

Citizenship Consciousness and Moral Values in Civics Textbooks in Turkey (1924-1945)¹

Seval YİNİLMEZ AKAGÜNDÜZ²

Kırşehir Ahi Evran University

Abstract

States need education to raise not only citizens but also good citizens. Changes in the concept of citizenship from the past to the present have also been reflected in civic education. While in ancient Greece, the good citizen was identified with being virtuous in the Aristotelian sense, with the emergence of nation-states, the good citizen is now symbolized by a person who is aware of his/her rights and responsibilities, devoted to his/her homeland, and whose national feelings are developed. Textbooks, which are one of the most important carriers of this transformation, form the main axis of our research. Textbooks, which are the tools of educational programs that reflect the social, ideological, cultural, and mental character of countries, have a serious share in the mental development of students, the transformation of their self-existence, and the creation of their personalities. In this context, the role played by textbooks, especially civics textbooks, in raising moral generations can not be overlooked. The aim of this research is to evaluate the six citizenship-themed textbooks prepared between 1924 and 1945, based on the social, political, and cultural atmosphere of the period, and to examine the awareness and importance of citizenship through philosophical questioning. This research was conducted with a case study method from qualitative research designs. Since the time period of the research (1924-1945) was long, six of the civics textbooks obtained by the documentary screening model were selected by the purposive sampling method. Based on the content of these textbooks, categories were created. The examination of the categories shows that the meanings attributed to the concept of "good" of the era in which the Civics Textbooks were written differ. However, in the textbooks examined in the research, there are also points that remain unchanged. It is understood that the students are expected to keep the concepts of land, homeland, and state above all else, and even willingly sacrifice their lives for them if necessary.

Keywords: Textbooks, civics, citizenship consciousness, moral education, values education

DOI: 10.29329/epasr.2020.323.4

¹ This study is produced by expanding the contents of the abstract presented and published orally at the International Symposium on Social Studies Education in Denizli.

² Asst. Prof. Kırşehir Ahi Evran University, Faculty Of Arts And Sciences, Department of Philosophy, sevalyiniz@gmail.com

Introduction

The concept of citizenship, which originates from the term "citizien" or "citoyen" (Kadioğlu, 1998) and implies membership to the city-state in ancient Greece defines individual's rights and responsibilities in social status (Yaşar, 2018). The philosophical accumulations of thinkers such as Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, which shaped the ancient Greek's understanding of the state, also influenced the concept of citizenship today. Unlike philosophers who studied nature, Socrates, who turned to human philosophy, stated that an unquestioned life is not life and believed that one should first know himself. In his book *Republic*, Plato argued that the ideal state cannot be established unless philosophers are kings or Kings are philosophers Plato (Platon, 2002), who examined the state-citizen relationship down to the smallest detail, integrated the beginning of civic education with infancy and stated that a good citizen is possible with well-educated children. Aristotle defined the concept of the citizen by its legal, political, and administrative duties (Yiğit, 2019). Questioning such concepts as virtue, finding the middle ground, moderation, justice, and tolerance, Aristotle focused on how a "good citizen" should be (Aristoteles, 1997). According to him, a good citizen is conscious of his rights and responsibilities and leads a virtuous life until his last breath. Rousseau, the famous thinker of the Enlightenment, on the other hand, gave the concept of citizenship meaning beyond its era. Rousseau, who believed that a good society can be established with good individuals, prepared an education plan in *Emile* in accordance with the laws of nature (Kakınç, 1968) and explained why *Emile* needed education in the following words (2009):

We are born weak, we need strength; we are born totally unprovided, we need aid; we are born stupid, we need judgment. Everything we do not have at our birth and which we need when we are grown is given us by education (p. 109).

As can be understood from the opinions of thinkers, in order to raise good citizens, good children are needed first. So should these good children be described as innately good, as the fruits of the first sin, or as imperfect adults? For example, in the eyes of the medieval man, children were mostly seen as an imperfect adult or a small miniature of adults (Üstel, 2009). What is expected from them is to follow orders unconditionally, that is, to obey (Yavuzer, 2004). However, today, it is attempted to raise children who are subject-oriented, not object-oriented. Well, do good children, who have been raised subject-oriented, lead to good citizens? Or can good citizens who are intended to be educated achieve a happy life? Then, in the most general sense, is the purpose of education to prepare citizens for a happy life? Is a happy life, as Aristotle said, all about finding the middle? Or, as Mill puts it, does education provide the greatest benefit to the greatest people and bring happiness to its stakeholders? Üstel, on the other hand, (2009, p.17-22) asks the following question on this issue: Could morality and patriotism be two virtues that should be cultivated in children? The following can also be added to this question of Üstel: What kind of relationship is there between morality and

