Children's Picture Book and Fairy Tales in Turkey
A Study in Political Socialization

A Thesis
Submitted to the Departments of
Political Science
and
Public Administration
of
Bilkent University
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of
Master of Arts
by
Gül Meligar

September 1980
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September 1990
I certify that I have read this thesis and in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Political Science and Public Administration.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

As human beings, we live in a social environment and we have social interaction with each other. In this social environment and in the social relations of ours, there are different kinds of relationships through which we influence each other.

Human beings influence each other as well as they share certain things. There are many such relations in the family, especially between parents and the children and among children themselves. By the ability to influence, people come to dominate the others so that there would be superior – subordinate relations where the latter comply with the wishes of the former (1). In this way, our social life is determined and the effecting relationships shape our political behavior.

In this essay the authority relations which is a kind of influence relation is studied through the children's picture books, and their impact on political socialization and later adult behavior is considered. As the authority relationship is seen in every sphere of social life, this phenomenon is here studied
through published works, especially through picture books of children.

POWER AND AUTHORITY RELATIONS

The political attitudes of people reflect relations in society. One of the most observed relations between individuals is authority. It is a relationship which help to determine the society's overall structure. We may think of authority as related to the concept of power. Power is defined as "the potential an individual has for compelling another person to behave in a way contrary to his wishes"(2). It is clear that one person affects the behavior and the views of others, although the others do not want to be so affected. There is an ability to control the action of other's in many different ways. For example, power can be exercised by persuasion, one person can persuade the other although it is contrary to the other's wishes (3). There can also be a kind of coercion in power relations. The influential type of relation in social affairs can be in the form of the threats of violence, bribery, manipulation as well as persuasion, flattery and negotiation. There can be punishments and rewards in persuading people to do something. Power can be seen in almost every type of relationship.

Authority is a kind of power relation. It is a transferred form of power. It is a legitimized type of power where the
As Rod Haque and Martin Harrop points out, authority is the acceptance of decisions and obeying the rules as duty, although one may not like it. It that relation, authority involves acceptance of someone without questioning him/her. In that respect, there is a kind of hierarchy. The superior in a hierarchy is accepted to make decisions and his/her orders and decisions are obeyed (4). For example, in some cultures, the parents in the family generally make the decisions for their children, and it is the children’s duty to follow them whether they like it or not.

The relations between the individuals as authority relations are influenced among other things by socialization experiences. The latter include early socialization and late socialization. The significant socialization experiences that will affect later political behavior mostly take place quite early in life. They are not political experiences at first hand, but have political consequences later on (5).

SOCIALIZATION EXPERIENCES, OBEDIENCE AND COMPLIANCE

As human beings grow up, they start to get involved in social life and would have various social relations. Individuals establish social relations and learn to live with other individuals
in certain norms and values. The authority relations are established during these social experiences.

The concepts of obedience and compliance is associated with authority. The obedience is defined as "the role children should play in the maintenance of authority's rules that inhibit or restrain children's behavior" (6). The rules are acquired which prohibit the children's behavior without questioning. The children are in a position to obey the authority and the rules, and those in authority have the power to limit their behavior.

According to Stanley Milgram, the act of obeying is an act when a person does what another person tells him to do. The term again implies a dominance-subordination or hierarchial element between the relationships of two people. A person who complies with a series of commands is termed as an obedient subject and one who denies the command is disobedient (7). The obedient ones comply with the authority. However, compliance is different from obedience; it refers to the imitation where there is no explicit requirement for certain things. Individuals comply to authoritarian relations by imitating the other's words, judgements or their actions. In authoritarian relations, the compliance and obedience are the kind of relations which involve one's effect upon another. One can observe compliance and obedience relations between close friends, between parents and children and in many different relations.
SOCIALIZATION AND POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

The authority relations are internalized from the early years of childhood and they effect the behavior of individuals later on. Socialization as a process plays a crucial role in the acceptance of authoritarian relations. Socialization is defined as "the process by which someone learns the ways of a given society or social group so that he can function with (the norms of the society)" (8). Many kinds of learning are encompassed within this general process. An individual learns the social norms, rules, expectations and the regulations in society as well as s/he acts according to those norms and values so that s/he can live within that society. The individual's attitudes and behavior is shaped by the society's values. The individual learns how to act in society. The political behavior is also learned in the process of socialization.

Political socialization according to Richard E.Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt "is the name given to the processes through which a citizen acquires his/her own view of the political world" (9). It is a process, and is acquired as a consequence of various social interactions. An individual is socialized to the world through many processes, and during this period s/he internalizes many behavior or attitudes one of which is political behavior.

IMPACT OF SOCIALIZATION AGENTS ON POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

The child is socialized by all of the social structures in which s/he participates. There are different relations that
individuals are involved in that interactions. A child is socialized by the family, by his/her school or peer groups as well as by the mass media and the position which his/her parents occupy in the social structure. S/he is also socialized by the particular culture to which s/he belongs. Thus, the attitudes of individuals are influenced by the various agents and relationships in one's life.

The family is almost always the most important agent of political socialization. It is a primary group and informally structured. The relations are personal and emotional between the family members. The adult members (especially mothers and fathers) are significant in guiding children in their development of basic personality characteristics, attitudes and values (10). The family as an agent of socialization has a special place in this process. As the members in a family have strong emotional ties, their influential power on each other is very strong. The behavior and attitudes of children are affected and become strong by the close contact between the parents and children.

Children usually internalize their parents' attitudes and values unconsciously. Besides, parents do have their way when they wish to change the child's behavior (11). They have certain influence and authority on child's behavior and character. However, one might argue that parent-child relationship is a twodimensional one. Thus, not only the parents have influence upon their children,
but the children have upon their parents as well. Nevertheless, it seems clear that the parents exert more constraint on the child than the child does on his/her parents. The child is thus often in the position of complying in response to parental discipline (12). It is clear that the parents have control over their children; they guide their behavior. In response, children comply with their parents' wishes.

Thus, the non-political human relations and the non-political authority patterns an individual faces have important effects on attitudes towards political authority. The authority patterns in the family are one's first exposure to authority.

The political socialization involved in the family by means of the family authority patterns may create certain predispositions regarding the political attitudes of the individual. Family's authority pattern may increase the individual's receptivity to particular types of political relations. For example, the voting behavior and political participation of individual in adulthood years can be similar to those of the parents' style. Individual's attitudes towards a policy can be in the same line of thought with their parents. The role that an individual plays in the family are learned for the performance of political roles. S/he is likely to generalize from the family roles to his political roles. If in most situations, the individual finds himself/herself close to some authority figure, it is likely that s/he will later expect such an authority relationship in the political sphere.
Institutions such as family, school and so on may vary substantially in the extent to which they allow some freedom for children to participate. Generally, the authority patterns are hierarchial, involving relationships between children and adults. These experiences regarding hierarchies in terms of authority and power in childhood will inevitably influence the political attitudes in adulthood. For example, a very rigid power hierarchy might lead to a very conformist and submissive attitude towards different objects of politics in adulthood (13).

As it has already been mentioned, the obedience and compliance relationships have special place in different personalities and communities authoritarian relations in social life and they differ in different personalities and communities. Furthermore, differential socialization experiences may lead to specific patterns of compliance and obedience. The classical work of Thomas D. Adorno was designed to understand the rise of anti-semitism in the 1930s and the compliant behavior of Germans towards Hitler (14). Adorno concluded that anti-semitism developed from a particular personality syndrome called the authoritarian personality. The authoritarian personality was thought to stem from early rearing by a dominant father and a punitive mother. As an adult, the individual repeats the experience, and learns to act in an authoritarian pattern. People learn to act and obey to certain types of behavior and personalities, and they become to show compliance to those authoritarian characteristics from their early
childhood and from these socialization experiences they develop a particular type of political behavior.

