr)



268. Fotoğraf: Atatürk, millî kültüre sahip çıkması gerektiğini savunan bir liderdir.

1. Kültür emperyalizminin ülkemize etkileri konusunda neler söyleyebilirsiniz?
2. Lüks hayat özentsinin insanımıza neler kaybettiğini tartışınız.

covers from different viewpoints. When we consider how important looking at the same topic from different viewpoints is for the development of critical thinking skills, the difference between the Sociology textbook and the book published by the History Foundation becomes even clearer.

The essentialist approach upon which the existing textbooks are based makes adopting such a multidimensional perspective impossible, because, as stated above, the textbooks all agree that we have become distanced from our essence and that we are under threat. Therefore, the texts are written in order to support this argument, rather than to develop a critical perspective. In fact, it was observed that in almost every subject, ideological texts are used for this purpose. More than teaching Turkish or Literature, the aim of the textbooks is to relay an archaic nationalism and essentialist philosophy. This situation is openly stated in the textbooks through the words of Atatürk. As seen in the following excerpt, the aim of teaching literature is defined as “protecting the status and future of the community” and glorifying Turkishness:

- “It is clear that literature is one of the most important educational tools for all institutions that protect and will continue to protect every human community and the status and future of that community. It is for this reason that in the literature education of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Turkey, special importance and value must be given to the following points:
 - a. Developing the mind of the Turkish child according to the attention and care that is innate in him/her [...].
 - b. Opening, spreading and expanding the Turkish mind and intellect that has been well protected [...].
 - c. And also familiarising them, without forcing them and in a simple and natural style, with expressing the abilities in the Turkish mind, the strengths of the Turkish character, and the nobility and depth of Turkish emotions.

[...]

And so with these words, Atatürk defined literature and explained the aims of the teaching of literature.” (Grade 8 Turkish, Bisiklet: 33)

In this passage the aim of teaching literature is spoken by a figure whose authority cannot be questioned and this aim is presented with concepts shaped by 1930s racist theories, such as “the mind of the Turkish child” or “the Turkish character.” It could be argued that this example is a single example from history that does not affect the teaching of literature today, but unfortunately this is not the case. An examination of the textbooks shows that the texts and activities in Turkish and Literature textbooks are written in line with the above aim. For example, “the skill of speaking and self-expression,” an important skill in terms of the critical thinking process, is one of the stated learning outcomes of Turkish

sevgi huyu

... 1940 tarihlerinde Japonya'ya Avrupa bir tokat attı. Fakat bu tokat üzerine Japonya Avrupa'ya gözünü ve kalbini kapamadı. Bu darbenin hangi pazulardan ve hangi neden ve güçlerle geldiğini anlamaya koyuldu ve inanılması kolay olmayan bir miktarda, yani bir defada 25.000 evladını Avrupa'ya, Amerika'ya eğitime, incelemeye gönderdi. Fakat bu 25.000 genç Japonun eğitim ve incelemesini bitirerek Japonya'ya geri dönüşü "Doğan Güneş İmparatorluğu"nu canlandırdı. ... Avrupa bize bir değil bin tokat vurdu. Biz uyanıyorsak kabahat Avrupa'nın mı, yoksa bizim balkabağı kafalanımızın mı? Biz Müslüman olmayan kavimleri o kadar hafife alıyoruz ki onların üzerimize en parlak zafer ve galibiyetlerini bile önemsemiyoruz. "Biz ki Müslümanız öteki dünya bizindir, cennet bizindir, cennet kızları ve oğlanları bizindir, görme nimeti bizindir. Dünyadaki başan ve mevkileri ne olursa olsun gayrimüslimlerin öteki dünyadaki yeri cehennemdir, nasipleri sonsuza kadar cehennem azabıdır" diyoruz ... Yabancılar bize ne yaptı? Biz demiryolculuk öğrenmek için mesela Amerika'ya gittik de Müslümanız yahut Türküz. diye bizi mekteplerine, fabrikalarına kabul etmediler mi? Batakkk aramızızı kurutmak istedik de mani ni oldular?... Kendimizi dev aşinasında gördüğümüz yetisiri! Husumetlerimizi şimdiye kadar hasmımızın bulunmadığı yerlere yönelttik. Avrupa bizim yaptığımız gibi güneşin batmasıyla mesaisini terk etmiyor, yatmıyor. Avrupa'da tabiatın güneşi batınca insanların güneşi doğuyor: Elektrik... En büyük ve en daimi hasmımız kendi kafamızdır. Bizim ile yabancılar arasındaki ilişki gücü ile zayıf, alim ile cahil, zengin ile fakir arasındaki ilişki... Bir ikinci medeniyet yoktur. Medeniyet Avrupa medeniyetidir...

Abdullah Cevdet, *Sıme-i Muhabbet: Celal Nuri Bey'in Gaperi Nüshadaki (Sayıdaki) Sıme-i Husumet Makalesine Cevap* (1913)



سید یونسون دو کوج اورتاق بیاترین
وضع و تقوی بون قانایا ایزده - سر سنج اولو
مکتوب یونسون بون کوج اورتاق بیاترین
مکتوب یونسون بون کوج اورتاق بیاترین
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مکتوب یونسون بون کوج اورتاق بیاترین

batı medeniyetinden gelebilecek
içtimai ve ahlaki afetler ve çareleri

... Batı medeniyetinin İslam âlemine olan ihracatının çoğu "öldürücü zehir" diye vasıflandırılmaya layıktır. Surasını da itiraf edelim ki zaten gelelemeye ve ahlaki fesada düşmüş olan biz Müslümanlar, bu kabil ihracatı talepte ve kabul etmede büyük bir düşkünlük gösteriyoruz. Batı medeniyeti terkilibiyle ifade ettiğimiz büyük medeniyet, elbette yalnız kötü şeylerden ve sefahetten ibaret değildir, elbette bu medeniyetin iyi karşılanmaya ve takdir edilmeye layık nice kısımları vardır. Lakin Avrupa siyaseti, mağlup ve mahkûm milletlerin mahkûmiyetlerinin idaresi için bize, kendileri için kuvvet ve satvet sebebi olan medeni amilleri değil, zaaf ve sefahete sebep olan içtimai amilleri vermeye meyyaldır. Biz de bütün kudretimizle bu iğrenç amilleri kaptırıyoruz!

Avrupalıların tahakkümü altına düşen yerlerde zarlılar, yüksek binalar, büyük köprüler, demiryolları, tersaneler meydana getirecek mühendisler, sanatkarlar yetismiyor. Biz onların ticaret, iktisat ve ziraat usullerine, yardımlaşma ve şefkat, faziletî himaye vs. gibi alınması feyiz ve yükselmimize sebep olacak içtimai teşkilatlarına rağbet etmiyoruz. Piyano çalmak, alafrañça şarkı söylemek, modaya göre on türlü kıyafete girmek, mükemmel yemek pişirme usullerimize frenklerin cicili bicili ve fakat lezzetsiz ve kaba yemelerini tercih etmek, yürüme ve gezme tarzında bin şekilde tuhafıklar göstermek, çocuklarımızı milliyet haricinde terbiye etmek, kendisini bu vatanın yabancı yapacak fikirlerle doyurmak, türlü renkte alkolü içkiler yutmak, din ve fazilet hislerinden soyutlanmak, namus ve âdetler hususunda şüpheli ve ilgisiz kalmak, zevk ve sefahatî hayatın gayesi bilmek: İşte Avrupa medeniyetinden zengin ve fakirlerimizin almaya ve taklit etmeye kalkıştığı şeyler...

Seyh Mihridin Anısı (Sahbenderizade Ahmet Nâmi), *Yirminci Asırda Âlem-i İslam ve Avrupa-Müslümanlara Rehber-i Siyasî* (1911)

curriculum. However, in the example given below, one Turkish teacher's manual suggests the following activity to develop "speaking skills":

- "Ask your students what they would do against people who wanted to take our independence and our lands. Get the students to speak." (Grade 4 Turkish TM, Bilim ve Kültür: 200)

The same book tells teachers to "guide your students towards a debate," before asking teachers to pick a topic related to the War of Independence and recommends that they "make use of the following topics":

- "Courage is important in war. Weapons are important in war." (Grade 4 Turkish TM, Bilim ve Kültür: 200)

The suggested topics for debate, which in itself is a problematic method in terms of critical thinking skills, is a further topic of discussion. Many topics and themes in Turkish lessons aim to relay the isolationist, militaristic and nationalist identity. For example the following activity is suggested to teachers for teaching the use of the preposition "for":

- "Write the following sentences on the board '[...] for the glorious flag to always fly proudly, we must always be ready to shed our blood to the final drop.' Ask your students 'what is the role of the preposition 'for' that is used in these sentences'" (Grade 6 Turkish TM, Doku: 239)

Not only does such an approach make critical thinking impossible, it also prevents the provision of a quality education in its most basic sense. As such, the textbooks violate one of the most basic rights, that of the right to a quality education. It is therefore necessary to review the educational philosophy of the existing textbooks from the perspective of a critical education. The above examples show that it is necessary both for the textbooks to be revised in terms of content and also for them to be written in a way that looks at topics from multiple perspectives. In this context, one of the problems that need to be tackled is the fact that textbooks present normative statements as factual information.

Normative statements presented as factual information

One of the most important elements of critical thinking is the ability to distinguish between normative and scientific statements and there is a distinct difference between these two types of statement. Normative statements, as stated in the Analysis Criteria, contain subjective evaluations based on a specific moral, religious or ideological background. For example, opinions stating how people's attitudes on a specific subject should be are normative as they impart values. Informative statements implying that things that have/that we believe to have an objective truth outside ourselves can be proved or disproved by observation/experimentation.