patriotism? What is meant with the concept of virtue? Although the purpose of citizenship is to raise moral individuals, can the purpose of morality be to raise good citizens? Can it be said that the purpose of civic education is to help children's moral development, to make them respect and even obey the law, and of course, to raise individuals who are aware of their duties and responsibilities? Similar questions can be reproduced. According to Kadioğlu (2012), on the other hand, Aristotle's tight bond between the good person and the good citizen did not prevent the development of civil society because it predicted that there was no conflict between the individual and the state. In modern societies, however, this bond is blended with national identities, and being a good person has been associated with respecting national interests and national symbols such as flags and anthems. This bond began to be questioned by the democratization process in late modern societies.

The approach towards children in Turkey has been influenced by socio-political, cultural, and political differences. For example, according to Akyüz (2004, p. 260) in previous years, mothers sang lullabies to their children in the form of "sleep and grow, you may be a pasha", however, after the proclamation of the Second Constitutional Monarchy, this lullaby has become "sleep and grow, you may be a deputy". Discourses similar to Akyüz's example were also reflected in the Civics Textbooks that were examined. Obviously, as in the world, the urge to ensure the continuity of the state in Turkey is also defined by the duties and responsibilities of the state towards its citizens and the citizens towards their state (Yiğit, 2019, p. 11).

Civic or citizenship education, which has been placed at the curriculum of European countries since the second half of the 19th century, started to be taught in the formal levels of the Ottoman education system with the course names such as Civil Knowledge, Homeland Knowledge, and Moral Conversations since the Second Constitutional Period when more systematic and holistic developments were experienced in the field of education (Yaşar, 2018). During this period, as Üstel noted (2009), the political and legal modernization that came with the Second Constitutional Monarchy, the transition from community to society and from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity, defined the individual-citizen in a new political-public sphere. So, while this new citizen was being raised, the civil knowledge course was taught at all levels of education, especially in primary school.

In the early years of the Turkish Republic, the courses that convey moral and patriotic knowledge began to be integrated and taught under the name of Moral Conversations and Homeland Knowledge (Alabaş, 2018). According to Yaşar (2018, p. 328) courses of Civil and Moral Knowledge, i.e. courses of Moral Conversations and Homeland Knowledge, is defined by the minimum knowledge that everyone should know. The Civil Knowledge course focused on the individual's relationship with the public and the law, while the Moral Knowledge lesson described how a citizen can be made virtuous. On the other hand, in the early years of the Turkish Republic, since the education programs

could not be prepared immediately, the curriculum prepared for primary schools in 1914 and 1915 were implemented until 1924. Primary schools have been accepted as the first elementary schools of the Turkish Republic. These schools operate in accordance with the “Educational Directive” issued in 1915, and this directive states that the programs of 1914 and 1915 are taken as basis (Aslan, 2011, p. 723). The Republic cadres wanted to reconsider the education system because they believed that enlightenment would not happen unless the people were turned into citizens. First, educational institutions collected under one roof were made compulsory and free by the law of the Unification of Education (Aslan, 2012, pp. 333-334). Turkish Republic's first curriculum was drafted with the decisions made in the "Second Scientific Board" meeting in 1924. The education program of 1924 did not last long and was implemented for only three years. The rapid preparation of the mentioned program, the lack of connection between the courses, and the repetition of the previous programs at several points (Çelenk, Tertemiz & Kalaycı, 2000), resulted in the preparation of a new curriculum draft in 1926. After the prepared draft was evaluated in selected schools for one year, it was applied in all primary schools in 1927 (Cicioğlu, 1982). On the other hand, in the years 1923-1930, changes were made in the curriculum, especially in primary school, and in 1926, the "Council of Education and Morality" was assigned to prepare and select new textbooks (Çapa, 2012, p. 17).