Sex-role socialization is another important area which has important implications regarding adult political behavior. Traditional sex-roles are based on gender relations. The traditional sex-roles differ between girls and boys in Turkey. According to Aycan Eren, the traditional sex roles for females are emotional, faithful, devoted, gentle and soft-hearted, self-sacrificing, affectionate, talkative, family-centered, submissive and dependent, charming, orderly and tidy, whereas characteristics for males are unexcitable, rigid and harsh, independent, ambitious, rational and realistics, assertive and enterprising, self-confident, aggressive, dominant, and superiority (15). In Eren's study, it was found that these traits are widely stereotyped by children and adults. Thus, children are socialized according to these differential values that are perceived as appropriate for the two sexes. There seems to be no doubt that these differential socialization processes for males and females would lead to important differences regarding their adult political behavior. Hence, the females would be more passive and dependent on males whereas males would be active, independent and dominant over females. In political participation, females would be dependent on males' decisions and ideas and they would be unable to express their feelings and ideas freely and clearly. The socialization of children according to the sex differences can cause differences in their political participation and learning. These traits which are
acquired in early socialization period are reinforced by the family, school, peer groups and mass media in very different ways.

Along with the differential sex-role socialization, another important aspect of the socialization process of children in the family is related to the general attitudes and values in the society regarding children. As the child is the core of the family, his/her place in culture has important notions. As Çiğdem Kağıtçıbaşı asserts in her study of the value of children in Turkey, the child and the value given to the child and the role s/he is assigned in the family teach us a great deal about a society (16). In this study, it is argued that general expectations of the family from the children and the differential perceptions and treatment of the two sexes would explain much about the political structure of Turkey.

In the above mentioned study, the values found in the families were socio-economic, psychological and the social normative values. The economic contribution at young ages and support in the future are what are expected from the children by the parents. The psychological value is perceived as children providing companionship, love and joy, and strengthening the marital bond. Another value which is examined is the social/normative - children continuing the family name and contributing to society. This last value is particularly important for sons.
The boys and girls are seen as the "goods" for parents' future. The children, especially the boys, are viewed as the supporters of their family. The 'old-age security' and 'material help' values of sons are important, since males are seen as the supporters of their family in the future and, therefore, they are socialized according to those values.

It is clear that the values attributed to sons and daughters would be different where sons were much more valued than daughters. As Kağıtçıbaşı mentions, being good to parents, respectful and loyal is expected from sons. 'To be a good spouse, to have a happy marriage' on the other hand, is desired for girls, reflecting the acceptance of the women's role in home-making (17).

Thus, the role of children are designated according to their sex where boys are give more responsibility and cared more, whereas girls are in a secondary position and there is not much expected of them. These patterns in socialization would inevitably have some important consequences on the future political behavior. The girls might learn to play a secondary and subordinate position in politics, often adopt the males' attitudes and decision and might participate in politics either less than males or only by being influenced by them. On the other hand, the boys are socialized to be active decision-makers and dominant leaders.

By means of these differential expectations, values and different socialization patterns of sons and daughters in our
society, females' and males' involvement in politics and social affairs would be quite different. The girls would be more passive, conformist and obedient, listening to others more, commenting on issues and telling about their own ideas less, whereas boys would be more active, less conformist and obedient, discussing and domineering the conversations about the events and social affairs.

On the other hand, parallel to the expectations of the families and the value given to the children in the family, the children tend to identify with the parent of the same sex. Thus, boys are identified with their fathers and girls with their mothers. As a result of this identification with the same sex-parent, the political behavior of girls and boys are further differentiated (18). The attitude of boys and girls toward authority and authoritarian personality can differ and as a consequence, in the political arena, the roles of men and women can show wide differences. For example, in the United States, the women are often excluded from taking a full and equal part in the politics (19). Women are passive than men in politics as well as in other areas.

In the children's identification process with their parents, some different characteristics of the parents might have different impact upon political socialization (20).

In Eren's study, the maternal employment and the parental education were found to have important effects on children,
especially on their sex-role stereotyping. Children of permanently employed mothers were less sex-stereotypical than those of temporarily employed and housewife mothers. The effect of maternal employment had been greater on daughters compared to sons. Generally, as parental education increased, the degree of sex stereotyping decreased. Among the low-educated parents’ children, the daughters were equally or more stereotyped than the sons. Mother's education had been found to be stronger than the effect of father's education variable. The effect of both maternal employment and maternal education variables were found to be very strong on the degree of sex-stereotyping. The children, especially daughters of working, high-educated mothers stereotyped less on sex-roles and sex-traits than the children of low-educated, housewife mothers.

It is apparent that the boys and girls are affected by their parents and the latter's education and by employment of the mothers. The mothers' education level and their employment level affect the children's socialization according to the sex roles defined by the environment and the society. However, the mother has effect on the children, especially on girls. As noted above, girls identify themselves with their mothers, and acquire less differentiated sex-roles as compared with the boys. These would affect their participation in social and political life, in being responsive and participant in social matters in daily life. Consequently, it seems rather clear that basic family experiences have a significant impact upon the structure of politics. The source of German attitudes towards authority was said to lie in the
structure of authority in the German family and the expectations that derived from experiences within that authority structure. As further examples, American and Russian political behavior have been related to such early, non-political experiences as patterns of weaning or toilet training (21).

OTHER SOCIALIZATION AGENTS

Individuals are also socialized by agents with whom they have no direct personal contact. In other words, apart from the family and the school, there are other very influential agents of socialization. Television is one of them, and it affects children. Children learn from television, and acquire many different types of behavior. Children are also stimulated to different types of feeling through the TV programs.

For instance, advertisements in television have an affect on children as well as it may be that the message in the commercial is the most influential aspect of television. The text-books are also important in socialization of children. Süheyla Bilgen studied mathematics textbooks for primary school children, and has shown that they have impact on sex-role socialization (22). Among the media of mass communication, the effect of the published works are very significant. People get lot of messages from the published materials, and learn many things about the society. Besides, published materials set norms, status positions, institutional functions. They provide children with images of the positions in
such situations and relationships. The written works also present models of behavior of heroes, villains and comics of occupational, ethnic and personality types. The presence of particular characters in such work increases the effectiveness of these materials.

It is known that perceived similarity with a character increases attention, attraction and liking (23). The similarity between the characters in the story and the child attracts his/her attention and let him/her like and imitate those characters. The child as an individual identifies him-self/herself with the characters in the story books (24).

THE EFFECT OF PICTURE BOOKS ON SOCIALIZATION

Among the published works, picture books have a special position as they are visual materials. The vivid stimuli have a special power in learning mechanisms. They are readily noticed, easier to remember and visualized (25). Besides, they have greater emotional impact. For these reasons, picture books and films are said to be the most popular communication vehicles for children (26).

Picture books are important vehicles for the presentation of societal values to the child. Through the books, children learn about the world outside their immediate environment; they learn
about what others do, say and feel; they learn about what is expected of them then and later. As a consequence, children's books reflect cultural values, and they are important instruments for persuading children to accept those values. They also contain prescriptions of roles which guide children to conform to the established types of behavior.

By the stories in books, there emerges a bridge of the dream world and the real world for children. The form and structure of the fairy-tales suggest images to the children by which they can structure their daydreams, and give direction to their lives. Gaining a feeling of selfhood and self-worth and a sense of moral obligation are important since a child needs to understand what is going on in his/her inner self so that s/he can cope them. The child connects his/her inner self by the similarities and liking of the stories, fairy-tales to the real life. By the images in the fairy-tales the daydreams of the child are structured and organized and as a result, their life is led in a particular way (27).

The fairy-tale connects the supernatural and the reality, according to Pertev N. Boratav. The fantastic events in the world is humanized. The giants and other supernatural characters have humanitarian relations. They have family life and jobs. There are kings and queens at the top of them; and the latter can establish marriage relations. Stories have ethical side of the good and bad also. The social institutions and relations of people are reflected in the stories (28).
Various researchers have been interested in children's books and examined their impact upon different sets of variables. David McClelland studied children's books as indicators of achievement values in his cross cultural study of economic development (29). He found a significant relationship between achievement level in folk tales and presence or absence of full-time entrepreneurial activity in various cultures. A strong positive relationship between achievement imagery in children's stories and the economic growth has been found.

Lenore Weitzman studied children picture books in terms of their significance in the area of sex-role socialization. It is found that picture books play an important role in early of sex-role socialization as they introduce the relevant values of society to the children, starting at very early ages (30).