Textbooks that are written with the aim of developing critical thinking skills would not be expected to present normative statements as though they were factual statements. Indeed, such a textbook should include activities that enable students to distinguish between these two types of statement. When normative statements are presented as informative statements it gives rise to the following problems in terms of thinking skills: opinions/views on a specific subject are confused with facts and interpretations; students perceive views based on moral/religious/ideological grounds as objective information; and students are unable to distinguish their own (religious, moral or ideological) values from scientific statements and may develop a fixed worldview.

From this point of view the existing textbooks contain serious problems. However, before giving examples of these problems, it may first be useful to state the following: one of the roles of textbooks is to develop in students certain behavioural patterns (hygiene, opposition to violence, respect of differences, etc.), and textbooks may therefore include some normative statements on such issues. What is important in such cases is that these statements are justified and avoid the use of essentialism. However, as has been shown from the beginning of this report, almost all topics in the textbooks are written with an essentialist philosophy. Essentialist statements are fundamentally normative statements. Ultimately, the textbooks are full of essentialist statements that are not scientific but are presented as scientific, on many subjects including democracy, human rights and gender. As examples of essentialist statements have already been given in the other chapters, there is no need to give a great number of examples here. However, it may be useful to look at a few examples from the Religious Culture and Morals textbooks, where normative statements presented as informative statements are seen most frequently:

- “Social deterioration and collapse affects the entire society. The collapse of societies that did not pay attention to the unchanging social laws (*sunnat Allah*) determined by the almighty Allah was inevitable.” (Grade 8 RCM, MoNE: 16)
- “If a person follows the decrees and counsel of our religion and gives importance to beauty in his/her words and behaviour, he/she is a moral person. Such people are loved and respected in society.” (Grade 11 RCM, Tutku: 124)
- “Belief is a truth of the human disposition.” (Grade 12 RCM, MoNE: 91)

All of these statements are normative, in other words they are statements that reflect the values of the Islamic religion. Indeed, normative statements are unavoidable in any religious education; in Islam or in Christianity there are naturally a number of statements of belief. The problem in these examples is that in the Religious Culture and Morals lesson, which is taught as a compulsory part of the curriculum, statements that “are valid according to Islam” are presented in the textbooks as informative statements. For example, the first statement mentions in a very vague way the subject of social collapse and says that “the

collapse of societies that did not follow the laws of Allah was inevitable.” A practising Muslim may find verses in the Quran to support this statement, but here a religious statement is presented as though it were a sociological truth, and the concept of “social deterioration” is mentioned with no scientific grounds. Therefore, in this example religious views and scientific information become confused. These examples that contain normative statements are also essentialist and because of the problems in their content can, as mentioned above, lead students to see different opinions or ways of life as illegitimate. This leads us to the second statement, in which a belief in Islam is presented as a prerequisite for being considered moral. In fact, if such statements began “According to Islam,” the problem would, to a certain extent, be solved. For example, if the third sentence had been written as “*According to Islam* belief is a truth of the human disposition” the source of this view would have been mentioned. However, when phrased in the way it appears in the textbook, the normative is again presented as though it were objective information. It is difficult for students who perceive these views as objective/scientific information to accept the existence of lifestyles other than those proposed by Islamic morals or to respect the fact that other people may not share the same faith. With such statements there is a risk that students will perceive their own religion, morals and national views as unique and absolute. Such an education is therefore a long way from an egalitarian philosophy that develops critical thinking and is open to differences, and is an approach that excludes the issue of how we can live together with our differences on equal grounds, one of the fundamental issues of this study. With an approach that presents our own lifestyle and values as the only objective truth, it is impossible to develop critical thinking or a pluralistic democratic imaginary.

However, normative statements being presented as informative statements is not the only problem related to the way statements are presented in the textbooks, and one of the main problems in the textbooks is that scientific statements are generally explained in reference to a specific authority. There are therefore problems in the way that scientific statements are covered in terms of the thought processes involved.

Referring to an unquestionable authority rather than scientific reasoning

A quality education that develops critical thinking skills needs to focus on scientific reasoning processes, and must justify the scientific information in textbooks based again on scientific methods. However, information in the textbooks is sometimes presented, to quote the Analysis Criteria, “as ideas that should be adopted because a certain Great Authority (Science, National Interest, Kemalism, Modernism, History, etc.) requires it.” Textbooks involve many statements that are explained with phrases such as “being tolerant because our religion requires it” or “developing because modernisation requires it.” Aside from these, the biggest problem in this area according to the analysis reports is the use of the figure of Atatürk. Informative statements in the textbooks are

frequently justified by making reference to the unquestionable authority of Atatürk. Examples of this can be found in almost every textbook and for almost every topic. For example, in the Science and Technology textbook quoted below, the importance of giving blood is supported by the words of Atatürk:

- “In this sense giving blood is extremely important both for the individual and for society. Our great leader Atatürk said, ‘The thing that makes people happiest...’” (Grade 6 Science and Technology, MoNE: 164)

The basic problem in this example is that the information given is not explained with scientific justifications and that the only attempt to prove the truth of the statement is with reference to Atatürk. With such a writing style it is not possible for students to learn why giving blood is important. Because in fact the textbook does not explain the importance of giving blood; it simply states that it is important through the words of Atatürk. Similar problematic thought processes and writing styles are also common in other textbooks. Below are a few examples:

- “Science is ordered information that aims to explain the universe, phenomena and events by using methods based on experimentation. [...]Atatürk also declared that science should lead the way for humans in all subjects. He expressed his opinion on this subject with the words, ‘Our true mentor in life is science (1924).’” (Grade 4 Social Studies, Book 2, Tuna: 128)
- “The categories that cover the different branches of work are agriculture, industry and the service sector. Atatürk described the importance of the balanced development in all sectors with the words, ‘When I say economic life I include agricultural, commercial and industrial activities and all public works as a whole, that it would not be correct to think of separately.’” (Grade 11 Geography, MoNE: 75)

In relation to Atatürk, a practice that is clearly very difficult for the textbook authors is the requirement of linking lesson units to topics related to Kemalism, which can be seen in the learning outcomes and explanations tables in the teacher’s manuals. So much so that in Science and Technology lessons authors are even asked to link the topic of “melting, freezing, evaporation and condensation” to topics related to Kemalism (Grade 8 Science and Technology TM, MoNE: 171). As a result we see texts that are sometimes ridiculous and sometimes meaningless but that ultimately violate the right to a quality education. For example, in one Science and Technology textbook, shown below, after three short paragraphs on the topic of “Reproduction, growth and development in living creatures” comes the following passage:

- “This harmony and unity seen in living creatures is also valid for societies. The incompatibility of systems and elements that make up societies disturbs the peace of the society. What makes a society resist

and triumph over the obstacles it faces is the spirit of national solidarity and unity between the individuals that form that society. This bond of unity is the strongest bond that protects the existence of a nation and binds the nation's individuals together, as expressed by the Great Leader Atatürk with the words 'We see the foundation of our national existence in our national unity and national consciousness.'" (Grade 6 Science and Technology, MoNE: 22)

Linking the topic of "Reproduction, growth and development in living creatures" to national unity and the words of Atatürk shows, to put it lightly, the carelessness of this text related to science education. Such examples show that rather than being written in line with a scientific approach, textbooks for all subjects were written with clichéd national concerns and an understanding of Kemalism that came to the fore with the Constitution of 1982. Linking all topics to Atatürk leads to the creation of content in almost every lesson that damages the quality of education, since in almost every subject area the author can make Atatürk speak with a language that reflects his/her own point of view. Religious Culture and Morals textbooks give Atatürk's statement "The Turkish nation should be more religious," Music textbooks give homework assignments related to Atatürk, and finally, in order to connect the topic of Kemalism to English lessons, students are presented with dialogues about Atatürk:

- "Atatürk was opposed to an understanding of religion formed of superstition, pressure and force and that gave no place to intellect, reason and science. On this subject Atatürk said, 'The Turkish nation should be more religious, I mean to say that it should be religious in all its simplicity...'" (Grade 12 RCM, Özgün: 115)
- "As a result of your research, write a short passage about the importance Atatürk gave to music among the fine arts." (Grade 8 Music SW, MoNE: 53)
- "Mark: He has got short blond hair. He has got blue eyes. He is a famous Turkish leader. Guess! Who is he?
Students: Atatürk!" (Joyful English 1, Book 2, MoNE: 136)

All of these examples clearly demonstrate the extent to which the desire to link every topic to learning outcomes related to Kemalism damages the content and quality of the textbooks. The extent to which such an approach serves the aim of making students adopt Kemalist thought is also questionable. It is therefore necessary for such an archaic understanding of Kemalism, which was consolidated in the period after the military coup on 12 September 1980, to be abandoned immediately and for high-quality content in textbooks that portrays Atatürk within the appropriate historical context to be encouraged.

Eleştirel Düşünme

Vücudumuzdaki sistemlerden biri yok olsaydı neler olurdu?



Yapı ve görevleri aynı olan hücreler bir araya gelerek belli görevleri üstlenmiş **dokular** meydana getirir. Farklı dokular bir araya gelerek **organları** oluşturur. Birlikte çalışan organlar **sistemleri** oluşturur. Sistemlerin birleşmesi ile de **organizma** meydana gelir.