In the primary school program of 1924, it was decided that the Moral Conversations and Homeland Knowledge courses should be taught for one hour in all primary schools. In the program, it was planned for 1st, 2nd, and 3rd-grade students to take the Moral Conversations course, and for 4th and 5th-grade students to take the Homeland Knowledge course (Maarif Vekaleti, 1924). Through this course, it was aimed to raise moral citizens who adopt the principles of the Turkish Republic and know their rights and duties, and the importance of the Turkish Republic and the necessity of democracy were conveyed to the students (Maarif Vekaleti, 1924). In the primary school curriculum of 1926, the Moral Conversations and Homeland Knowledge courses were replaced with the Civics course without any serious change in its content. It is understood that the content of the Homeland Knowledge course in the curriculum of 1924 was applied in the Civics course in the curriculum of 1926. It was stated that the main purpose of the Civics course in the education program of 1926 is that the young generation of Turkey, a democratic country, has a detailed knowledge of “state, homeland, nation, and nationality” and that the Civics course should be a center that provides a connection with other courses in the program (Yinilmez Akagündüz, 2020). In the primary school curriculum of 1936, which was prepared after ten years of implementation, it was decided that the Civics course would be taught for 2 hours in 4th grade and 1 hour in 5th grade (T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 1936).

Citizenship consciousness in Civics textbooks of the Turkish Republican period was studied by (Aslan, 2019; Üstel, 2009; Yaşar, 2018) and the nationalism aspect of the Civics textbooks was studied by Bilgin (1998). Studies on moral values in Civics textbooks are limited (Alabaş, 2018;

Alabaş, 2019; Yinilmez Akagündüz, 2017). This study, which examines the Civics textbooks taught between the years of 1924 and 1945 in the context of citizenship consciousness and moral values, aims to contribute to the field. In this context, the aim of this study is to examine the place of citizenship consciousness and moral values in Civics textbooks taught between 1924-1945.

Method

This section provides information on the research pattern, research material, data collection, and analysis of the data obtained.

Research Pattern

Textbooks, which are the palpable historical reality of curriculums, serve as bridges from the past to the present. This study, which examines the citizenship consciousness and moral values in the Civics textbooks, is a qualitative study. According to Yıldırım and Şimşek (2013, p. 45) qualitative research is defined as "research that uses qualitative data collection methods such as observation, interview, and document analysis and a qualitative process is followed to reveal perceptions and events in a realistic and holistic manner in a natural environment". On the other hand, qualitative research describes the meanings, definitions, characteristic features, metaphors, symbols, and descriptions of objects of the subject matter that form the basis for research (Berg & Lune, 2015). This research was conducted through the case study from qualitative research patterns. A case study consists of an in-depth examination and description of a limited organization (Merriam, 2015) and the Civics textbooks constitute the limited organization of the study. The holistic multi-case model, one of the case study types, was used in the study. In multi-case studies, the cases included in the collection are somewhat categorically linked (Merriam). Similarly, the textbooks sampled in the study were also associated with each other in the context of determining the citizenship awareness. The purpose of using this model is to enable the citizenship consciousness to be examined with a holistic description and explanation in the sampled "Civics" textbook. In this study, which was examined in a holistic way by the pattern of the case study, data based on the current state of the Civics textbooks were obtained.

Research Material

The documents of the research are the Civics textbooks, which were decided to be taught by the Ministry of Education between 1924 and 1945. While in 1924 and before, the Civics course was included in the curriculum under the name of Moral Conversations and Homeland Knowledge; from 1924 to the 1980s, it was named as Civics or the Civics Courses. It was found that, in 1924 and before, Moral Conversations and Homeland Knowledge courses were taught at all levels of primary school, but in 4th and 5th grades, only Homeland Knowledge courses were taught. Therefore, six textbooks used in the 4th and 5th grades were determined using the purposive sampling method (Patton, 2014).

The selection of these textbooks was based on the fact that they were written by different authors and according to different grade levels (4th and 5th grade) between 1924-1945.

Table 1. Identification of the Examined Civics Textbooks

Author	Name of the Book	Grade Level	Year	Printing House
Muslihiddin Adil	Homeland Knowledge	4th grade	İstanbul 1924	Osmaniye Printing House
Mithat Sadullah	Civics	4th grade	İstanbul 1927	Hilal Printing House
Ali Seydi	Civics	4th grade	İstanbul 1932	Burhaneddin Printing House
Maarif Vekaleti	Primary School Books: Civics	4th grade	İstanbul 1935	Government Printing Office
Bedia Ermat and Kemal Ermat	Civics Courses	4th grade	İstanbul 1942	Ministry of National Education (MEB)
Tarık Rona	Civics Courses	4th grade	Ankara 1945	Çankaya Printing House

Data Collection

The data of the study were obtained by the document analysis method. Document analysis is the examination of written documents containing information about events or facts that are planned to be investigated (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2013). In this context, research data were obtained from Civics textbooks specified in Table 1. In the analysis of the data obtained, descriptive analysis and content analysis were used.