Regarding the sex-role stereotyping in preschool children's picture books, Richard Kolbe and Joseph C. La Voie examined the 19 Caldecott model and honor book selections from 1972 in order to see if there were changes in female sex-role stereotyping. It has been concluded that the roles and the characters of the sexes do not change since 1972. The roles that boys and girls play in the picture books stay the same (31).

It is apparent that through children picture books various values, such as economic, sexual, ethical and political are transmitted and reproduced. They reflect cross-cultural and
historical elements which are represented explicitly or implicitly. They are used in studies to understand the social life and behavior among people.

**IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION**

Political participation which includes voting and identification with a political party and the rules and obligations that must be obeyed in the polity are important for a democratic way of life. Therefore, the participation of the children in the family's decisions and the importance given to their ideas by the family members are significant for their future involvement in politics. The tolerance shown towards the children, the way they are treated, and the way the political events are explained to the children, their compliance and conformity to the parents' decisions and the acceptance or non-acceptance of the parents' decisions are important to understand the political system.

Political participation and the restrictions in social affairs and their interrelated relations are crucial for democracy. The participation of the members according to the rules and values of the society is important. The political socialization of the children plays a crucial role in that respect.
SUMMARY AND THE PURPOSE OF THE PRESENT STUDY

We have seen that picture books play a key role in children's learning of the social world. The power and authority relations which are observed in our daily life can be identified and examined through the picture books of children. The obedience and compliance to authoritarian relations are acquired early in childhood from different socialization agents, and these would have later consequences on one's political behavior. Other agents in this process, such as the family, school, mass media and the peer groups are also important. The family has been given an important and special place, it is clear that the school also plays a key role in political socialization and in acquiring the national feelings and ideas. The authority relations in these institutions are crucial for one's political socialization. In addition to the effects of the family and the school, the television programmes, commercials, textbooks and the other published works are also highly influential upon children. In this study, there is an attempt to study the role of picture books and their effect on political socialization is considered carefully.

In the literature pertaining to picture books and their effects on children, different aspects of social life is examined. One of the aspects that have been studied is the achievement values presented is the picture books (32). Here, the value regarding the achievement variable in picture books have been connected to the economic development and the entrepreneurial activity in different
cultures. The sex-role socialization through these books are also studied and the compliance and obedience to authority among the sexes are examined as well.

The picture books of children focus on other dimensions and themes, such as mother-child relationship, formal education, king's authority, acquisition of wealth and prestige and so on. In the present study, the main focus will be on the authority relations in order to understand the political socialization and the social structure of society. How the authority is conceived and established in social relations are the main questions in mind.

The social norms and values that are established and obeyed in the society are important and to a certain extent can be understood through the books. In this study, the political socialization which is related to the socialization of children in their early ages are studied through the picture books.

METHOD OF STUDY

For the purposes of the present study, we divide children's books into fairy-tales and contemporary child stories. In the case of fairy-tales, we study a popular example from Turkish folk tradition-Keloğlan tales. For contemporary children picture books, we focus on Oya ile Kaya and Tonton Ali series.
The particular books chosen for this study are the ones which were recommended by the Ministry of Education to the schools from the year of 1974 through 1988. These books were selected on the basis of availability in the book-stores in Ankara, during the months of April and May of 1990.

These series of books are considered to be a representative sample of children's books because they were suggested by the Ministry of Education to the schools, therefore they would be most widely read. They are more popular than other books, and children would be encouraged by their teachers and parents to read them.

In the following chapters, a non-analytical content analysis of the contemporary children books and fairy-tales regarding the authority relations in social life will be presented. The implications of our findings will be discussed with respect to the authority relations and political behavior.
Notes to Chapter One:


2. Ibid, pp.6

3. Ibid, pp.8

4. Ibid, pp.9-11


7. Stanley Milgram, 'Some Conditions of Obedience and Disobedience to Authority,' *Human Relations,* (1960), 57-75.


12. Ibid, pp.229

13. Almond, G. and Verba, opcit, pp.329


17. Ibid, pp.167
19. Ibid, pp.23
20. Eren, opcit, pp.86-88
22. Süheyla Bilgen, "Gender Bias in Primary School Arithmetic Testbooks in Turkey" (A Master's thesis in Psychology, Middle East Technical University, 1986)
Contemporary children picture books occupy an important place in children literature in Turkey. Among these books, the series 'Oya ve Kaya' and 'Tonton Ali' are highly popular, and thus have a high edition rate. 'Oya ile Kaya' series focus their attention more on home and non-school environments. Tonton Ali' series emphasize school environment.

In these books, two of the most mentioned themes are school and home environment, which is the family. The children are socialized in a certain order by the role of the school and the family. The children are socialized according to the Republican ideas through the school environment. Home is an important place for the evaluation of the moral values. In the stories, the relation between the school and the home environment is closely constructed and has been interrelated. In the home environment, nuclear family is particularly mentioned and the dominance of the father and the mother are clearly referred to, whereas at school, the teachers are ascribed a dominant and superior position.
FAMILY AND AUTHORITY RELATIONS

An analysis of the books reveal the significance of the parents in the family. Children are guided and supported by their parents. The parent-child relationship of the family is always hierarchical. The positions of the parents and child, especially during the early stages of childhood are clearly distinguishable. The children listen to their parents' words and show compliance. They ask for their permission to do things and act accordingly.

In our sample of picture books, the family is nuclear in form and there is a highly traditional division of labor in the family. The head of the nuclear family is the father who has influence. He bringsings, toys and flags, registers children to school, listens to their poems and songs during special ceremonies. He is the income earner of the family and has relations outside of the house. While the father has the role of breadwinner, the mother stays at home and does the housework. She washes the clothes, cooks the meal and looks after the children, that is, she dresses the children, prepare their breakfast and nurtures them as best as she can. The mothers spend much more time with their children, and they play an important role in the intellectual development of the children. Tonton Ali's mother buys books for his son to improve his reading. She takes him to trips, and makes him see around and learn his environment. She explains everything to him. For example, when they go to Izmir on a holiday, she explains the benefits of sun and sea to his son. When they go to a forest, she tells the various sources
of the trees and why they must be protected. The mother answers Ali's questions, and her explanations are accepted by him. He starts to like the sea, the forest and the trees. Everything is explained to the child and the child does not challenge the reasoning of their mother. In the process, he internalizes the value involved.

Thus, children first learn the authority relations in the family. The children learn to comply to their parents by the latter's explaining to them everything and warm behavior.

Among the parents, mother is the one who spends much more time with the children, and she is the one who shares different things with them. Mother figure is represented as a socio-emotional figure with whom children share their important emotions. For example, when Ali gets his grade report, his mother is the first one he wants to show it and get approval from. His mother's satisfaction with his accomplishments is very important for Ali. In all these books, children always try to make the parents happy with their performance. They always seek the appropriate ways to make the parents satisfied with themselves.

David Easton state that 'anyone who is regularly obeyed is an authority'(1). Therefore, any and all command-obedience relations between people are examples of authority. In the family, between the parents and the children, there is also command and obedience relation, although it is not very strict. The type of authority
relation between the parents and the children is similar to Wrong's concept of competent authority. It is a power relation based on specialized knowledge or skill in which the subject obeys the directive of the authority out of belief in the authority's superior expertise to decide which actions will best serve the subjects' interests and goals (2). Thus, the children obey the parents because they are taught that it is the best route to accomplish their interests and goals. Parents decide what their children should do, what to eat and drink for good health, which schools are best and so on. The parents always decide for their children's life, and this is rationalized as being in the benefit of children. On the other hand, children always have confidence in their parents' expertise and experience. Children are protected under the arms of their parents and socialized by the directives given by them.

Although the mother has authority on the children and influences them emotionally, the father's position is superior than that of the mother. Among the spouses, the husband, being the head of the family, has an influence on his wife and he decides for everyone when they are together. He has the greatest authority in the family; father is the one who says the last word. For example, in Meraklı Tavşancık (Curious Rabbit), Oya and Kaya and their parents go to a picnic, the father decides when to return back home. When children catch a rabbit, he tells them to let it go. The children immediately obey him without questioning his decision. When the father is present, the mother keeps silent; she also obeys
what her husband says, and approves him by her smiles. The father is the decision-maker in the family. He is the one who set the norms and values of his family.