Kemik doku, kas doku, kan doku ve kıkırdak doku hayvansal dokulara örnek verilebilir. Mide, karaciğer ve böbrek, organa örnek gösterilebilir. Bitkisel dokular için de iletim, destek ve besin depolama dokuları örnek verilebilir. Kök, gövde ve yaprak bitkilerdeki organlara örnektir. Mide, bağırsaklar ve yemek borusunun bir araya gelmesiyle sindirim sistemi oluşur. Sindirim, dolaşım, sinir, üreme ve boşaltım gibi birçok sistemin bir araya gelmesi ile organizma meydana gelir.

Bir hücrenin beslenme, boşaltım, solunum gibi yaşamsal faaliyetler organeller tarafından, çok hücreli organizmalarda ise bu faaliyetler sistemler tarafından gerçekleştirilir. Örneğin, boşaltım işini çok hücreli organizmada boşaltım sistemi (böbrekler, üreter, idrar kesesi ve üretra) yaparken tek bir hücrede ise bu işi boşaltım kofulu ve hücre zarı gerçekleştirir.

Canlı için söz konusu olan uyum, birlik ve beraberlik toplumlar için de geçerlidir. Toplumlara oluşturan sistem ve öğelerin uyumsuzluğu toplumun huzurunu bozar. Bir toplumu yüz yüze geldiği engeller karşısında dirençli ve muazfer kılan, o toplumu oluşturan bireyler arasındaki millî dayanışma ve birlik ruhudur. Bu birlik bağı Büyük Önder Atatürk tarafından "Biz millî mevcudiyetimizin temelini, millî birlikte ve millî şuurda görmekteyiz." sözüyle ifade edildiği gibi bir milletin varlığını koruyan ve fertlerini bir arada tutan en güçlü bağıdır.

Kendimizi Değerlendirelim

A. Aşağıdaki soruların cevaplarını defterimize yazalım.

1. Farklı hücre tiplerine hangi örnekleri verirsiniz?
2. Hücrenin canlı olup olmadığını nasıl açıklarsınız?
3. Mikroskopta incelediğimiz hücrenin bitkiye mi, hayvana mı ait olduğunu nasıl anlarsınız?

B. Aşağıdaki paragrafta Elif'in yaşadığı bir olay anlatılmaktadır. Paragrafı okuyalım soruların cevaplarını defterimize yazalım.

Boğazı ağrıyan Elif bir sağlık kuruluşuna gidip muayene olur. Boğaz kültürü alan doktor, Elif'e hastalığı ve tedavisi ile ilgili bilgi verir.

- a) Sızca bu hücre bitki hücresi mi, hayvan hücresi midir? Açıklayalım.
- b) Bu özelliklere göre bu hücre ilkel ya da gelişmiş midir? Neden?
- c) İnsanda bulunan hücreler ile bu hücrenin benzer veya farklı yönleri nelerdir?



Elif'in rahatsızlanmasına sebep olan bakteri



Conclusion and Recommendations

This study was carried out as a follow-up to the Promoting Human Rights in Textbooks studies completed in 2003 and 2009. In a general evaluation of the 2003 study, Gemalmaz made the observation that, “The formation and rooting of a democratic outlook does not seem to be quite possible, or at least very easy, with individuals who have been conditioned by textbooks of the kind examined in this paper” (2004: 47). This observation was made in light of the fact that, according to the authors of the evaluation reports on different textbooks in this study, the textbooks contained serious examples of discrimination and rights violations (Ceylan and Irzik 2004; Çotuksöken, Erzan and Silier, 2003). As a result of a comprehensive reform by the MoNE in 2004, curricula and textbooks were revised, with the textbooks being rewritten in line with a constructivist approach. However, the 2009 Promoting Human Rights in Textbooks II project showed that the fundamental issues continued in these new textbooks. According to Tarhanlı, who wrote a general evaluation of the findings, the textbooks complied neither with “the international principles of the right to education” nor with fundamental human rights standards such as “the universality of rights; equality and the prohibition of discrimination; and participation and inclusion in a development process that ensures the guarantee of rights” (2009: 54). According to the authors that contributed to this study, the militaristic, ethno-centrist and discriminatory content of these textbooks left no room for critical thinking (Tüzün, 2009).

Since 2009, significant transformations have occurred in Turkey. With the implementation of the Peace Process the Kurdish issue is now openly discussed on the political level, and with the policies of the democratic initiative process, the problems and demands for equality of Romanies, Alevis and non-Muslims have started to be heard in the public arena. The effects of this process have also been felt in education. For example, elective lessons for the Kurmanji, Zazaki, Abaza, Adyghé and Laz languages were introduced, and National Security lessons were removed from the curriculum. All of these can be seen as a

sign that steps are finally being taken to address some of Turkey's longstanding problems, while debates on the development of a new civil constitution show that Turkey has begun the process of developing a new social contract and a new understanding of collective identity.

Despite these developments, however, the textbooks for the 2012-13 school year that we analysed in this study still contain, alongside some improvements, the basic mentality that leads to rights violations and discrimination. This mentality is based on a background that, influenced by the 1930s Turkish History Thesis and the Kemalism of the period following the 1980 military coup, still portrays Turkey as a country that is homogenous, monolingual and mono-religious. The central role attributed to education in the creation of a homogenous nation is maintained and the curricula/textbooks that develop this mentality are behind the times in terms of both current politics in Turkey as well as the country's intellectual body of knowledge. If education is a part of the process of raising citizens within the framework of current political developments, with such textbooks it is impossible to make a contribution to Turkey's democratisation or to raise citizens who espouse pluralism and who are aware of local values and history but who also adopt universal values.

A general evaluation of the findings of the study shows that the basic problem lies in the definition of national identity or the concept of "us." When "us/we" is mentioned in the textbooks, it refers to Turks whose origins lie in Central Asia. Rather than defining Turkishness in terms of a bond of citizenship that includes all differences in the country, the textbooks define the concept as ethnically Turkish and denominationally Muslim. Textbooks address students using expressions such as "our religion" or "our language," which refer only to the Islamic religion and Turkish language. In other words, the textbooks assume that all citizens living in Turkey are of Turkish ethnicity and are practising Muslims. Therefore the textbooks either dismiss or ignore anyone who speaks a language other than Turkish or practises a religion other than Islam. This is so much the case that even in textbooks for the elective Kurmanji and Zazaki lessons, there is no mention of Kurds. Furthermore, citizens with a different religion, language or ethnic background are mentioned in the textbooks with statements that present them as a threat. Not only do the textbooks exclude ethnic or religious difference but they also exclude all other differences. Different social classes, women in headscarves, or different gender identities are not found in the textbooks. This situation shows that, as has been repeated throughout the study, the textbooks are far from developing a pluralistic democratic imaginary. The textbooks even show pluralism as chaos and disorder, as seen in this example: "In Turkey, what would happen if people made applications to government agencies written in the spoken dialect of the regions of the Black Sea, the Aegean or Thrace?" (Grade 9 Language and Expression, *Karizma*: 28). Against this perceived chaos, the textbooks are dominated by a mentality that imposes a standard language (Istanbul Turkish), religion and understanding of citizenship. Ultimately the understanding of "us" in the textbooks is extremely narrow, and imposes a standard ethno-cultural identity.

The way in which this ethno-culturalist understanding of Turkishness is relayed in the textbooks is also problematic in many ways. This identity is established in a fundamentally essentialist and anachronistic way, and this creates serious problems in terms of placing this identity within a historical context. Rather than understanding the human experience, the fundamental aim of the textbooks is to prove the superiority of the Turkish identity and culture and as such almost all historical knowledge and experience is presented as the work of the Turkish national culture. According to the textbooks the Turks “were the first to print money, tame horses and use fabric, and printed books centuries before Europe.” As stated by Tanil Bora in the second report, an approach such as this that presents the whole of history with a national anachronism prevents an understanding of the different periods of history and the connections between those periods within their own specific context (Bora, 2009: 75).

Another problem created by the essentialist and anachronistic narrative of national identity is linked to the relationship formed with universal values. As well as a constant focus on national identity in the curricula/textbooks, it is stated that they aim to encourage students to adopt universal values. For example in the teacher’s manuals for Grade 1 Turkish and Grade 5 Social Studies lessons, this situation is stated in the following ways:

- “In an examination of the general aims of the Turkish lessons in the curriculum, it can be seen that these aims are to encourage students to develop a national awareness and to identify with universal values by developing their skills of comprehension and expression.” (Grade 1 Turkish TM, Kartopu: 18)
- “[The lesson] gives importance to the adoption of universal values centred on the national identity.” (Grade 5 Social Studies TM, Pasifik: 10)

However, it is impossible to identify with universal values through the national consciousness that the textbooks attempt to convey. This is because the essentialist and ethno-culturalist mentality that shapes the textbooks damages our relationship with universal values. Essentialism is clearly visible in the way that textbooks present the concepts of democracy, secularism or human rights. Rather than explaining the principles of democracy and secularism, the textbooks are more concerned with claiming that Turks are “fundamentally democratic” and that in ancient Turkic states, “matters of religion and state were separate.” Other than a few positive examples of well-written texts on the subject of rights, the textbooks state that the foundation of human rights “lies with us,” as shown by Muhammad’s Farewell Sermon or Mehmet the Conqueror’s edicts. Therefore the textbooks are in fact written with a central focus only on national identity. Concepts such as democracy and human rights are not presented within their historical context but are instead used as a tool to glorify the ethno-cultural and ethno-religious identity. As a result, with such textbooks it is impossible to achieve the stated aim of “the adoption of universal values

centred on the national identity.” The national identity in textbooks excludes universal experience and the outside world, and is based on an understanding that looks at every concept with an ethno-centrist vision. Rather than adopting universal values, the textbooks attempt to instil essentialist thought in the form of “the essence of everything lies with us.”