Data Analysis

In the analysis of the data obtained, descriptive analysis and content analysis were used. In the content analysis, four stages were followed, namely “coding data, finding themes, organizing codes and themes, and defining and interpreting the findings” suggested by Yıldırım and Şimşek (2013, p.260). At the first stage, all textbooks were read and codes were created “from within the data” based on each topic title. It has been revealed that some of these codes exist in all textbooks examined. The obtained codes and their inclusion in the textbooks are shown in Table 2:

Table 2. Obtained Codes in the Examined Textbooks

Codes	1924	1927-	1932	1935	1942	1945
Individual and Society	+	+	-	-	-	+
Division of Labor	+	+	-	-	-	-
Right and Duty	+	+	+	+	+	+
Saving	+	-	-	-	-	-
Helping Each Other	+	+	+	-	+	+
Homeland-Nation-Law	+	+	+	+	+	+
Education and Training	+	+	+	+	+	+
Health and Hygiene	+	+	-	+	-	+
Village	+	-	-	+	-	+
Rules to be Followed in Town and City Life	-	+	-	-	-	-
Municipalities	+	+	-	+	-	+

Parliamentary Elections	-	-	+	+	+	+
President	-	+	+	+	+	+
Ministries	-	+	+	+	+	+
Constitution	-	-	-	+	+	+
Tax	-	+	-	+	+	+
Smuggling	-	-	-	-	+	-
Duties of the State	+	+	+	+	+	+
Rights and Responsibilities of Citizens	+	+	+	+	+	+
The Evils of The Sultanate Period	-	+	+	+	-	-
Goodness of The Republican Era	-	+	-	-	+	+
Public Administration	-	+	-	-	+	+
Republican People's Party	-	-	-	-	+	-
Liberty	+	-	-	-	+	-
State Auxiliary Institutions in Turkey	-	-	-	-	+	+
Foreign Relations	-	-	+	+	+	+

In the second stage, based on the codes obtained, the categories of "education and training", "homeland-nation-law", "right and duty", which include citizenship consciousness and moral values, were determined. The basic criterion for placing codes under these three categories is that books contain different discourses, but similar expressions. For example, codes for the category of education and training include information about science, individual-society, school, rules that must be followed in school, and even the ministry of national education. Similarly, when determining the category of homeland-nation-law, in addition to topics related to the title, texts containing the Republican People's Party, freedom, public administration, parliamentary elections, the president, and similar issues were also interpreted. Lastly, when determining the category of rights and duties, contents such as the rights and responsibilities of citizens, duties of the state, the evil of the sultanate period, and the goodness of the republican era were taken as the basis.

In qualitative research, the concepts of credibility and transferability are used instead of the concepts of validity and reliability. Expert review for credibility and detailed description for transferability is also recommended (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2013). In order to ensure the credibility of the study, expert opinion was taken and cooperation between experts was achieved in the categories that emerged in the content analysis process. The data was examined by a researcher who specializes in textbooks, and by comparing the categories of analysis, a consensus was achieved on topics that are likely to be perceived and interpreted differently. A detailed description approach was also used to ensure the transferability of the research. In the detailed description, each category was discussed and direct quotations from the books were included.

Findings

In this section, the use of moral values in the creation of citizenship consciousness in the categories determined in the sampled textbooks is discussed.

Education and Training

In the textbooks examined, findings were found under the titles of "educational science, science, education, training, school, rules that must be followed in school and the Ministry of National Education" in the category of education and training. In the textbook called Homeland Knowledge published by Muslihiddin Adil in 1924, with the title "educational science", the origin of the concept of science, which is primarily considered as one of the duties of man against himself, has been revealed. Stating that human beings are intelligent by nature and can make inferences, Adil noted that human beings can open doors to new sciences with the language they learned through their intelligence (Adil, 1926). Reminding that this process can only function properly with primary education, Adil made the following comment on the subject (1926):

Gentleman, the first training is the one you see now. With this training, a person learns the information that is the most necessary to him in life. This information is called general information. Everyone has to know a little bit about calculus, geography, geometry, and to have some knowledge about the history of their homeland and the world, to learn about civics that is useful for everyone in life, and to learn their own mother tongue (p. 46)

As can be seen from the above statements, Adil associated the existence of the new state with basic education. In this context, receiving education in the mother tongue, mastering scientific knowledge, keeping up with the times, and building a modern society as a result, are the determining factors. In Mithat Sadullah's Civics Book, the category of "education and training" is under the title of "life at school". Sadullah describes the school as a large family of students and teachers. Stating that children are taught literacy, friendship, cooperation, and military duties at school, Sadullah, criticizes the students who do not do their duty to study as follows (1927): "*The person who does not study will be ungrateful to their country, to their nation, to their beloved Republic, and even to their parents who have spent time and money to send them to school*" (p.38).