The siblings do not quarrel with each other. They always try to please their parents. They keep themselves clean, do whatever their parents tell them to do. They do not go anywhere without taking their parents' permission, they try to keep the promises they had made to their parents. The siblings behave in a very polite manner both among themselves and towards others. They are successful at school which makes their parents happy. In Tonton Ali, in the story, Karne Günü (Grade Report Day), Ali runs home from school to show his grade report to his mother because she would be pleased. The children obey the rules and the parents, especially the father reinforces their obedience. The children accept their parents' order without showing any resistance as they believe that their instructions are for their maximum wellbeing.

However, it should be noted that the parents attitude towards children is never harsh and strict. On the contrary, they show affection, love and interest, and they always take care of them. The children are explained everything and presented reasons as to why certain of their actions are unacceptable. The relation between the parents and children are emotional and warm. The parents interfere with the children's behavior, but they always have a good reason for that. Tonton Ali's mother advices her son to read books
in holidays as she explains that he should not forget his reading; that's why she buys story books for her son.

As already mentioned, the family is nuclear in form and the siblings in the families are not homogeneous, there are always boys and girls in the stories. Although, the nuclear family is emphasized, the interaction with relatives also take place, but usually limited to those with grand-parents, uncles and aunts. They live in separate residences, outside of their village; they meet on certain days and for significant events. For example, Oya and Kaya visit their relatives in holidays to spend their summer holiday. They show respect to them and obey them when they stay with them. The authority of the parents is transferred to the relatives and the children come to show compliance to their relatives. The children are socialized to show respect and obedience to the relatives. The relations among the generations are based on authority.

The elders are respected; their words are important and conformed to. The grandparents have a special place in children's world. When they visit their house, children meet them with great happiness and gather around them to listen to the stories and fairy-tales. Children love their grandparents, and show their love to them and vice versa. The parents and the relatives, especially the grandparents, have personal authority in the family relations. Personal authority refers to the fact that the subject obeys out of a desire to please or serve another person solely because of the
latter's personal qualities (3). Love, admiration, friendship are the basis of personal authority. The children's attitude towards their grandparents are basically admiration and love. In *Tonton Ali Evde* (At home), children sit on the floor around the grandfather who sits in an armchair where children look up at him and pay great attention to his words while listening to his tales. In *Tonton Ali, Yeni Yıla Giriyor* (Entering New Year), the grandmother is also listened to with a great care. It is clear that children admire their grandparents; their grandparents have personal authority. They are also respected so that an hierarchical relationship is established. The children sit near their knees to show their respect. They are in a lower position as the grandparents always sit in a higher place looking down at them.

The grandparents are presented in these books as the closest relatives who must be shown respect and love. The children are taught to be respectful and obedient to their elders.

In *Tonton Ali*, the relations between the family members are very close that *Tonton Ali* never goes to another city without his parents. In *Tonton Ali, Tatilde* (In Holiday) he goes to İzmir with his mother, and travels around with her. The relations with his parents are very warm; he is very much influenced by his mother. He is together with his parents in every special event, such as New Year, holidays, national days, religious holidays and on his first day of the primary school. The place of the parents in his life is very important. Thus, children learn to be dependent on their
parents. They are encouraged to do whatever their parents say, and do without thinking about it by themselves. As a consequence, later on they may not be able to make decisions on their own, and will be dependent on others.

On the other hand, in Oya ile Kaya, the relations in the family are not as dependent as it is in Tonton Ali. Oya and Kaya are more autonomous. Outside the school, they have different social activities. They can go to holidays by themselves and/or have camp with their friends. They can go by themselves to other countries and cities where their relatives stay. They are free to decide by themselves and are not always guided by their parents. The parental authority is not seen on Oya and Kaya. By this way of rearing up, they can have social relations with others easily, socialized independently and able to refuse the ideas of people more freely.

Still, in most of the books, the nuclear family is emphasized as an important agent of socialization process. The parents have a central place in children's life and the acquisition of their character. The parents have authority on children, they effect children by their warm attitudes and close relations. Mothers affect them emotionally as well as intellectually whereas fathers are the head of the family. Children learn to obey their parents in their social life without refusing them. Moreover, they learn to obey their elders as they are encouraged to accept their relatives' advices.
SCHOOL AS AN AGENT OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

Although the family has an important place in the socialization of children, the school as an institution also affect the children. It is the place where children spend very much of their time, come into contact with different ideas and behavior.

The significance of the school environment is very prominent in the school-centered picture books. The rules of formal education and the ideology of Republic become the central issues here. The school environment has close contacts with the home environment also. The teacher in Turkish society is seen like a mother helping the child. The child is socialized to the society's norms and values both by the teacher at school and by the parents at home. The norms acquired in the family are reinforced in the school by the teacher. The children learn how to behave towards others in the family and behave accordingly in school towards the teachers and their friends. Through the picture books, the children are socialized to the different roles, behavior patterns and authority relations.

The cultural norms, values and expectations are acquired in the schools. Today, it is known that the major portion of political learning takes place in the classroom. By the instruction, the ritual activities and the behavior of the teacher, the political attitudes of the children are shaped. (4)
The dominant ideology is the Republicanism of Atatürk and nationalism. To love the country and the flag and the admiration to Atatürk and do whatever he said are important themes. Tonton Ali says he loves Atatürk very much as every other Turk does. Getting the imaginary approval of Atatürk is very important. The children identify themselves with Atatürk. Identification with him means loving the country, studying very hard, acting responsibly, feeling loyalty to the country, to one's compatriots and having leadership qualifications. Thus, children develop a strong and sound character.

Children, should "deserve to be Atatürk's children". They are grown to be the leaders of the country and the Republic and the protectors of the nation. By such qualifications, children would achieve success in school and in life.

The respect to the flag and loyalty to the nation are reinforced by the parents too. The colors of Tonton Ali's mother's clothes which are red and white, matches with those of the flag. Thus, the color of her clothes symbolizes the flag, which reinforces the feelings of nationalism. By their emotional ties to the mother, children acquire unconsciously the same feelings towards the flag. They come to show respect to the flag and carry it with a great care at important ceremonies. The respect for the flag means respect to the nation and state.
As Robert Hess ad Judith V. Torney indicates, the school is the most important agent of political socialization. It reinforces the child's emotional attachment to his/her nation and teaches him/her norms of citizen obedience and conformity (5).

The school is seen as the major agency in the political socialization of children. Political socialization starts in early ages; it is a developmental process through which the citizen matures politically. The citizen acquires a complex set of beliefs, feelings and information which help him comprehend, evaluate and relate to the political world around him (6).

At school, children learn how to be loyal to the nation and how to be an obedient citizen. The children show loyalty and compliance to their parents at home, and to their teachers at school. The loyalty and obedience in the social institutions are the different sets of beliefs and feelings. At school, children learn to express their loyalty to the political order by obeying its laws. This loyalty turns out as a strong attachment to the state (7). Children are taught to be good and to behave well in society, which results in complying to others' ideas. At school they start to behave well and in a good manner towards the order by obeying the rules.

As the school environment is an important agency for political socialization of children, in the books it is represented as a very important place. Every student is shown as running to
school with a great joy; they cannot wait for its opening day. 'Run Ali, run to school' is a phrase which is encountered very frequently in the picture books. The children are encouraged to like the school.

At school, teacher and student relations are close and warm as well as hierarchical. The teacher is the ultimate authority in the classroom. The teacher one day gives Ali a nickname (Tonton Ali) as she likes him very much, and from that time on, he is called 'Tonton Ali' by everyone. The teacher's advices and decisions are accepted, and shown compliance by everybody. The students respect their teacher, and listen to her /him carefully.