The essentialist approach, whose aim at first appears to be the glorification of the national identity, in fact gives messages that have the directly opposite result. On the one hand the textbooks present Turkish as a superior language, the Turks as fundamentally democratic and the Turkish army as the most disciplined army. On the other hand, however, the following portrait is painted of modern Turkey: Turkey has remained behind the West and is a country that needs to be modernised; “our language” faces the threat of corruption; and the country is under threat from domestic and foreign enemies. In line with the essentialist narrative of identity, the textbooks present a “wonderful past” but include nothing positive about today’s Turkey. Modern Turkey is constantly mentioned alongside negative concepts such as threat or corruption. Therefore the textbooks present two extremely problematic points of view and emotions, in which the country has a superior culture but is also for some reason under threat.

The textbook authors agree that Turkey is behind the times (i.e. behind the West). However, the textbooks do not place this premise within a historical context and do not address this situation, instead taking refuge in essentialism, saying that Turkey “[lagged] behind the West, through no fault of its own. However, at one time the West lagged behind the Turks.” (Grade 11 Turkish Literature, MoNE: 23). As mentioned above, in line with the essentialist approach the textbooks state that the essence of concepts such as human rights, democracy and secularism “lies with us.” In doing so the authors in fact constantly assess their own history through the mirror of the West. In other words, the authors think that these universal concepts are the product of the West and devise every text as a response to the West. Ultimately, the textbooks’ nationalist approach that aims to glorify the national identity ironically recreates a mentality that nurtures an inferiority complex in relation to the West.

With the narrative of national identity in the textbooks as it currently stands it is neither possible to develop a positive/honourable sense of citizenship of the Republic of Turkey, nor to create in people a sense of pluralistic identity. Studies show that the ethno-culturalist approach has had an alienating effect on people in Turkey who feel that their language, religion and culture have been excluded. It is therefore necessary to develop a pluralistic sense of “us” based on the bond of citizenship, instead of a nationalism based on an ethno-cultural identity. It is clear that this is not an aim that education can achieve independently of the political developments in the country. However, as stated earlier, the policies within the democratic initiative process and the discussions on the new constitution show that Turkey is searching for a new social contract, and the curriculum and textbooks of the national education system should be included in the focus of debates within this process. The answer to the question

of how we can live together in Turkey with our differences but on equal grounds will be determined by our ability to redefine the collective identity and to reflect this in textbooks.

Redefining the national identity based on a new social contract will be a long and difficult process but it is not impossible. By their very nature, national identities that are based on mythical and imaginary elements redefine themselves according to changing needs. However, recreating the narrative of “us” does not include the claim that history is “a fully political construct’ that can be rewritten to show the exact opposite when desired” (Köksal, 2010; 116). Instead, the redefinition of identity must include a process that places the Turkish identity and nationalism within a historical context. In this process, the ethno-cultural nationalism that was produced in order to meet the needs of forming a society at a particular time should no longer be presented as the official ideology but should be brought down to the level of one of the ideologies in society (Öztürk, 2009: 270).

The antidote to the nationalistic ideology that ignores differences is not, however, a multiculturalist education that highlights these differences. In other words, it will be very difficult to overcome the problems that have been created by this ethno-culturalist mentality simply with a multiculturalist educational philosophy that emphasises differences; many studies show that different practices of multiculturalist education throughout the world develop an imaginary that recognises differences but does not develop a culture in which they can live together (Bauman, 2004). In particular, the narrative on Ottoman tolerance in the existing Social Studies and History textbooks imposes this problematic multiculturalist understanding. Unlike the nationalistic perspective that sees the representation of different identities on a social level as dangerous, this understanding supports the idea that today, just like in Ottoman times, every religion and community of belief should be free (Bulaç: 2012). This multiculturalist approach endorsed by conservative circles in Turkey in no way helps to produce solutions to Turkey’s problems, because this understanding first and foremost divides religious and faith groups and, just like in the Ottoman period, is based on faith communities rather than on individuals. However, this approach that on the surface appears to glorify differences is in fact not based on the principal of equality, but rather on a principle of tolerance in which the dominant religion of Islam shows lenience towards other religious groups. ¹There is therefore a need in Turkey to develop a pedagogy that is critical and intercultural rather than multiculturalist. This pedagogy should on the one hand recognise the demands for equality of different identities, while on the other hand constructing a common democratic foundation shared by these

1 Writing about the “equitable pluralism (*adilane çoğulculuk*)” imposed by Islam, Ali Bulaç, an Islamic intellectual says the following on the topic of the voice given to other groups: “As long as [other religions and faith groups] act peacefully (respect the social contract), they have the right to a voice regarding public administration and the use of resources in line with the level of their population and the contribution they make. This is realistic; this is equal participation and genuine pluralism” (Bulaç, 2012).

different identities. In other words, it should function in a constant tension between the recognition of differences and the emphasis of shared features. The process of living together and constructing a shared future will come about from this tension. Redefining the national identity that will develop a new sense of “us” in the way outlined above is an ambitious aim that must go hand in hand with many other processes. Conferences and workshops need to be held on this issue and academic studies should be carried out and debated from an interdisciplinary perspective. However, during this process an immediate revision of certain aspects of textbooks could, and indeed should, be carried out, because in their current form textbooks contain many rights violations that prevent the realisation of the fundamental right to education as well as other rights.

As such, one of the first changes that need to be made in textbooks is related to the way the country is presented: textbooks should stop presenting Turkey as behind the times and position the country within the contemporary period. Statements that present the country, identity, language, etc. as being constantly under threat, which we see as a result of this feeling of being left behind, should be revised, because in line with this narrative the textbooks immediately seize upon content that glorifies militaristic values in almost every topic. Our findings show that even though the National Security lesson has been removed from the curriculum, this subject’s vision of the world based on the constant perception of domestic and foreign threats lives on in many other lessons from the earliest grade levels. This militaristic content that limits the political sphere and prevents critical thinking must be immediately removed. In this context it was observed that the Reform History and Kemalism lesson openly tries to indoctrinate militaristic values and shows different groups, such as “missionaries,” as threats. It is therefore suggested that this lesson be removed from the curriculum, and the period it covers be incorporated into a History lesson.

One of the fundamental problems in the textbooks is that concepts such as state, democracy, republic, human rights and secularism are not placed within a historical context and are taught in a way that is far removed from their universal definitions. Given the current situation of the textbooks, it may not be realistic to expect them to look at Turkish history from a critical perspective when covering, for example, the concept of democracy. However, it is possible for these concepts to be presented with their universal definitions in a way that would develop students’ understanding of and skills related to democratic citizenship. This is an aim that it is possible to achieve, depending on the competence and sensitivity of both the MoNE officials responsible for preparing the national curriculum and the textbook authors. The textbook for the Citizenship and Democracy lesson that was removed from the curriculum contained various texts and activities that covered such topics in a positive way, proving that this is possible.

Although positive examples of the way gender is covered in the textbooks were found during the research, our findings showed that the basic mentality that endorses the patriarchal regime continues. Examples are found in the

textbooks in which men are portrayed doing housework or where the term *bilim insanı* (person of science) is used in place of *bilim adamı* (man of science). These examples are important both in terms of overturning unequal role distribution and sexist stereotypes. However, we also observed that the textbooks continued to be dominated by the mentality that attributes to women only the role of motherhood, defines men with roles outside the home and women with roles in the home, and that even supports the idea that changes in gender roles could lead both to individual unhappiness and social disorder. The positive examples encountered on the subject of gender once again show that such a change in the mentality of the textbooks is possible. When we consider the existing social norms in Turkey it is clear that it will take a long time for the gender regime to change. However, removing from textbooks the examples that perpetuate sexism and increasing the number of positive examples will provide educators with space in which they are able to cover the issue with regard to human rights and equality.

Some of the articles of the Analysis Criteria under the section on “Educational Philosophy / Development of a Critical Outlook” overlap with the issues in the other chapters. Essentialist statements and the level of problems such as normative statements being presented as scientific statements observed in this category were mentioned both in the discussion of the presentation of national identity and on the chapter on gender. The fact that almost every subject in the textbooks features essentialist statements or statements that present values as though they were scientific truths, conflicts with the constructivist approach upon which it is claimed that the curriculum is based. The MoNE presents constructivism as an approach that will make students active participants in the process of constructing information and present them with different perspectives. However, rather than mentioning different perspectives, every topic in the textbooks is based on content that presents only a single perspective. The textbooks do include activities that try to actively involve students, but it is clear that activities that, for example, ask students to imagine what they would have done if they had been on the front during the War of Independence serve the purpose of presenting the old militaristic content under the guise of constructivism, rather than providing students with different perspectives. This situation shows that the desired learning outcomes set out in the curricula, such as “critical thinking, creative thinking, problem solving and research” remain on paper only, as the old style of education continues in the textbooks with content posing as constructivism. Therefore the curricula and textbooks must be reviewed, bearing in mind the declared educational philosophy of the MoNE. Finally, while the problems of the quality and relevance of images have decreased compared to previous years, it is important to state that they still continue. This shows how far we are from the aim of developing textbooks of quality, whether in terms of texts or images, and that are sensitive to human rights.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1 CRITERIA FOR QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

APPENDIX 2 REPORT FORM

APPENDIX 3 RESEARCH TEAM

APPENDIX 4 ADVISORY TEACHERS

APPENDIX 5 LIST OF TEXTBOOKS EXAMINED

APPENDIX 1: CRITERIA FOR QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Passages that you find in a textbook may often violate multiple one criteria. In such cases, mark all criteria that are violated in the “problems” box in the analysis form.

While analysing the textbooks please take into account the main headings given below.