The Homeland Knowledge and Civics textbooks prepared in the first years of the Turkish Republic explained the importance of being literate and going to school in order to be useful individuals to the homeland and the nation. While education and training became a means of modernization in the textbooks of the 1920s, in the textbooks of the 1930s, the symbolic character of the government was also included in the modernization process (Yinilmez Akagündüz, 2017). On the other hand, the category of "education and training" was indirectly covered in Ali Seydi's book of Civics prepared in 1932. In his book, the author emphasized not only the importance of being literate or the relationship established between school and family, but also the importance of science and education that will educate the human soul. Seydi approaches the subject in his work as follows (1932):

The people not only enjoy the entertainment but also see many spiritual and intellectual benefits from theaters and cinemas that represent moral, patriotic, and national events with the inclusion of science. And in this way, their souls are trained. That is why experimental events that cannot be explained by talking are shown to students in schools with cinema (p. 95-96).

In the Civics book prepared by the Ministry of Education in 1935, the education and training category was discussed under the title of "Ministry of Education". In this study, it has been explained why knowledge is important in terms of individual and state. According to the book, after learning to read and write and gain the consciousness of the nation and the state, general information that enlightens a person should also be mastered. In contrast to the textbooks that constitute our sample so far, the task of the Ministry of Education is explained in this book as follows (1935):

The main duty of the Ministry of Education is to save the people and their children from ignorance and to train teachers to educate people. Its aim is to help raise the high officials and scientists that the country needs. It is among the duties of the Ministry of Education to open schools to educate people. Our Republican government is doing its best to advance education (p. 42-43).

In this context, it seems that the category of education and training from the Civics Books written in the 1930s is different from the Civics Books written in the 1920s. It seems that the focus is on how the human mind can be nourished rather than the question "Why should we go to school?". This information should be provided to students in a controlled manner. In the Civics book written by Bedia and Kemal Ermat in 1942, it was determined that the category "education and training" was explained under the title of the Ministry of National Education. The title mentioned the contributions of the Turkish Republic to education. In the work, it is explained that individuals can gain the knowledge and skills of the century in primary schools in the context of raising good citizens (1942, p. 81). It has also been explained that the task of the Ministry of National Education is not only to open schools, but also to raise the level of knowledge of the people, to protect the life of science, and to spread fine arts. As can be seen, education has been handled differently than the Civics textbooks written in the 1920s. For example, the Ministry of Education should not only try to make the citizens knowledgeable and moral but also try to make them healthy and sturdy. For this reason, physical education should not be forgotten as well. In addition, the Ermats have integrated the Ministry of Education with printing and publishing activities ranging from popular books to scientific books (Ermata & Ermat, 1942). In the book named Civics Courses written by Tarık Rona in 1945, the following are mentioned in the explanations under the title of the Ministry of Education of the "education and training" category and under the title "What The Turkish Republic Has Given To Us?"(1945):

He shut down the tekkes (lodges) and madrasas and founded today's schools... We started to use the Turkish letters used all over the world by removing the Arabic letters, which are very difficult

to read and learn. Many foreigners easily learned our language and read our books, recognized and understood us. There were almost no illiterate people left in the country. After the Turkish alphabet reform and hat revolution, we also had a major language revolution. In the past, more than half of the language had foreign words in our Turkish language. With thorough research, we found pure Turkish words, discarded foreign words, refined our beautiful language. Today, every citizen and villager can easily understand each other (p.25).

Nevertheless, it is understood that the title of the Ministry of National Education of the book of Civics Courses written in 1945, contains similar discourses with the book called Civics Courses written in 1942. As can be seen from the textbooks examined, the meanings and objectives loaded into education do not remain the same. In fact, according to Tekeli and İlkin (1999, p.195) new instrumentalities reflected in education in parallel with social developments have created new diffusion dynamics, as happened in the language revolution.