The students are approved by their teacher when they behave in a proper manner. According to Wrong, "authority by inducement" employs positive sanctions to bring about obedience on the part of the power subject rather than the threat of negative sanctions (8). The students receive a reward for their proper behavior and good manners in the form of verbal reinforcements. With the good things said to them, they are encouraged to behave in a good manner. The behavior and ideas which are liked and accepted by the teacher is encouraged and, by that way, the children are socialized to certain patterns of behavior and ideas as the teacher has very much influence on the children. By the verbal approvement of the teacher the children start to obey the teacher, as they wish to please their teacher.
It is also possible that children are faced with a "legitimate authority". In this kind of power relation, the power holder possesses an acknowledged right to command and the power subject would have an acknowledged obligation to obey. Legitimate authority presupposes norms which are shared within a large group or community, rather than two parties. The larger community in which these norms are shared, provides the background for such a relation; norms become prescribed. The imperative and compulsory nature of legitimate authority has two main features. First, the subordinate feels obliged to obey eventhough s/he may dislike or disagree with a particular command. Second, s/he is aware of the norms of the larger 'collectivity of subordinates' which prescribe obedience and if s/he does not comply with them s/he would be disapproved (9).

In the books, the shared norms and values are established and reinforced as the ideology of the Republic. The love and the loyalty to the country, the obedience and compliance to the authority are important themes. At school, these norms and values are established authoritatively. These norms become legitimate and prescribed and the obedience to authority is necessary; not to show compliance to them will be disappreciated. In the books, the children always show compliance to what is said and done by the teachers. They always behave in a manner which is approved by the teacher. They are always happy and eager to do what they are told to do.
The bayram (national day) has a special place in the school. It is a special occasion and various ceremonies take place. Children like the bayram. They are happy to read poems and to sing songs. Bayram is celebrated to enhance loyalty to the country. At school, students sing national songs and recite nationalistic poems. The flags are hung everywhere, and pictures of Atatürk is put to special places. These are the rituals through which the basic feelings of loyalty and devotion to the state is reinforced. As Hess and Torney indicate, these events establish an emotional orientation towards the country. In the books, to be Turk is an important theme. Tonton Ali is proud of himself and his parents that they are Turks. Bayram is the time when the Republic and the nation are celebrated. Children feel collective identity towards the country and the state.

Success and satisfying the requirements are highly important in school. Children have also certain duties and requirements at home. First of all, they have to sleep early and wake up early. They must have a good breakfast. They should study their lessons hard. Keeping themselves tidy, clean and neat are very important. At school, children are always presented as very neat in their uniforms. The discipline at home extends to school environment. At school, by the sound of the ringing of the bell, the children get immediately in line in front of the teacher, and enter into their classrooms. They prepare their pencils and notebooks before the teacher comes and are all seated. They should wait their teacher in
an orderly fashion and silently, which will show their respect to
the teacher. There is a distinct hierarchy at school; the children
are always respectful towards their teacher, since the teacher is
the ultimate leader in the classroom. The teacher provides the
formal discipline. The students are also under the teacher's
influence in terms of their lives outside of the school; the
teacher tells them what they should do and not to do; and designates
what the children will do after the school hours.

The order and discipline observed in the stories provide the
children to accept certain norms and values, such as listening to
what the teacher says and do. The order is very important as by
that way, children would learn to obey the law without hesitation
in their adult years.

The success at school is important, and depends on listening
to the teacher carefully and hard work. The leadership at school is
also important. For example, Tonton Ali is always in front of all
the students in certain days and events and he makes speeches to
other students through the microphone. His behavior is approved by
the teacher, and he is paid special care by the teacher who as
already mentioned, named him 'Tonton Ali', which is a term showing
love and sympathy in Turkish.

The political behavior of children is mostly acquired at
school, through the teacher. There is order at school. The
activities of the teacher at bayram and other special days which provide for the strengthening of national feelings are important themes. The ideology of Republic is stressed. Authority relations are established. The children are emotionally identified with the nation, as a result of the influence of the teacher.

The school environment is related to the family life, the parents encourage their children to like their school. Obedience to the rules at school continues at home and vice versa. The mother and the teacher have the same role for the children.

At school, the children learn to obey the rules and norms, and behave in an orderly, disciplined manner. The importance given to special days such as bayram consolidate the nationalistic feelings of children. They are politically socialized to be loyal to the nation and the state.

Children never lead the discussion; they are silent in most of the time. They only answer the questions. However they are always happy and smiling. Children always accept what is said to them, and never challenge their teachers and other people. It is clear that they strictly obey the rules at school.

POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION ACCORDING TO THE SEX-ROLES

The girls and boys occur more or less in the same frequencies in the stories. Girls are not ignored or underrepresented in 'Oya
ile Kaya'. However, they have a secondary place in various activities as well as in the title of the books. For example, the main characters in Tonton Ali are boys. The adult men are in a high status jobs, whereas women have usually the feminine roles of housewife, teacher, nurse and so on. As the family is the primary agent for the socialization process, the children learn the distinctions between the boys and girls through which they can interpret and evaluate relations outside of the family. Girls and boys learn the roles that are prescribed for them in society.

Girls identify themselves with their mothers and boys with their fathers. The division of labor according to sex is evident. Girls have the role of housewives when they play games and boys have the role of protecting the others. Girls go to shopping, feed the animals, their baby-dolls, water the flowers. Girls play the role of providing the necessary things for the continuation of life.

It is very much clear in the picture books that girls would identify themselves with their mothers who always give their love and care to the family, who always keep silent when their husbands are present, and who support their husbands. The women as mothers look after their children. Although they have influence on their children, the father has much more influence on children as well as on the mother. The father rather than the mother is the
decision-maker. Boys would expect girls to listen to them. The girls are encouraged to be passive and subordinate to the boys; they are often silent and the boys make decisions for both groups. These would be reflected in the political participation of the adults, where men would participate actively and women would keep silent and passive.

At school, the boys are more active than girls. Boys sit in the front rows, and they always read or write something. Boys write better than girls, and paint good pictures, meaning that they have also ability for arts. The boys are the ones who carry the pictures of Atatürk in special days and ceremonies and they make very good pictures of Atatürk. In the special days such as April 23rd—Children's Day, boys are much more active than girls; girls watch them by appreciation and with silence. Boys are encouraged to participate in national days and events. Girls come into the scene in ordinary days and by the encouragement of boys. For example, Şenay sings songs to Ali, but it does not take place in a group. It is only Ali who listens to her and approves her by clapping his hands. Girls do not take part in social or national events as boys do. They are placed in a secondary position and need the appreciation of the boys. They are taught to be subordinates and dependent on boys' approval. These characteristics of rearing children prepare them in different ways for politics where men would become active and know what to do and how to behave and women would be dependent on others and would be passive.
Girls always stand by the boys and listen to them without making any comments. Boys decide for both of them. For example, Kaya suggests to the head of the band to play in the band of the city in the name of both of them without asking Oya's opinion. Oya does not seem to be disturbed from the fact that Kaya makes decisions for both of them. Kaya has authority over his sister. He is the one who protects his sister; Oya depends on Kaya. When Oya rarely comes up with an idea, there are times Kaya refuses his sister; Oya never does that. She goes along without hesitation. Boys are expected to guide girls and to be in a dominant position over them, whereas girls should be dependent and submissive. Girls are more devoted. For example, Oya wonders about Kaya when he is away, and thinks about him, and waits for him with patience.

The sports have a central place in children's social life. Apart from the school, they do sports as much as they can, especially in holidays. The sports that boys and girls do differ. As in every social activity, the boys are more active and have more talent than the girls. In addition, the girls cannot do every sport. For example, they can do water sports such as water-ski and wind-surf on boat, but they cannot go hunting. The boys can drive well; girls drive when the boys let them.

The boys are expected to be independent. They can go to holidays with their friends whereas girls cannot; when girls go, they are with their brothers. The girls are dependent on their brothers, on boys.
The characterization of girls as submissive, dependent and passive and of boys as dominant, independent, active, ambitious, self-confident will affect their later political behavior. With these personality traits, when they grow boys would participate actively in politics, would be decision-makers, and would be making the rules and norms for their families and other institutions, whereas girls would be passive and obedient and would not be able to be involved in politics.