INSTANCES OF DIRECT VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS; MISREPRESENTING, DELIBERATELY DISTORTING OR IGNORING FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS CONCEPTS

- 1. Expressions and statements that contradict the principles enshrined in international human rights documents to which Turkey is legally bound.**¹ A list of the human rights protected by international conventions, classified for the purposes of this study, is provided in the Addendum.
- 2. Expressions or statements that contain, incite or give rise to explicit or implicit discrimination, prejudice or generalisations based on discrimination as defined in the main international human rights documents (race and ethnic origin, colour, religion and belief, language, nationality, political opinion, social class, gender, sexuality and gender identity, marital status, disability, health, age, property, etc.); expressions or statements that may incite hostile feelings towards other peoples and groups. Statements that contain or encourage intolerance towards the preferences of individuals or groups that are considered different from the “norm” (and whose aims do not contravene the principles of human rights or threaten the rights of others). Statements that insult groups or opinions that are different from the “norm” simply because they are different, and statements that may give rise to feelings of hostility towards these groups and opinions. Offensive statements related to different beliefs, cultures, customs or traditions.**
- 3. Statements that ignore or make invisible that which is different.** The fact that not a single non-Muslim character is named in the textbooks, that “Ali never throws the ball to Agop,”² that almost the only place in textbooks that the word Circassian is mentioned is related to “the betrayal of Circassian Ethem,”

1 United Nations texts: Universal Declaration of Human Rights, International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, Convention on the Rights of the Child, Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women, Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities.

2 Observation made by Hrant Dink.

that the only place where the word Kurdish appears is in relation to “harmful societies,” that religious studies textbooks do not mention Alevism or other Anatolian beliefs, that in many situations “the woman has no name,” that only one example of a “working-class family” is found, etc.

4. **Violation of the right to peace (by glorifying death and emphasising the inevitability of war). The glorification and acceptance of violence, for any means. Reducing patriotism to criteria such as “dying for your country” and “martyrdom.” Imposing a fixed and absolute interpretation of patriotism.**

Covering the responsibilities and awareness of citizenship not in a peaceful context but in a context of conflict that emphasises the perception of domestic and foreign threats; holding in contempt or ignoring actions such as peaceful participation.

5. **Accepting violence as normal on the level of society, family and personal relationships. Failing to define the child as a holder of rights; defining citizens’ rights as though they apply only to adults.**
6. **Supporting an approach that only recognises an individual’s rights within the context, topic and framework granted by the state authority. Presenting rights as a *favour to be granted*, as something given/presented by the grace of an authority.**

“Individuals should be content with (or even grateful for) what is given, and they should obey the boundaries of the playing field...!”

7. **Emphasising duties and responsibilities rather than rights and freedoms. Defining the concept of citizenship within the context of duties and responsibilities rather than of rights and freedoms.**
8. **The presentation of human rights not as an issue of ethics and principles but as obligations that must be fulfilled (for pragmatic reasons such as “tourism,” “reputation” or “EU membership”).**
9. **Explicit or implicit statements that normalise or justify the limitation of a person’s fundamental rights and freedoms as a citizen.**
10. **Ignoring the fact that human rights are constantly developing and expanding; presenting human rights without historical context.**

NB: The following two problems should also be reported regarding every human rights issue as it arises:

- A. **Not clearly identifying the subject who will exercise the rights and freedoms in question.**

“From a legal point of view the word ‘human’ in the phrase ‘human rights’ includes not only ‘natural persons’ but also ‘legal persons.’ In other words, this term refers to ‘institutions’ and ‘units’ (such as associations, trade unions) in which persons associate with others for various purposes. Furthermore the term ‘human’ does not refer only to atomistic individuals. The term ‘human rights’ applies to ‘individual persons,’ to ‘groups,’ and finally to ‘peoples.’ Consequently, these three basic entities are the holders of human rights.”

“These rights secure the freedoms of individuals, groups and institutions against the authority, generally the state. At times this is intentionally ignored and we witness concepts such as ‘the rights of the state’ being spoken of.”³

B. Presenting all human rights as “rights that can be limited under certain circumstances.”

GLOBAL VS LOCAL, US VS THEM; VALUES RELATED TO THE FURTHERANCE AND MAINTENANCE OF PEACE

“Another faulty view that is frequently espoused in textbooks is that all rights are subject to restriction. In fact, there are rights that under no condition can be restricted. There are even rights that cannot be limited or derogated in any manner whatsoever not only under normal or ordinary regimes, but also under exceptional regimes (the extreme example of the latter being the state of war). To give a concrete example, the right not to be subjected to torture and the right not to be subjected to slavery and servitude are rights or freedoms that can never be limited or derogated.”⁴

*Particularly in social sciences textbooks, we see an educational approach whose main characteristic is that of a strong ‘nationalism’, revealed as much by what is left out of texts as by what is included. When understood as the love of an individual for his/her country and for the people alongside whom he/she lives in that country, nationalism can be seen as a natural and appropriate phenomenon that is worthy of respect. However, the nationalism reflected in textbooks is something altogether different from this. **Firstly**, the context of the topics covered are almost always limited to national geography, national history and national culture, and this prevents students from developing a curiosity for other geographies, histories and cultures. Furthermore, fixed, entirely **essentialist** statements about national history, geography and culture bring about limitations on mentality that do not leave room for different interpretations and critical observations of these. This therefore limits the development of the curiosity and critical thinking skills that should form the basis of a modern approach to education. **Secondly**, the nationalism reflected in textbooks imposes criteria regarding **how and to what extent** patriotism should be demonstrated. Furthermore, these criteria are presented **not as normative but as positive** statements.⁵ **Different forms of patriotism and the idea that there can be personal priorities other than patriotism** are therefore excluded.*

***Thirdly**, the emphasis in textbooks on nationalism constantly presents the society and membership of that society as more important than belonging to the ‘human family.’ The way that it is discussed in the textbooks, freedom appears not as the*

3 See Gemalmaz, 2004.

4 See Gemalmaz, 2004.

5 **NORMATIVE** statements: (political, religious, emotional, ideological, political, etc.) opinions, wishes, requests, advice or beliefs related to how behaviours and characteristics should be.

POSITIVIST statements: objective statements implying that things that have/that we believe to have an objective truth outside ourselves can be proved/disproved by observation/experimentation.

freedom of the individual but only as that of the country; responsibility appears not as the moral responsibilities of the individual but as his/her responsibilities towards the country. Therefore, rather than educating individuals who define moral responsibility according to a process of critical thinking and who act accordingly, the aim of education is instead reduced to educating uniform members of society who act according to the social norms imposed upon them, and who apply without question those things that they learnt without question.

- 11. The definition and presentation of citizenship, patriotism/nationalism and national values from an ethnically Turkish and denominationally Muslim perspective rather than a universal/general viewpoint.**
- 12. Defining national identity through exclusion, and perceived threats and enemies.⁶ Xenophobia.** Inciting hostility towards foreigners and the presentation of Turkey as a country that is surrounded by enemies and constantly under threat, through the distinction of “us and them.”
- 13. Attributing some values only to “us.”** Statements that create the impression that positive attributes “belong only to us” and therefore encourage contempt for others. Discouraging interest in or empathy with the “other” that lies beyond what is considered “national;” presenting an isolationist worldview as patriotism.
- 14. Presenting diversity/difference not as an asset but as a problem.** Considering cultural diversity both in Turkey and in the world as problematic; excluding, ignoring or perceiving as a threat that which is different or a minority.
- 15. Promoting “religious-national-local” interests to the detriment of values such as “universality and membership in the human family.”**
- 16. Violation of the principle of respect for the common cultural heritage of mankind. Positing the existence of “superior cultures” and “superior religions.”**
Positing a “superior culture” and presenting opposites as unchanging, essential characteristics: “ignorant-learned,” “cultured-unrefined,” “civilised-barbarian.”
- 17. Maintaining the “implicit hierarchy” contained within the term “tolerance” rather than promoting the culture of living together as equals along with our differences.**

dEmOCrACY AND sECUIArIsm

- 18. Presenting differences of opinion as something negative and unwanted, and “unity and solidarity” as that which is most desirable. Putting society before the individual, and approaches that aim to make students adopt such an attitude.**
- 19. Putting religious/traditional authority, faith and tradition before critical reasoning and the free will of citizens.**
- 20. Glorifying the authority of the state; attributing a metaphysical significance to the state.**
- 21. Misleading/incomplete/inadequate definitions of notions such as participation, civil society, democracy, free will of citizens and rule of law (for example reducing**

6 See. F. Üstel, 2004.

the concept of Civil Society Organisations to charity organisations, religious societies, etc.).

22. The presentation of social institutions, notions and values (state, nation, democracy, human rights, freedom, rights, law, morality, justice, etc.) as absolute, unchanging, eternal, sacred and unquestionable.

23. Presenting rights and freedoms as opposite to security and stability.

What is given priority: concerns of threat, conflict and security or values of peace and conciliation? Is there a perception of “citizens who can, knowingly or unknowingly, be deceived?” Is there a fundamentally authoritarian approach that is based on the discourse of constant threat; that puts forward the idea that the freedoms awarded to individuals and society will divide the country and weaken the state; that glorifies the state and statism despite the damage caused to individuals and society; that disregards all principles for short term benefits and gains; and that links politics to the notions of revenge, blood and honour?

24. The use of the word “culture” to imply religious culture. The creation of an impression that people’s cultural aspects are always and only formed by religion.

25. Stating articles of faith as scientific statements.

SEXISM

26. Unquestioning acceptance of the unequal distribution of social roles.

Has care been taken to show women in social roles outside of the home rather than simply showing them in traditional roles? Are women also shown as taking part in decision-making mechanisms or in leadership roles? Do they hold positions of authority? Are they only shown as fulfilling the role of protector-carer? etc.