Homeland-Nation-Law

Man and land are indispensable elements in the formation of the existence and self-consciousness of a state. Education has created the national identity of a person or citizen, while textbooks have become a means of achieving this goal. But it is not enough to create a nation by giving the citizen a national identity alone. Because these people also need a piece of land with borders drawn, that is, a homeland. In fact, this is the exact point where Rousseau's understanding of private property comes to mind. Rousseau thinks that the demarcated piece of land disrupts the natural good in humans by keeping a distance from the civilized society (Yinilmez Akagündüz, 2012). Rousseau believes that the foundations of civilized society were laid by the first man to enclose a piece of land. According to him, a civilized person showed a piece of land that he enclosed to other people and said, this is mine, thus, private property, legal laws, competition, and wars emerged through pure people who believed in him (here, pure people mean natural people) (Rousseau, 2009). The fact that the first sparks of civilized society and nation-state consciousness extend to the first people who think about having private property makes it clear why the Turkish Republic adopts the concepts of homeland and country. In this case, in order to ensure the continuity of the homeland, citizens who obey the laws of the same land are needed. In short, the relationship between homeland, nation, and the law is the guarantee of the existence and continuity of the state. As a matter of fact, many expressions similar to this narrative have been identified in the “homeland-nation-law” category in the textbooks examined. For example, in the book of Homeland Knowledge written by Muslihiddin Adil in 1924, the concept of Homeland is widely discussed. It has been said that the homeland is not limited to the city or town in which we were born, but to the state itself. Accordingly, we must love our homeland unconditionally as we love our mother (1926) Adil defines the concept of the nation in his book as follows (1926): “*The nation is the life sphere of the people who live in a land and are*

satisfied with the same sovereignty and who, for some reason, left that sovereignty but are still attached to it by heart” (p. 72).

Similar descriptions of Muslihiddin Adil are found in the Civics Books written by Mithad Sadullah in 1927. Ali Seydi described the concept of nation in his Civics Book, written in 1932, as follows (1927, p. 6-10): “*Nation is the name given to the general public of the people whose origin, lineage, mother tongue, emotion, tradition, and general interest are one*”. On the other hand, he described the concept of homeland as “*the places where the Turkish people live and the laws of the Republic of Turkey are applied*”. It is noteworthy that the concept of the Republic of Turkey began to be used in the Civics Books written in 1930 and after, and that they were written with a more scientific and rational narrative compared to the textbooks written in the 1920s. According to Üstel (2009, p. 73) the main emphasis on the concept of the citizen in the textbooks of the Republican Period is actually made to the community of citizens. In other words, the understanding of the citizen in the books is based on the understanding of community citizenship instead of individual citizenship. In fact, citizenship means being a member of an organic integrity, a member of the family. The homeland is considered a common home. On the other hand, Fortna explains that the concept of homeland in the textbooks is based on a geographical and socio-political base with land, language, and historical ties (Fortna, 2013). In this context, in the book of Civics Courses written by Bedia and Kemal Ermat, the concepts of nation, Turkish people, homeland, independence, and obeying the law were integrated as follows (1942):

These lands, which have been home to Turks for centuries, will remain as Turkish homeland as long as the world rolls on. Because every Turk loves and embraces this great land like their own life. This land is the land where millions of Turkish martyrs gladly died for their homeland. Every corner of this country is full of works of Turkish intelligence, labor, and taste. The people who live in this beautiful country, which is unique on earth, are called the Turkish people. Homeland does not just mean the land... Turkey is a great homeland of a great nation. Turks living in this country are called Turkish citizens... Only the Turkish flag is waved in the Turkish homeland. Turks love their homeland very much. They rejoice together in the good that will come to their homes, and they feel heartache together from any evil that will come to their homes. That is, the Turkish people who live in the same land, speak the same language, and whose hearts beat with the same emotion are called the Turkish nation (p. 1-2).

Unlike the textbooks we examined before, only the question of “What is a homeland?” was not answered in the book written by Bedia and Kemal Ermat. In addition to this question, explanations were given about who are called citizens and Turkish citizens in particular. On the other hand, there are similar statements in the work of Tarik Rona which was the last book we examined. In his work, Rona emphasized the sense of national unity and solidarity, explaining not only the homeland, but the

Turkish homeland and not only the nation, but the Turkish nation, and explained the importance of national feelings with the following words (1945): *“If the floods were to overwhelm villages in one corner of the country or if the earthquake were to claim a few lives, we would all deeply be in sorrow. Then we will gladly give half of our loaf to those citizens who have suffered a disaster. Because we live for each other. We all laugh at once, we all mourn at once”* (p. 6).