PEER GROUPS AND SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

The children, as observed in the picture books act together and spend their time together. In Oya ile Kaya, Kaya has many friends and he is the leader among them. He makes decisions and organizes everything for his friends. He has influence among his friends and can influence their decisions. In Tonton Ali series Ali finds the mistakes of his friends and tells them what to do. He warns them against illnesses, accidents and traffic. To act bravely is a theme appreciated among boys, as Ali does not approve his friend when the latter becomes afraid of inoculation. Ali leads his friends when certain things are to be done and makes a division of labor; nobody challenges him. In the books, the leadership is stressed and children are taught to acquire the relevant characteristics. They are encouraged to be leaders and decisionmakers, which, of course, would affect their political attitudes in their adult years.
Among peer groups organization is important. Children organize themselves so that they can tackle problems. They also act bravely, which is an important thing for boys. In Cesur İtfaiyeciler (Brave-Fire-Extinguishers), Ali and his friends begin to make a fire engine from wood. Their neighbour, the farmer Osman makes fun of their work. However, the children do not listen to what he says and finish their work, which shows their perseverance. When there is a fire in Osman's farm, they bravely extinguish the fire. The children also worked in an organized way; that was another reason why they could extinguish the fire. Kaya tries to stop the fire by a brunch of tree, another boy spreads the water through a hose, still another throws sand on the fire, a group carries water by the bucket. By a division of labor, the fire is stopped before it is spread. Their braveness and skillfulness are appreciated by everyone. Osman has no authority on children, although he is older despite of the fact that the old is respected and listened to. He has a lack of authority as he made fun of the children rather than explained things to them. He did not show respect to their ideas. To show respect is crucial and even the children should be respected. The participation of the children in social events and providing themselves to others are themes in Brave Fire-Extinguishers.

Among friends, organization is an important notion. Organizing and acting collectively and thus doing the best is crucial. This would have a crucial impact for later political
behavior where organization and division of labor would be important. Children are encouraged to participate actively and in an organized way. Here, leadership has a special place. In Oya and Kaya, *Kampa Çıkıyoruz* (Going to the Camp), children circle around the fire and share with others by acting collectively. They sing songs, tell stories together. The acting in union and sharing with others induces children to organize on other occasions too.

In Oya and Kaya, *Büyükbabanın Dostları* (Grandfather's Friends) Kaya collides with grandfather's cart which is full of vegetables. Actually, he is not 'grandfather', but an old man who grows and sells vegetables. As he is old like their grandfather, children call him "grandfather". The old man is identified with grandfather, so the children are emotionally close to him and try to help him as Kaya did. Children show respect for the old man. They run to his help when he breaks his leg by colliding with Kaya. The respect for old men has a special place in children's world. The elders have influence on over children, with the feelings of love and sympathy.

Turning to other matters, the doctor in the story tells the "grandfather" to stay at home. He takes the doctor's advice which implies that the doctor has a competence and therefore, authority. The grandfather listens to him because his being well depends on the doctor's expertise. He is not forced to obey the doctor, instead he reasons and decides to comply. Upon this, Kaya helps him...
and take care of his vegetable garden, so that he can rest. Altruism and helping the elders are emphasized as important in social life. Kaya and his friends organize, pick all the vegetables up and sell them at the bazaar. Kaya is the one who organizes others and assigns duties to them. In helping others and serving the elders, they always act in an organized fashion. According to the books the expert knowledge is important and creates authority relation between people. Children are induced to acquire knowledge which would bring them to power and affect their social and political life in such a way that they would lead others. Of course, it is the boys who are encouraged to have expert knowledge and therefore power rather than girls. With knowledge, people can act rationally and organize themselves under all kinds of circumstances including the political ones. Organization is repeatedly emphasized. Children learn how to act in groups organized by a leader. Children learn how to act in groups organized by a leader. Children are taught to be led by others and to lead.

The other elder people's injunctions who are not blood relatives are also important for the children in Oya and Kaya, Küçük Fotoğrafçı (Little Photographer): When they took a photograph in a dangerous position and the photos were developed, the photograph man warned them about the dangerous thing they did. Both Oya and Kaya did not say anything; they were ashamed and very sorry. Kaya promised not to do again. The photograph man in that relation had an authority over children, as he had a rational argument and
expertise. This type of authority is called 'competent authority' by Wrong, as already mentioned (11).

The knowledge and expertise are the ultimate sources of authority. When the children give the negative of the photos to be developed they wanted to get them back as soon as possible, however the man told to be patient as it takes time for the photos to be developed. The children took the advice of the photographer. They did not hurry things up because, the photographer knew what he was doing.

According to these books knowledge is power. Children are encouraged to listen to the elders as well as respect their authority. The authority of elders depends on their experience and knowledge. Children are represented as the ones who has lack of knowledge and experience. The latter can be acquired from the elders and expert people, so that one day children could be the ones who would participate in politics, and make decisions.

The organization among people is so important that it requires discipline and order. Organizing requires conforming to rules and regulations. The organization also involves hierarchical relations among people. In the books, children observe others organizing where obeying the rules are evident. Conforming to the rules as well as participation is important for the consolidation of democracy.
IMPORTANCE OF TIDINESS

The cleanliness and orderliness is also emphasized in these books. The daily life is organized accordingly. Children make their toilet cleaning themselves, brush their teeth, sleep and wake up early, and go to school on time. Using the objects and things in a careful manner and keeping them clean and orderly is another responsibility that is expected of children. The house and its environment should also be kept clean and tidy. The garbage should not be thrown on the floor. Eating three times a day is very important and washing the hands after the meals is strongly advised. Children should keep away from cold weather and take care of themselves. Another important theme is obeying the traffic rules and being careful while crossing the streets. The outcomes if such rules are not obeyed are explained clearly.

The political socialization of children starts from their early life. By the duties that they perform, they learn to act in a disciplined and lawful manner. They grow up in an environment where the rules have a prominent position.
Notes to Chapter Two


3. Ibid, pp.60-61

4. Dawson and Prewitt, opcit, pg.147


6. Dawson and Prewitt, opcit, pp.17

7. Ibid, pp.21-22

8. Wrong, D., opcit, pp.44

9. ibid, pp.49-51


11. Wrong, opcit, pp.52
FAIRY TALES

Keloğlan is a very popular folk tale hero, being a humoristic, carefree peasant boy who copes with the world by using his wits. The norms and values and the behavior patterns in these tales as in others derive from a particular historical context. To understand the authority relations in these tales, it is necessary to understand Keloğlan and his environment.

KELOĞLAN AND HIS SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

Keloğlan lives in a poor village. He is an orphan either from his father's side or from both sides. Most of the time, he lives with his old mother. Keloğlan is different from others in his village as he is bald and has a rather defective physical appearance. He is bald as it is pointed out in his name (Baldboy), but this does not mean that he is stupid. Contrary to his appearance, he is very clever and practical minded. Keloğlan is the only one in his village who has questioning mind.

Thus, Keloğlan is different from others and he is presented as an ideal type of person for whom rights of and fairness to people
are important. In that respect, he represents the ideal type or personality and citizen in a republic.

Keloğlan is also carefree which may be the outcome of his social background. As he lives in a poor village, he does not want to work and wishes to earn just to survive. But concerning many matters, he does not want to be like others. But his freedom and independency of Keloğlan is related his being orphan. As he did not have parental authority of his father, he acts on his own. It is clear that his mother does not have much influence on him. This lack of parental authority on father's side and the weak influence relation on mother's side make him think and decide independently, that is, on his own. It is apparent that women as mothers have a lack of authority over children. The children are socialized to take for granted women's secondary position in their adulthood the women will not be regarded by men as significant in social and political matters. Turning back to his difference, from others, his difference comes from his baldness too. He is always teased regarding his physical appearance; his humorous, soft, tolerant and carefree character may be the result of this treatment accorded him by his social environment. The individualism and differences among people are stressed in Keloğlan tales. However, society too have an important place in peoples'life as it sets norms and values that one has to conform to. The norms, values, and rules set by society have influence on people.
The social world around Keloğlan is a dangerous place. Everybody around him tries to deceive others, but it is hard to cheat Keloğlan. By using his wit, he deceives the ones who try to cheat him. The giants, the ordinary people in the streets, even the judges who represent the state cheat or deceive people. Keloğlan has the ability to defend himself against this harsh and brutal environment by using his intelligence. He is shown as a small boy who can defeat and get ahead the big. He can talk to the judges freely. To be able to handle others, one needs to have a rational mind. By the use of one's intelligence, the cheaters would be given their lesson. To obey to the norms and rules is the important notion that children are socialized. Even the most powerful man should be punished if they do not obey the rules.