27. Patriarchal understanding of family; male-dominated depiction of the family.

In the content or examples provided, are male and female characters represented/depicted in a way that treats them both equally and with respect? Are the roles of mother and father determined in a balanced way regarding gender? etc.

28. The use of sexist language (“*adam gibi*” – meaning properly, correctly; lit. “like a man”). Identifying women with the language of compassion and men with the language of authority. Sexist approaches regarding clothing, games and activities (e.g. seeing playing “house” as a girl’s game and acting as soldiers, doctors, etc. or playing sports as boys’ activities, etc.).

29. The justification of sexism on biological/physiological grounds.

30. The identification of masculinity with the army, militarism and martyrdom, thus glorifying masculinity to the detriment of femininity.

31. Encouraging marriage. In particular, failing to define women independently of their role within the family. Promoting heterosexual relationships.

32. Hiding information related to sexuality and the reproductive process (pregnancy, birth, etc.). The regulation of women’s bodies.

EdUCAtIONAl phIloSOphY / thE dEvEIOPmEnt Of A CRITICAl OUTLOOK

NB: Violations related to the criteria in this section are, as a rule, generally found together with one or more issues covered by other criteria. In situations where you report on criteria in this section, examine the passage according to other criteria in order to explain or clarify the problem, and report these criteria on the report form. Otherwise it will not be possible to ensure consistency and reliability in the reports.

33. Essentialist statements:

ESSENTIALISM: the belief that there are innate characteristics that are considered “part of our nature,” eternal and immutable, and unaffected by external factors. This approach contains various problems in terms of human rights and democracy; it nurtures and is nurtured by clichés and prejudices, ignores the changes that can occur thanks to the participation and interaction of free citizens, or considers them to be elements that “have been corrupted, lost their identity or deviated from their essence.”

e.g. metaphors, similes, metonyms or other figures of speech implying that a certain nation is, in essence, heroic or cowardly or that women are only mothers, etc.

34. Presenting normative statements as though they were positivist statements; confusing facts/information with interpretations/opinions/wishes; presenting “interpretations/opinions/wishes” as “facts/information”; using *pseudo-objective* forms of expression. Prioritising praise/denunciation rather than information/analysis.

NORMATIVE statements: (political, religious, emotional, ideological, political, etc.) opinions, wishes, requests, advice or beliefs related to how behaviours and characteristics should be.

INFORMATIVE statements, POSITIVIST statements: objective statements implying that things that have/that we believe to have an objective truth outside ourselves can be proved/disproved by observation/experimentation.

In general, normative statements are also essentialist statements, aiming to instil a specific way of behaviour and thought. Aiming to teach students to adopt certain ways of behaviour is very natural, and indeed it is one of the basic functions of the education process. The challenge is for this function to be carried out without our aims and wishes becoming confused with objective truths, and for these behaviours to be taught to students alongside the correct thinking and argumentation skills. Messages about complex social issues that are conveyed using medical metaphors such as health-disease-microbe are a way of presenting normative statements as though they were heuristic truths.

35. Making claims with reference to some unquestionable authority rather than based on methods of scientific reasoning and proof. Statements that present information, interpretations and judgements as absolute truths; that do not accept the existence of any other information, interpretation or judgement.

Are truths, ethical statements and comparisons presented not as elements deduced by reasoning but as ideas that should be adopted because a certain Great Authority (Science, National Interest, Kemalism, Modernism, History, etc.) requires it;

in other words, as a dogma?" When providing a basis or justification for statements, are references made to an external authority ("science," "the modern world," "our leaders," "Atatürk," "the state," "the nation," "our religion")? Is priority given to justification based on reasoning/proof/factual data or on the unquestionable authority of a great power? Have the positive sciences been exploited to this end? Is there an attempt to remove critical thinking from the equation, for example with the frequent use of the simple present tense?

36. Embellishments or symbols of membership/obedience/allegiance that are of no relevance to the lesson/topic.

37. Meaningless statements; tautologies; contradictory expressions; incorrect definitions, information and statements; misleading examples; inconsistent or irrelevant connections; irrelevant visual material. Questions and tests that rely on rote learning. Factual mistakes; outdated information; inappropriate choice of topic. Failure to establish relations of causality.

38. Failure to respect intellectual property rights (biography, image credits, etc.).

Addendum

International Human Rights Texts

(The headings for these articles were formulated by Prof. Turhut Tarhanlı and Asst. Prof. İdil Işıl Gül)

Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR)

Article 1 : Equality in dignity and rights

Article 2 : Entitlement to rights without distinction

Article 3 : The right to life and liberty

Article 4 : The prohibition of slavery

Article 5 : The prohibition of torture and cruel treatment

Article 6 : The right to recognition as a person

Article 7 : Equality before the law

Article 8 : The right to apply for an effective legal remedy

Article 9 : The prohibition of arbitrary arrest or detention

Article 10: The right to a fair trial

Article 11: Presumption of innocence and the principle of no punishment without law

Article 12: The right to privacy Article

13: Freedom of movement Article 14:

The right to seek asylum Article 15:

The right to a nationality

Article 16: The right to marriage and protection of the family

Article 17: The right to own property

Article 18: Freedom of opinion, consciousness and religion.

Article 19: Freedom of expression

Article 20: Freedom of peaceful assembly and association

Article 21: The right to participate in government Article 22:

The right to social security

Article 23: The right to work, to equal and just remuneration, and to form and join trade unions

Article 24: The right to rest and leisure

Article 25: The right to an adequate standard of living and social protection

Article 26: The right to education

Article 27: The right to participate in cultural life

Article 28: Social and international order Article 29:

Limits on the limitation of rights

Article 30: The prohibition of misusing these rights

International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)

Article 1: The right for all peoples of self-determination

Article 2: Application of the covenant in domestic law and the prohibition of discrimination

Article 3: Equal rights of men and women Article 4:

Limits on the limitation of rights Article 5: The

prohibition of misusing these rights Article 6: The right to work

Article 7: The right to just and favourable conditions of work

Article 8: Syndical rights

Article 9: The right to social security

Article 10: The right to protection of the family, mothers, children and young persons

Article 11: The right to the highest attainable standard of living

Article 12: The right to the highest attainable standard of health

Article 13: The right to education

Article 14: The obligation to provide compulsory primary education

Article 15: The right to participate in cultural life

International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)

Article 1 : The right for all peoples of self-determination

Article 2 : Application of the covenant in domestic law and the prohibition of discrimination

Article 3 : Equal rights of men and women

Article 4 : Suspension of obligations in times of emergency

Article 5 : The prohibition of misusing these rights

Article 6 : The right to life

Article 7 : The prohibition of torture and cruel treatment

Article 8 : The prohibition of slavery

Article 9 : The right to liberty and security of person

Article 10: The rights of those deprived of their liberty

Article 11: Prohibition of imprisonment for debt Article 12:

Freedom of movement

Article 13: Guarantees against the expulsion of aliens

Article 14: The right to a fair trial

Article 15: Principle of no punishment without law

Article 16: The right to recognition as a person Article

17: The right to privacy

Article 18: Freedom of opinion, consciousness and religion.

Article 19: Freedom of expression

Article 20: Prohibition of propaganda for war and the advocacy of hostility

Article 21: Freedom of peaceful assembly

Article 22: Freedom of association

Article 23: Protection of the family

Article 24: Rights of the child

Article 25: Political rights

Article 26: Equality before the law

Article 27: Protection of minorities

International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD)

Article 5: Everyone should be able to enjoy the following rights without distinction as to race, colour, national or ethnic origin:

1. The right to equal treatment before the tribunals and all other organs administering justice
2. The right to security of person
3. Political rights
4. The right to freedom of movement and residence
5. The right to leave any country, including one's own, and to return to one's country
6. The right to nationality
7. The right to marriage and choice of spouse
8. The right to own property alone as well as in association with others
9. The right to inherit
10. The right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion
11. The right to freedom of opinion and expression
12. The right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association
13. The rights to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work, to protection against unemployment, to equal pay for equal work, to just and favourable remuneration
14. The right to form and join trade unions
15. The right to housing
16. The right to public health, medical care, social security and social services
17. The right to education and training
18. The right to equal participation in cultural activities
19. The right of access to any place or service intended for use by the general public, such as transport hotels, restaurants, cafes, theatres and parks

Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC)

Article 2 : Prohibition of discrimination

Article 3 : Obligation of States Parties to provide care and protection

Article 4 : Application of the necessary measures for the implementation of rights

Article 5 : Respect for the responsibilities, rights and duties of parents to provide, in a manner consistent with the evolving capacities of the child, appropriate direction and guidance

- Article 6 : The right to life
- Article 7 : The right to a name, a nationality and, as far as possible, the right to know and be cared for by his or her parents
- Article 8 : The right of the child to preserve his or her identity
- Article 9 : Assurance that a child shall not be separated from his or her parents against their will
- Article 10: The right to enter or leave a country for the purpose of family reunification
- Article 11: Combatting the illicit transfer and non-return of children abroad
- Article 12: The right to express views freely
- Article 13: The right to freedom of expression, including the right to access information
- Article 14: Respect for the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion
- Article 15: The right to freedom of association and of peaceful assembly Article 16: Prohibition of interference with his or her privacy, family, or correspondence
- Article 17: Access to information and material from national and international sources
- Article 18: Common responsibilities of both parents for the upbringing and development of the child
- Article 19: States Parties shall take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse
- Article 20: A child deprived of his or her family environment has the right to special protection and assistance provided by the State.
- Article 21: Adoption system
- Article 22: The rights of children seeking refugee status Article 23: The rights of mentally or physically disabled children Article 24: The right to health
- Article 25: The right of a child who has been placed in care to a periodic review of the conditions of care
- Article 26: The right to social security
- Article 27: The right to an adequate standard of living
- Article 28: The right to education
- Article 29: Principles of the child's education
- Article 30: The rights of children belonging to a minority
- Article 31: The right of the child to rest and leisure, to engage in play and recreational activities appropriate to the age of the child and to participate freely in cultural life and the arts.
- Article 32: The right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing dangerous or harmful work
- Article 33: Protection from the illicit use of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances

- Article 34: Protection from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse
- Article 35: Prevention of the abduction of, sale of or traffic in children
- Article 36: Protection from all forms of exploitation
- Article 37: Prohibition of torture or other cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment
- Article 38: Respect of rules of international humanitarian law
- Article 39: Promotion of the physical and psychological recovery of a child victim of the forms of mistreatment listed in the previous articles
- Article 40: Rights related to legal trials

Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)

- Article 1 : Definition of discrimination against women
- Article 2 : Policy to be established by States for eliminating discrimination against women
- Article 3 : Protection of fundamental rights and freedoms
- Article 4 : Special measures and temporary special measures
- Article 5 : Elimination of discriminatory prejudices, traditions and practices
- Article 6 : Suppression of all forms of traffic in women and exploitation of prostitution of women
- Article 7 : Participation in political and public life
- Article 8 : Equality of representation
- Article 9 : Equal rights regarding acquiring, changing or retaining nationality
- Article 10: Prohibition of discrimination in education
- Article 11: Prohibition of discrimination in employment
- Article 12: The right to health and the prohibition of discrimination
- Article 13: Prohibition of discrimination in economic and social life
- Article 14: The rights of rural women
- Article 15: Legal protection and equality before the law
- Article 16: Marriage and family life

Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD)

Everyone should be able to enjoy the following rights without distinction related to disability:

- Article 10: The right to life
- Article 12: Equal recognition as persons before the law
- Article 13: The right to access to justice
- Article 14: The right to liberty and security of person
- Article 15: The right to freedom from torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment
- Article 16: The right to freedom from exploitation, violence and abuse
- Article 17: Protecting the integrity of the person
- Article 18: The right to liberty of movement and nationality

Article 19: The right to live independently and be included in the community Article 20: Facilitation of access to quality mobility aids and provision of training in mobility skills

Article 21: Freedom of expression and opinion, and access to information

Article 22: Respect for privacy

Article 23: Respect for home and the family

Article 24: The right to education

Article 25: The right to health

Article 26: Habilitation and rehabilitation

Article 27: Work and employment

Article 28: Adequate standard of living and social protection

Article 29: Participation in political and public life

Article 30: Participation in cultural life, recreation, leisure and sport

Categorisation of the rights in international human rights texts

1.1. Rights related to a person's physical and psychological integrity:

In international agreements, **the right to life** is equivalent to the right not to be killed or the prohibition of killing. Raising the quality of living, improving living standards, etc. are not included in the scope of the right to life. Executions without trial, disappearances, etc. are clear violations of the right to life. (IDHR Article 3; MSHS Article 6; Article 6; CRC Article 10)

The right to recognition as a person states that the law must recognise persons as individuals with rights and freedoms (UDHR Article 5; ICCPR Article 16; CRPD Article 12). **The right to freedom from torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment** is understood in a broad way that includes all kinds of punishment and treatment that cause both physical and psychological pain and also covers discipline and punishment carried out in schools. (UDHR Articles 4, 5, 6; ICCPR Articles 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 16; ICERD Article 5.2, CRC Articles 8, 19, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38; CEDAW Articles 5, 6; CRPD Articles 15, 16, 17)

The right to freedom and security aims to ensure that nobody can be arbitrarily divested of his/her freedom (through detention, arrest, imprisonment, involuntary commitment in a psychiatric institution, etc.) and to protect the person's physical and psychological integrity. (UDHR Article 3; ICCPR Articles 9, 11, 15; ICERD Articles 2; EHS Articles 12, 14, 19)

Freedom of travel can also be linked to the right to physical integrity. (IDHR Article 13; ICCPR Article 12; ICERD Article 5.4; CRPD Article 18)

The freedom of conscience and religion is a person's right to express and practice his/her religion or belief: Everyone has the right to express a belief or religion through worship, practices, education or ceremonies either alone or with others, in private or in public, as well as the right to change his/her religion or to have no religious belief. **Freedom of thought and expression** is the right of everybody to hold, with no interference of any kind thoughts and opinions, and to express these thoughts and opinions. **Press freedom** or **freedom of communication** is an extension of freedom of expression and a specific application of this freedom. (UDHR Articles 18, 19; ICCPR Articles 18, 19, 20; ICERD Articles 5.9, 5.10; CRC Articles 12, 12,13,14; CRPD Article 21)

The right to freedom of assembly and association is closely linked to intellectual freedoms: Everyone has the right to assemble in order to express his/her opinion without prior permission and also to be involved in associations such as societies, unions, political parties, foundations and similar organisations. (UDHR Article 23; ICCPR Article 21; ICERD Article 11; CRC Article 15)

Finally, the **right to privacy**, the **right to a private family life**, the **inviolability of the domicile** and the **inviolability of communication** can be included within this group. (UDHR Article 12; ICCPR Article 17; CRC Article 16; CRPD Articles 22, 23)

1.2. Rights related to the protection of rights:

The main condition for the protection of rights is the existence of and access to legal remedies. This includes the **right to a fair trial**, in other words for everybody to be tried in an independent and unbiased court that is open to the public, and **witness rights** that serve as a guarantee to this former right. **The prohibition of the limiting or abuse of rights** can also be included in this category. (UDHR Articles 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 29, 30; ESKHS Articles 2, 4, 5; ICCPR Articles 2, 4, 5, 14, 15, 26; ICERD Article 5.1; CRC Articles 2, 3, 4, 5, 40; CEDAW Article 15; CRPD Article 13)

1.3. Cultural, social and economic rights:

The main rights in this category are **cultural rights**, **scientific and artistic rights**, **the right to work**, **the right to just and favourable working conditions**, **trade union rights**, **the right to social security and insurance**, **the right to protection of the family, mother, child and young people**, **the right to favourable living conditions**, **the right to access to health services**, **the right to a healthy environment and the right to education**. **The right to property** can also be included in this category. (UDHR Articles 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 17; ICESCR Articles 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15; ICCPR Articles 23, 24; ICERD Articles 5.3, 5.7, 5.8, 5.12, 5.13, 5.14, 5.15, 5.16, 5.17, 5.18; CRC Articles 9, 10, 11, 20, 21, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31; CEDAW Articles 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16; CRPD Articles 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30)

1.4. Civic and political rights:

The most important of these are **the right to elect and be elected** in a secret ballot at free elections held at regular intervals. Essentially, these rights are the rights not of everybody but of citizens. **The right to citizenship** can also be considered within the context of political rights. **The right to marriage and choice of spouse** is included within civic rights. (UDHR Articles 15, 16, 21; ICCPR Article 25; ICERD Articles 5.5, 5.6; CEDAW Articles 7, 8, 16; CRPD Article 29)

1.5. Group rights:

Minority rights (in fact these are essentially the individual rights of people belonging to minority groups), **the rights of indigenous peoples** and in general **the rights of peoples** (e.g. the right to self-determination, the right to development) are included in this category. (ICESCR Article 1; ICCPR Article 1, 27; CRC Article 30)

1.6. *Statements/elements that encourage the violation of these and other rights and freedoms.*

APPENDIX 2 (QUALITATIVE RESEARCH) REPORT FORM

TEXTBOOK DETAILS:	TITLE, GRADE LEVEL: PUBLISHER:				
RESEARCHER:	NAME, SURNAME:				
PROBLEM:	Human Rights	Local vs. Global Us vs. Them	Democracy Secularism	Gender	Educational Philosophy
EXPLANATION:					

TEXTBOOK DETAILS:	TITLE, GRADE LEVEL: PUBLISHER:				
RESEARCHER:	NAME, SURNAME:				
GOOD EXAMPLE:	Human Rights	Local vs. Global Us vs. Them	Democracy Secularism	Gender	Educational Philosophy
EXPLANATION:					