Right and Duty

In the examined textbooks, the category of "right and duty" was evaluated together with the titles of "duties of the state" and "rights and responsibilities of citizens". Although the narratives are different, it has been found that the textbooks focus on similar definitions of this category. For example, in the book of Homeland Knowledge written by Muslihiddin Adil, in the explanations in the "right and duty" category, the concept of "rights" was questioned first. Adil (1926), explains that every person living in society must adhere to the law so as not to disrupt social harmony. According to him, right or law is related to the rules established for the continuity of social life. In his book, Adil explained the concept of duty in addition to the concept of right (1926):

There is also a duty against the right. In other words, the right and duty are mutual. I respect someone else's right. This is my duty. But it is also my right to not want anyone else to attack my rights. Right and duty are two ideas that cannot be separated from each other. Wherever there is a right, there is a duty. In that case, duty means that the rules that are called rights must be followed. The idea of right and duty is inherent in man. We can know our rights and duties by conscience and common sense. Laws essentially explain in more detail the rules that need to be adopted by people. For example, the law prohibits theft. It commands us to educate our child. These are primarily what our conscience teaches us. In fact, there are many things that are not dictated by the laws and yet, our conscience has taught us. For example, the law does not order us to give alms to the poor. But we know this as a moral obligation and we do it happily (p. 29).

After explaining the concepts of right and duty in his book, Muslihiddin Adil also elaborates on the concepts of "conscience, public opinion, protecting health, law and religion" under the heading of Guardians of Duty. (Adil, 1926). Adil's statements on "right and duty" are not limited to these. The author also briefly explained our duties to ourselves, our family, our teachers, our friends, and our state. The descriptions in the Civics Book written by Mithad Sadullah in 1927 also coincided with Adil's explanations. According to Sadullah (1927), it is one of the greatest duties of the students to study their lessons regularly, that is, not to be lazy. In fact, according to him, mothers and fathers working day and night so that their children go to school should serve as an example for students. In addition, students who do not study regularly and do not do their homework will be ungrateful not only against their parents but also against their homeland, the nation, and the Turkish Republic. In Ali Seydi's Civics Book written in 1932, the category of "right and duty" was collected under the title of

"The Main and Major Duties of the Government, Our Law and Other National Obligations", unlike the books published in the 1920s (Seydi, 1932). In the Civics Book which was written by the Ministry of Education in 1935, the category of "right and duty" was discussed under the titles of "duties of attorneys" and "duties of ministries". As in the books we have reviewed before, it is seen from this book that the greatest duties of students are to study and sacrifice their lives if necessary for the homeland (Maarif Vekaleti, 1935). On the other hand, the book stated that the duty of the attorneys is to carry out the state affairs in accordance with the laws and the duties of ministries are explained to students by separate titles. For example, the duty of the Ministry of Internal Affairs is described in the book as follows (1935):

The governor or officer to advance education in the provinces, open schools, raise the opinion and morality of the people, keep roads in order, protect the health of the public, remove temporary diseases of animals, and do many other things (p. 33).

In the Civics Book written by Bedia and Kemal Ermat in 1942, the category of "right and duty" was articulated under the title of "Duties of the State to Citizens" and described as follows (1942): "*The state protects the citizen's lives, properties and honor. The state protects our country against enemies with its army*" (pp. 25-26). The state protects our rights. The state does all the work it takes for citizens to live in a comfortable environment. Again, unlike other books, the mentioned book also says that citizens have the freedom to think, travel, work, have personal immunity, assembly, form associations, press, acquire property, and learn (Ermata & Ermat, 1942). Citizens' duties to the state, on the other hand, are listed as obeying the laws, paying taxes, performing military service, and exercising the right to vote. In the book, citizens' duties against the state were not only named but also, long explanations were made about each article. For example, under the title of "taxes" in the book, the requirement of citizens to pay taxes is explained as follows (1942):

If we want to live comfortably in our country, we should gladly pay our share of the tax. Paying taxes is a debt for the citizen, and collecting taxes is a right of the state. Everyone who lives, works, earns, and has property in our country pays taxes in the way dictated by the law. The state opens schools and hospitals, supplies its army, builds roads, buys weapons and ammunition with the money collected from the citizens. In brief, the state spends the money it receives from the nation again for the nation (p. 24).