Keloğlan is a character who wants to please everyone and wants to make favors to people. He is the hero of people. In Tombul Çanak (Fat Pot), the pot is personalized, acts like the friend of Keloğlan and they go out of the village to take a job, but meet Beyoğlu, who steals from the poor by threatening them. Keloğlan and the pot save the villagers from the robbers by using their wits and talents. Consequently, they are offered many things to stay and live with the villagers. The villagers accept their power and authority as they protected their rights and saved them from the bad guys. The protection of others is a source of authority. In that way one would have the respect of others.
Keloğlan takes things from the rich and powerful and give them to the poor. For example, in a village where Paşaoğlu owns everything and gets his share from everything the peasants produce, Keloğlan plays a game to his wives and gets their jewellery, and then distributes them to the villagers in his village. He is against the inequalities and unfairness, and tries to find a solution.

Turning to another theme, the women in the tale (Tombul Çanak) is put in a secondary position; they are presented as persons who can be cheated easily and who do not have wits to stop it. They are put in an inferior position. They are silent. They complain to their husbands for their problems which are to be solved by them.

The social environment around Keloğlan cannot be trusted. Even the rulers try to shortchange people. The kadi (judge), cheats people by using his position and authority and receive bribes. He uses his kavuk (his official headgear) to do that. He has the duty of granting to people what they inherited, but he behaves unfairly and takes most of it for himself; he turns upside down the pot which is full of gold down from his head and the ones which are left in his kavuk are owned by him. His kavuk is so big that a few of gold coins drop on the floor. Against this unfair treatment, Keloğlan goes to the başkadi (head judge) in the city. But Keloğlan is disappointed because the judges in the top hierarchy too behave in the same unfair fashion. The kavuk’s of higher judges are
greater. That is, the more powerful gets more from people. Keloğlan plays a game on the kadi which everyone in the country comes to find out and consequently the controller is sent to the village who has the power to dismiss the kadi.

Keloğlan represents the feelings and ideas of the villagers and the people. He is the one who can bring down the state's officers. The rules that are not obeyed are to be corrected, even if they are applied by the state's officers, is the main idea communicated through the books. Individuals as citizens have the right to control the state's agencies. The participation of individuals in state's matters are important for the consolidation of democracy.

The hierarchy in the social life is apparent. The state's institutions are based on hierarchial relations. For example, the judge is the one who represents the state and the positions of the officers in the state hierarchy change from the city to the village. The hierarchial relations between the institutions of the city and the village are clearly observed. The officers of the state are controlled by the officers at higher echelons. For example, the kadi is the one who decides on people's inheritances. If the kadi would not do his job well, he is altered by other officers. The children are socialized to the hierarchy in question.

The hierarchial relations are also seen in those cases where problems of people are solved by themselves or by the people around
them. If a problem between two people cannot be solved, other people are asked to act as a judge. If the people by themselves cannot solve their problems then they ask state's officers to decide. The judge representing the state has the ultimate authority. The state is presented as the final authority. The decisions of the state are represented as right and just such that no one disagrees with them.

The hierarchal relations encountered in the books are, of course, based on authority relations. The ones who are at the top of the hierarchy have the authority over the others in every sphere of social life.

The powerful and the powerless and the inequality in power relations are often mentioned. Although the children are socialized to the hierarchal relations, to be obedient to the rules and authoritarian relations, there is an idea communicated through the books that the state's officers can be questioned and they can even be altered by the initiative of the citizens. The possibility of the participation of the people in state affairs and their influence on state's institutions although obeying the rules and procedures, are the ideas transferred to children.

As already implied, society in Keloğlan tales has an important place. People participate in the making of decisions and decides on issues. People as a collective being can decide and make others obey that decision. The collectivity of people and their
importance in making others obey their rules and decisions are the notions to which children are socialized. They learn to accept the group's ideas as a collective decision, and act according to the majority's ideas.

KELOĞLAN AND THE POWERFUL

Keloğlan is different from other people around him. As being an extraordinary character he questions the system and its values. By making fun of many, he criticizes the ongoing system which is based on the absolute power of the sultan.

Keloğlan is the one who deals with the big and powerful by using his wit. The big and powerful are either the Sultan or the giant, but the supreme authority is the padişah (sultan). He is the most powerful man. Padişah has also wits and uses his men accordingly and directs others. In Keloğlan tales, padişah is the coercive power. The coercive authority according to Wrong, is where A obtains B's compliance by threatening him with force (2). Padişah threatens the subjects with force and obtains their compliance. Mostly, the threats are related to the life of the subjects. The children are presented with the threat of violence which is a source of authority relation. The giants have physical power that everybody is afraid of. The giants use their physical power to subdue people. The giant represents the stupidity on the part of the big. By the wit of Keloğlan, the giant can be overcome easily.
Keloğlan acquires authority in that respect, as he is clever and can manipulate the giant.

Padişah's orders and words are never questioned; they are obeyed immediately. The smallest crimes against his authority are punished with imprisonment or even by a death sentence. For example, in tale of Keloğlan, Görünmez Adam, (Invisible man) padişah needs someone who could discover the mystery in her daughter's new shoes, which became very old in one night. Keloğlan tells that he can solve the mystery. The padişah threatens him with death if he cannot find out, but Keloğlan succeeds.

Death is the usual punishment. The death sentence is given without considering the kind of crime. It is given by the padişah and his decisions can not be refused or questioned. In most of the puzzles to which he cannot find solutions and needs someone else. For this purpose, Keloğlan is the one who comes into the scene. Keloğlan comes either by himself or he is called by the padişah.

Padişah keeps his promises. Therefore, he is the one whom everybody trusts. He is respected. Padişah pays attention to the requirements in his office. Although sometimes he gets very angry, he does not show it as he is known as a calm and understanding person. Acting moderately, being calm and understanding are among the themes stressed in Keloğlan tales.
The power of padişah comes from his legal position rather than from his personal abilities. He is not clever or powerful. He always needs someone else to solve his problems and keeps the persons with special talents by his side. In Anlı Şanlı Kahraman, (The Mighty Hero) Keloğlan buys a sword which is different from others. This sword draws padişah’s attention and he invites him to his palace. Keloğlan starts to live there in a great comfort. One day, padişah asks him to go to the war as the commander of his army against the giant. Keloglan is not a brave boy actually, what makes him brave looking and powerful is his sword. He goes to the war and overcomes the giant by his wits. He is immediately accepted as a hero and brave man. Each time padişah sends him for a difficult task, Keloğlan succeeds and fulfils tasks assigned to time. Padişah is also clever; he tests Keloğlan and his abilities each time.

The rule that the padişah makes are never questioned. However, the participation of the people in public affairs is never observed. Keloğlan is the only exception. People are silent; they obey padişah, the powerful man. Keloğlan is the only one who participates in decisions by obeying the rules. He is represented as an extra ordinary and different man who presents the ideal of the democracy and republic where the participation and obeying the rules and regulations are crucial notions.

Keloğlan is the only one who can find solutions. By his abilities, he acquires authority among people. He is listened to
and trusted each time he succeeds. Padişah and his grand viziers and the other men in the palace are not as clever as Keloğlan. It is always him to find the solutions to the problems. By his cleverness, he comes to have authority. He humourizes the state and its officers. The idea that the ordinary man in the street can take part in state's affairs successfully is a notion communicated to children. By the personal abilities, one can participate in political and social affairs.

Keloğlan has no permanent job. He takes risks and try to solve difficult problems of the big, that is, the padişah, that no one has the courage to do. The padişah is represented as the absolute authority. By finding faults in the system and by showing them to the powerful, Keloğlan acquires authority and presents the ideal type of citizen in a republic. For example, in Harifetli Hırsızlar (Skillful Thieves), Keloğlan catches the thieves who steal from Padişah's place by using his wits. In return, he demands nothing from padişah but to be in his position only for a day. Padişah accepts it and Keloğlan makes improvements in the palace. Keloğlan corrects the faults of padişah and his officers. He puts the ideal type of system in action. In that respect, the ideal type of republic is communicated to children through the books where questioning the system and correcting the faults whoever makes them and to be open to criticism are important themes, that the authority of the king and the state institutions should drive from legal principles and the powers of the padişah do not change when someone else comes into that position are the ideas.
which are emphasized. The position itself has the power to command and manage. The children in that way are socialized to the structure of state institutions where the offices rather than the people are important.