APPENDIX 3 RESEARCH TEAM

Bade ayır Būřra

Boęazlıyan

Cansu Gūrkan

Diner řirin

Ece İyibilek

Efe Baysal

Elif Avcı Elif

Saęır Ezgi

Dileki

Fatma Demir

Fidan Eroęlu

Firdevs Nihal akır

Gonca Ařık

Gūl Kūbra Sabancı

İlkem Kayıcan

Muazzez Pervan

Rabia řeniz Erdoęan

Somer Gūlgūn Tuęe

Karagōz

APPENDIX 4 ADVISORY TEACHERS

Ani Paylan

Ayhan Yeşiltaş

Ayzin Çelik

Didem Atayurt

Fettah Şen

Kahraman Durmuş

Leyla Karagül

Meryem Aydın

Meryem Ok

Mine Koçak Yalaz

Nihan Şehsuvaroğlu

Polat Yetim

Rejina Panos Taş

Serhat Akdeniz

Yeşim Er

APPENDIX 5 LIST OF TEXTBOOKS EXAMINED

Grade Level	Subject	Textbook	MoNE	Private 1	Private 2
1	Turkish	Teacher's Manual	MoNE	Kartopu	Özgün
1	Turkish	I am Learning to Read and Write	MoNE	Kartopu	Özgün
1	Turkish	Textbook and Student Workbook	MoNE	Kartopu	Özgün
1	Elementary Civics	Teacher's Manual	MoNE	Anittepe	
1	Elementary Civics	Textbook and Student Workbook 1	MoNE	Anittepe	
1	Elementary Civics	Textbook and Student Workbook 2	MoNE	Anittepe	
1	Mathematics	Teacher's Manual	MoNE		
1	Mathematics	Textbook and Student Workbook 1	MoNE		
1	Mathematics	Textbook and Student Workbook 2	MoNE		
1	Music	Student Workbook	MoNE		
2	Turkish	Teacher's Manual	MoNE	Yıldırım	Özne
2	Turkish	Textbook and Student Workbook 1	MoNE	Yıldırım	Özne
2	Turkish	Textbook and Student Workbook 2	MoNE	Yıldırım	Özne
2	Elementary Civics	Teacher's Manual	MoNE	Ada	
2	Elementary Civics	Textbook and Student Workbook 1	MoNE	Ada	
2	Elementary Civics	Textbook and Student Workbook 2	MoNE	Ada	
2	Mathematics	Teacher's Manual	MoNE		
2	Mathematics	Textbook and Student Workbook 1	MoNE		
2	Mathematics	Textbook and Student Workbook 2	MoNE		
2	Music	Student Workbook	MoNE		
3	Turkish	Teacher's Manual	MoNE	Dörtel	
3	Turkish	Textbook and Student Workbook 1	MoNE	Dörtel	
3	Turkish	Textbook and Student Workbook 2	MoNE	Dörtel	
3	Elementary Civics	Teacher's Manual	MoNE	Evrensel	
3	Elementary Civics	Textbook and Student Workbook 1	MoNE	Evrensel	
3	Elementary Civics	Textbook and Student Workbook 2	MoNE	Evrensel	
3	Mathematics	Teacher's Manual	MoNE		
3	Mathematics	Textbook and Student Workbook 1	MoNE		
3	Mathematics	Textbook and Student Workbook 2	MoNE		
3	Music	Student Workbook	MoNE		
4	Turkish	Teacher's Manual	MoNE	Bilim Kültür	
4	Turkish	Textbook	MoNE	Bilim Kültür	

4	Turkish	Student Workbook	MoNE	Bilim Kültür
4	Social Studies	Teacher's Manual	MoNE	Tuna
4	Social Studies	Textbook and Student Workbook 1	MoNE	Tuna
4	Social Studies	Textbook and Student Workbook 2	MoNE	Tuna
4	Religious Culture and Morals	Teacher's Manual	MoNE	Gizem
4	Religious Culture and Morals	Textbook	MoNE	Gizem
4	English	Teacher's Manual	MoNE	
4	English	Textbook and Student Workbook 1	MoNE	
4	English	Textbook and Student Workbook 2	MoNE	
4	Arabic	Textbook	MoNE	
4	Arabic	Student Workbook	MoNE	
4	Mathematics	Teacher's Manual	MoNE	
4	Mathematics	Textbook and Student Workbook 1	MoNE	
4	Mathematics	Textbook and Student Workbook 2	MoNE	
4	Science and Technology	Teacher's Manual	MoNE	
4	Science and Technology	Textbook and Student Workbook 1	MoNE	
4	Science and Technology	Textbook and Student Workbook 2	MoNE	
4	Music	Student Workbook	MoNE	
5	Turkish	Teacher's Manual	MoNE	Ada
5	Turkish	Textbook	MoNE	Ada
5	Turkish	Student Workbook	MoNE	Ada
5	Social Studies	Teacher's Manual	MoNE	Pasifik
5	Social Studies	Textbook and Student Workbook 1	MoNE	Pasifik
5	Social Studies	Textbook and Student Workbook 2	MoNE	Pasifik
5	Religious Culture and Morals	Teacher's Manual	MoNE	Doku İlike
5	Religious Culture and Morals	Textbook	MoNE	Doku İlike
5	Basic Religious Knowledge	Textbook	MoNE	
5	English	Teacher's Manual	MoNE	
5	English	Textbook and Student Workbook 1	MoNE	
5	English	Textbook and Student Workbook 2	MoNE	
5	Living Languages and Dialects: Kurmanji	Textbook	MoNE	
5	Living Languages and Dialects: Zazaki	Textbook	MoNE	
5	Mathematics	Teacher's Manual	MoNE	

5	Mathematics	Textbook and Student Workbook 1	MoNE		
5	Mathematics	Textbook and Student Workbook 2	MoNE		
5	Science and Technology	Teacher's Manual	MoNE		
5	Science and Technology	Textbook and Student Workbook 1	MoNE		
5	Science and Technology	Textbook and Student Workbook 2	MoNE		
5	Music	Student Workbook	MoNE		
6	Turkish	Teacher's Manual	MoNE	Doku	
6	Turkish	Textbook	MoNE	Doku	
6	Turkish	Student Workbook	MoNE	Doku	
6	Social Studies	Teacher's Manual	MoNE	Altın	
6	Social Studies	Textbook	MoNE	Altın	
6	Social Studies	Student Workbook	MoNE	Altın	
6	Religious Culture and Morals	Teacher's Manual	MoNE	Yıldırım	
6	Religious Culture and Morals	Textbook	MoNE	Yıldırım	
6	English	Teacher's Manual	MoNE		
6	English	Textbook	MoNE		
6	English	Student Workbook	MoNE		
6	Mathematics	Teacher's Manual	MoNE		
6	Mathematics	Textbook	MoNE		
6	Mathematics	Student Workbook	MoNE		
6	Science and Technology	Teacher's Manual	MoNE		
6	Science and Technology	Textbook	MoNE		
6	Science and Technology	Student Workbook	MoNE		
6	Music	Student Workbook	MoNE		
7	Turkish	Teacher's Manual	MoNE	Koza	Gizem
7	Turkish	Textbook	MoNE	Koza	Gizem
7	Turkish	Student Workbook	MoNE	Koza	Gizem
7	Social Studies	Teacher's Manual	MoNE	Anittepe	
7	Social Studies	Textbook	MoNE	Anittepe	
7	Social Studies	Student Workbook	MoNE	Anittepe	
7	Religious Culture and Morals	Teacher's Manual	MoNE	Netbil	
7	Religious Culture and Morals	Textbook	MoNE	Netbil	
7	English	Teacher's Manual	MoNE		
7	English	Textbook	MoNE		
7	English	Student Workbook	MoNE		
7	Mathematics	Teacher's Manual	MoNE		

7	Mathematics	Textbook	MoNE		
7	Mathematics	Student Workbook	MoNE		
7	Science and Technology	Teacher's Manual	MoNE		
7	Science and Technology	Textbook	MoNE		
7	Science and Technology	Student Workbook	MoNE		
7	Music	Student Workbook	MoNE		
8	Turkish	Teacher's Manual	MoNE	Bisiklet	Enderun
8	Turkish	Textbook	MoNE	Bisiklet	Enderun
8	Turkish	Student Workbook	MoNE	Bisiklet	Enderun
8	Republic of Turkey Reform History	Teacher's Manual	MoNE		
8	Republic of Turkey Reform History	Textbook	MoNE		
8	Republic of Turkey Reform History	Student Workbook	MoNE		
8	Citizenship and Democracy	Textbook	MoNE		
8	Religious Culture and Morals	Teacher's Manual	MoNE	Bilge	
8	Religious Culture and Morals	Textbook	MoNE	Bilge	
8	English	Teacher's Manual	MoNE		
8	English	Textbook	MoNE		
8	English	Student Workbook	MoNE		
8	Mathematics	Teacher's Manual	MoNE		
8	Mathematics	Textbook	MoNE		
8	Mathematics	Student Workbook	MoNE		
8	Science and Technology	Teacher's Manual	MoNE		
8	Science and Technology	Textbook	MoNE		
8	Science and Technology	Student Workbook	MoNE		
8	Music	Student Workbook	MoNE		
9	Language and Expression	Textbook	MoNE	Karizma	
9	Turkish Literature	Textbook	MoNE	Firat	
9	History	Textbook	MoNE		
9	Religious Culture and Morals	Textbook	MoNE	FCM	
9	Geography	Textbook	MoNE	Lider1	Lider2
9	Mathematics	Textbook	MoNE		

9	Health Education	Textbook		Ada	
10	Language and Expression	Textbook	MoNE	Ekoyay	Zambak
10	Turkish Literature	Textbook	MoNE	Fırat	
10	History	Textbook	MoNE		
10	Religious Culture and Morals	Textbook	MoNE	Özgün	
10	Geography	Textbook	MoNE	Lider	
10	Psychology	Textbook	MoNE	Ekoyay	
11	Language and Expression	Textbook	MoNE	Evrensel	
11	Turkish Literature	Textbook	MoNE	Biryay	
11	History	Textbook	MoNE		
11	Republic of Turkey Reform History	Textbook	MoNE	Netbil	
11	Religious Culture and Morals	Textbook	MoNE	Tutku	Bisiklet
11	Geography	Textbook	MoNE	Lider	
11	Sociology	Textbook	MoNE	Ekoyay	
11	Philosophy	Textbook	MoNE	Pasifik	Ekoyay
12	Language and Expression	Textbook	MoNE	Paşa	
12	Turkish Literature	Textbook	MoNE	Ekoyay	
12	Modern Turkish and World History	Textbook	MoNE		
12	Religious Culture and Morals	Textbook	MoNE	Özgün	
12	Geography	Textbook	MoNE		
-	Democracy and Human Rights	Textbook		Ekoyay	

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