There is a narrative about military service in the book in question (1942): "When your turn comes, you will be a soldier just like your father and your brother, you will then wear that beautiful uniform and take a gun in hand. Just as you love the farming and art tools that enable you to keep food on the table, love the weapons that will protect your homeland's honor and reputation, and respect the soldiers" (p. 34). The nationalist discourse in the quoted statements is more dominant than in other books we have examined. Similar statements are included in many of the textbooks written after 1935.

We obtain the data related to the category of "right and duty" in the Civics Book written by Tarık Rona in 1945, from the title of "Fourth Chapter: State and Citizen". According to the book, the duties of the state for the comfort of the citizens are as follows (1945): "The state protects the homeland from the enemy. The state protects our lives, honor, and property. The state protects our independence. The state seeks our right. The state does many other things" (p. 27-28). Tarık Rona, on the other hand, explains the duties of citizens to the state with the following titles (1945): "Obeying the laws. Paying taxes. Our biggest duty is military service and the army" (p. 28-34). In the Civics Textbooks written in 1942 and 1945, detailed explanations about obeying the laws, paying taxes, and military service duties are presented as the duties of citizens. In both textbooks, it has been deemed indispensable for children to study, to be healthy and to exercise, not only for their own biological or cognitive development but also for the existence and continuity of the state and especially the Turkish Republic. Nationalist discourses are more dominant in these two textbooks than others.

Conclusion and Discussion

Textbooks are not just a combination of pen and paper, but also tools that reflect the power-oriented perspective. In fact, according to Fortna (2013, p. 39) textbooks and teachers are elements used in the creation and use of national identity and loyalty. In the study, the roles of the textbooks, which are considered as the palpable examples of the education system, on the new generations in the process of establishing the nation-state consciousness were revealed. Education is one of the main intervention points for the Turkish Republic, which is trying to rebuild itself after being in wars for a long time. Along with all these, incomplete course schedules, the inadequacy of the instructors (providing literacy training in the military in the first years of the Turkish Republic which still continues today), problems in physical conditions, and, most importantly, the lack of qualification of textbooks have led to painful periods.

According to the findings of the research, for a long time in the early years and after the Turkish Republic, the concept of "school" was indirectly used to include the concepts of home, homeland, and military station. The primary aim expected of children at school is to be good citizens. Being a good citizen is not limited to being illiterate. Students coming to the school were expected to absorb the concepts of homeland-nation and law and to be able to sacrifice their lives for the homeland when necessary. In fact, it is also expected that the new generation should pay attention to their health and do sports in order to become good soldiers in patriarchal positions. Over time, however, the changes in this perspective are reflected in the textbooks. In fact, according to Üstel (2009) during these periods, the child sometimes becomes the future of the nation, sometimes the future of the race. They are tomorrow's manufacturer, soldier and citizen. The children were expected to keep up with the times and develop self-consciousness in textbooks written in 1940 and after. All this shows that the conditions of time and age affect the education system first. Similar statements are made by Alabaş

(2018), in his studies on the moral textbooks of the Republican period. According to Alabaş, a link has been established between the human potential trained with the education policies followed in the first years of the Turkish Republic and civic education. In addition to providing some basic concepts about democracy and human rights with civic education at schools, it is also among the aims to raise awareness, sensitivity and consciousness about the protection and implementation of human rights. For example, in addition to the students' gaining self-awareness, reaching the awareness of “us” in the context of homeland love was supported by the stories and anecdotes used in the textbooks. As a matter of fact, in the Civics Textbooks of the first semester of the Turkish Republic, children, who are the guarantors of today and the future, were asked to be healthy, sturdy and hardworking soldiers for the continuity of the state. In addition, students are asked to take science and reason as guidance in all of the decisions and choices they make. Especially within the time period that constitutes the subject of research (1924-1945), education has been considered as a means of self-acceptance of the newly established state. At this level, the prerequisite for being a good or moral citizen is determined by the fulfillment of the duties of citizens to the state. In the textbooks examined, military service is described as the first and most honorable duty of citizens. While paying taxes, which is the second duty, is equal to morality, tax evasion is considered immoral. Finally, it can be observed in the textbooks that the right to elect and to be elected, which is both a right and a duty, is accepted as the key to a healthy functioning democracy.

As a result, an active stance has been observed since the early dates of the Turkish Republic on how to raise good citizens. The continuity of these concepts is what is expected from the individual in the course of this active stance with the priority of the state, homeland and nation. This course can be clearly viewed in the Civics textbooks written between 1924 and 1945. Strengthening the social, political, and cultural effects of textbooks through different research in the context of citizenship, on the other hand, will provide a better understanding of the subject.

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