SEX-ROLES

In Keloğlan tales women actors are rare. Where they are present, they are silent in most of the times. The women are led and manipulated by men. They are generally mothers, wives and daughters. The men are the kings, giants, and the powerful men who have authority.

The women accept the authority of men in all cases; the mother of Keloğlan, too, listens to what his son says. For example, when Keloğlan wants to marry Padişah's daughter, which is regarded as a dream, he forces his mother to go to the palace and ask for the daughter's hand. In the story of Ali Cengiz Oyunu (The Game of Ali Cengiz), Keloğlan is keen on what he wants, and he persuades his mother by repeating his wishes that she finally accepts it. The parental authority is not present at home. Keloğlan's father is not present in the tales, and his mother cannot influence him. In general, the father authority at home is dominant, a point already made. Children listen to their fathers and the men rather than women. The boys are socialized to command women, even their mother. They learn to make women and girls to accept their authority.
The women, on the other hand, have the role of pleasing the men. The princess is manipulated by the grand vizier in the story of Görünmez Adam (Unvisible Man). She is a sleep-walker at nights and acts as a dancer to please men. The women are behind the men-to make them happy and relaxed. The important positions are fulfilled by men. The women are always silent; they do not comment on any subject. They are under the influence of men and protected by them. They are not presented as having wits or any kind of ability. By these notions, the girls would have the feelings of inferiority and boys would feel superior to girls, and would be socialized accordingly. Boys would be powerful and participants in social affairs. On the other hand, girls would be dependent on men and listen to what they are told. The boys would be socialized to be powerful and authoritarian whereas girls would be submissive and obedient in social life and politics.
Notes to Chapter Three:

1. Boratav, opcit, pp.278
2. Wrong, opcit, pp.41.
CONCLUSION

In the children picture books, a separate world is constructed for children, that is, childhood is the dominant section of life. By contrast, in traditional Keloğlan tales, a totalistic and comprehensive conception of life is presented. In the latter, the different phases of life can be seen where the people are born, live and die. In the fairy tales, children are faced with different aspects of life and socialized to meet different behavior patterns in different spheres of society. Thus, in the children picture books, children are not introduced to social problems and various misfortunes of life. The world of children is secure and protected where home as well as the school is the center of this world. They constitute a world of their own.

It cannot be denied that authority in social life is seen through the picture books. The types of authority varies in the stories. The coercive authority is seen particularly in Keloğlan tales where the violence has a dominant place. Padişahs have sole and coercive authority in the country similar to the state in modern picture books. Yet, there are differences of legitimation where state's authority is legitimized by the institutions such as school, family and special ceremonies and by the people whereas padişah's authority depends on the family lineage. Parents and the
relatives have authority other than coercive one in modern stories. They have competent authority where the expert knowledge has an influencing aspect on others. Moreover, personal authority is established between members of a small group where love, affection and care-taking play important roles in social interactions.

The family has a special place in the acquisition of authoritarian values as parents have almost complete influence on children. The father's and mother's nature of influences differ from each other where the father has a dominant role in family life as it can be observed in Keloğlan tales that the lack of the father figure creates difficulties for the mother to grow him up. The mother has an affectionate, emotional care of her children. She is closer to her children and influences them by emotional ties such as love and affection. Children are induced to show respect and compliance to their parents and elders. They learn to obey the rules in the family such as attending to their toilet and going to bed and getting up early in order to be ready for another day. The children are silent at home and listen to what others say. The others are either the parents or the elders. In that way, children are socialized politically to be obedient to the rules, and they learn to comply with the decisions of others. The participation of the children in the family life is not encouraged.

By the parental authority at home, especially by the emotional relations between mother and child, the children learn to feel themselves close to the teacher. The school and the authority
of the teacher is so important that it is very much emphasized in the contemporary picture books. School is an agent of construction and establishment of national ideology. The feelings of loyalty to the nation, nationalism, leadership as well as organization are the notions that the children come across in the picture books. School is an agent of construction and establishment of national ideology. The feelings of loyalty to the nation, nationalism, leadership as well as organization are the notions that the children come across in the picture books. These notions are encouraged by the family and the social environment. In the traditional tales, it is also possible to observe the ideology of the republic, but this is widely structured in every sphere of social life. Children are socialized to participate in the public affairs. The established ideology is questioned by Keloğlan and the duties that the citizens must perform against unfair treatment are stressed. Keloğlan questions the unfair treatments of the state's officers towards the citizens and tries to solve them by using his own reasoning. By his way of solving the problems and the difficulties, the notions of rightness and fairness are pointed out.

The hierarchical relations between people are emphasized both in modern picture books and fairy tales. The parents-children, teacher-children relations are based on hierarchy that derive from authority. Similarly, the padişah's hierarchical position is based on his authority. Children are socialized to the hierarchy between people and they get involved in authority relations. Moreover, they
are socialized to the state and to hierarchical structuration of the state institutions.

The authority relations differ between the sexes. The women are dominated by men. They are almost always silent and do not express their opinions. It is the men who decide for them. Their role is to be behind the men, supporting the latter. The women are less observed in traditional tales whereas they are much more apparent in modern stories. In the traditional tales, they have the roles of being a housewife, wife and daughter, and they are to make men happy and successful. For example, in Keloğlan tales, Keloğlan's mother is effected by him and depends on what her son says. She even talks to the padişah to make him happy. In contemporary books, the situation is more flexible where women can work outside of home as teachers, nurses and so on. Yet, there are limitations on women regarding gender roles in both of the two categories of books. In contemporary picture books, women are more respected as compared to the fairy tales. By the roles constructed in the books, the girls and boys would be socialized differently, and their attitudes and behavior would be different consequently. In politics, girls would be silent and passive as well as dependent on political issues and participate less, and boys would be active and independent as well as affecting others by participating in the decisionmaking process.

Participation of people in political and social affairs are worth mentioning. In fairy tales of Keloğlan, he as a character
emphasizes the importance of participation and he himself participates in social and political affairs. By the notions developed in Keloğlan tales, children would learn to participate in every sphere of social life and would have a questioning attitude. They would even try to correct the faults of the system. The Keloğlan tales show the importance of participation as well as obeying to rules. The fairness and justness are important notions on which Keloğlan tales focus. The children would be affected by these notions. The authoritarian padişah and his way of ruling the country is humourized and criticized by Keloğlan by which the importance of democracy is implied. However, in the contemporary children picture books, the obedience to the rules and authority are significant themes. The ideology of the republic is furnished by the school. That is why, most of the picture books revolve around the school. The themes of nationality, loyalty to the nation the elders are taught in the school and are reinforced by the home environment. The children are socialized to obey the rules without hesitation but they are taught to participate less in social and political affairs. They are to follow their elders and listen to their words with great attention.

The collectivity is a notion in the stories. The people act and decide together. They behave collectively in social matters, especially in decision making. The society as a collective being can be manipulated more easily. Yet, Keloğlan is the only one who acts individualistically. He is a person who humorizes as well as
criticizes the established system. The people in the tales except Keloğlan acts collectively, as a group. In the contemporary picture books, children also act in a collective way at school, among peer groups, in special activities and so on.

Therefore, the authority relations have an important place in our society. Nearblind obedience and compliance are widespread. Although, there are themes that are relevant for democratic way of life, such as participation, division of labor, organization, listening to others and obeying the rules and so on; they are not stressed strictly and clearly in the picture books that are observed.
APPENDIX

List of Children's Picture Books
and Fairy Tale Used

CHAPTER TWO:

1. No author (Na), Kaya Avcı, Ankara: Kurtuluş, no date (nd)
CHAPTER THREE:


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2. Bilgen, Süheyla "Gender bias in primary school arithmetic text-books in Turkey" (A Master's thesis in Psychology, Middle East Technical University 1986).


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36. Tisak, Marie "Children's Conceptions of Parental Authority", Child Development, 57, (1986), pp. 166-167,
