

Gender Stereotyping in Civic Education Textbooks in Turkey throughout the Republican History¹

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ABSTRACT

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This paper examines gender stereotyping in civic education textbooks in Turkey from foundation of the Turkish Republic (1923) up to the present. In order to determine how accurately the civic education textbooks reflect the status of women and men in Turkey a content analysis was conducted on civic education textbooks in Turkey throughout the Republican period. Despite the recent developments that indicate an increasing level of sensitivity to gender issues the findings suggest that the ideal of a truly balanced treatment of women and men has yet to be achieved and traditional ‘masculine’ understandings of citizenship appear to permeate civic education textbooks’ in Turkey. The discussion shows there is an urgent need to employ gender and difference as categories of analysis in the creation of a more inclusive understanding of citizenship in Turkey.

Keywords: Turkey; Citizenship; Civic Education; Gender Stereotyping

ÖZ

İNCE, Başak, **Türkiye’de Cumhuriyet Tarihi Boyunca Vatandaşlık Ders**

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Bu çalışmanın amacı Türkiye'deki vatandaşlık ders kitaplarında toplumsal cinsiyet kalıplamalarını Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kuruluşundan günümüze incelemektir. Türkiye'de vatandaşlık ders kitaplarının kadın ve erkeklerin durumunu ne ölçüde doğru olarak aktardığını belirlemek amacıyla cumhuriyet tarihi döneminde yayımlanan ders kitaplarının içerik analizi yapılmıştır. Her ne kadar son zamanlardaki gelişmeler toplumsal cinsiyet meselelerine artan duyarlılığa işaret etse de, çalışma bulguları kadın ve erkeklerin dengeli biçimde ele alınması idealinin henüz gerçekleşmediğini ve Türkiye'de ders kitaplarında geleneksel 'erkil' anlayışın tüm katmanlarda yer bulduğunu göstermektedir. Tartışma Türkiye'de daha kapsayıcı bir vatandaşlık anlayışının yerleşmesi için 'toplumsal cinsiyet' ve 'farklılığın' analiz kategorileri olarak ele alınmasına acilen ihtiyaç olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türkiye; Vatandaşlık; Vatandaşlık Eğitimi; Toplumsal Cinsiyet Kalıplaması

Introduction

According to the World Values Survey Association's study in Turkey, citizens are becoming more intolerant and patriarchal. The survey found that 76% of the respondents think 'the head of the family should be man' and 64% think 'a woman should always obey her husband'. 68% of the respondents agreed with the statement 'children of a mother working outside the home will be harmed' and 71% agreed men make better political leaders. The survey revealed the extent to which domestic violence is internalised: 62% of the respondents think that women should obey men, while 30% say that some women deserve spousal abuse. Homophobia is also very high among the respondents. For example, 84% of the respondents do not want gay neighbours.²

Gender issues require as much attention now as ever in Turkey. Education, especially civic education, plays a prominent role in ensuring gender equality in any society. School textbooks can be a tool of teaching the young how to approach and question gender-related issues. In this respect the textbook study and particularly the civic education textbooks study is a ground-breaking initiative which can have tremendous impact in shifting perceptions of women and men, shaping patriarchal cultural heritage, and creating tolerant citizens in Turkey.

² Yılmaz Esmer, *Değişimin Kültürel Sınırları: Türkiye Değerler Atlası 2012*. Bahçeşehir Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2012.

Previous studies have addressed civic education in Turkey.³ There have also been studies focusing on gender stereotyping in school textbooks in Turkey.⁴ However, studies of gender representation in civic education textbooks are scanty. A limitation of previous studies is their shared interest in only identifying the representation of women. This study aims to look at the representation of both women and men in civic education text books in Turkey from the founding of the Republic in 1923 up to the present.

Citizenship, Gender and Civic Education

Citizenship is a concept that is central to the analysis of identity, participation, empowerment, human rights and the public interest.⁵ T. H. Marshall defined citizenship as a status which is enjoyed by a person who is a full member of a community.⁶ From this perspective citizenship is a universal concept. However, as Rian Voet has pointed out that while citizenship is universal in theory, it has never been universal in practice. This is especially true for women. Women still appear to be second-class or ‘second-sex’ citizens.⁷ Feminist scholarship has discussed how citizenship has been male. For example, Ruth Lister has argued that ‘citizenship has always been gendered in the sense that women and men have stood in a different relationship to it, to

³ See Füsün Üstel, ‘Yurttaşlık Bilgisi Kitapları ve Yurttaş Profili’, *Yeni Yüzyıl*, April 25, 1996; R. emzi Y. Kınca, *Vatandaşlık Bilgisi*, Mikro Basım, Ankara 2002; Fatma Gök, ‘‘Vatandaşlık ve İnsan Hakları Eğitimi Ders Kitapları’’, in *Ders Kitaplarında İnsan Hakları Tarama Sonuçları*, eds. B. Çötuksöken, A. Erzan, O. Silier, Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, 2003, pp. 158-172; Füsün Üstel, *Makbul Vatandaşın Peşinde*. İletişim Yayınları, İstanbul, 2005; Kenan Çayır and İpek Gürkaynak, 2008. ‘‘The State of Citizenship Education in Turkey: Past and Present’’, *Journal of Social Science Education*, Vol. 6, No. 2, 2008, pp. 50-58; Başak İnce, ‘‘Citizenship Education in Turkey: inclusive or exclusive’’, *Oxford Review of Education*, Vol. 38, No. 2, pp. 115-131.

⁴ See Tanju Gürkan, and Fatma Hazır, ‘‘İlkokul Ders Kitaplarının Cinsiyet Rollerine İlişkin Kalıpyargılar Yönünden Analizi’’, *Yaşadıkça Eğitim*, Vol. 52, 1997, pp. 25-31; Yasemin Esen, and M. T. Bağlı. 2003 ‘‘İlköğretim Ders Kitaplarındaki Kadın ve Erkek Resimlerine İlişkin Bir İnceleme’’, *A. Ü. Eğitim Bilimleri Fakültesi Dergisi*, 35(1-2): 143-154; Yasemin Esen, ‘‘Sexism in School Textbooks Prepared under Education Reform in Turkey’’, *The Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 2007, pp. 466-493; Aylin Kılıç Oğuz, *Fedakar Eş-Fedakar Yurttaş: Yurttaşlık Bilgisi ve Yurttaş Eğitimi, 1970-1990*, Kitap Yayınevi, İstanbul, 2007; Hatice Tecer Asan, ‘‘Ders Kitaplarında Cinsiyetçilik ve Öğretmenlerin Cinsiyetçilik Algılarının Saptanması’’, *Fe Dergi*, Vol. 2, No. 2, 2010, pp. 66-70.

⁵ See Peter Nyers, ‘‘Introduction: Why Citizenship Studies’’, *Citizenship Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 1, 2007, pp. 1-4.

⁶ Thomas H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1952.

⁷ Rian Voet, *Feminism and Citizenship*, Sage Publications, London, 1998, p. 11.

the disadvantage of women'.⁸ For much of its history, a veil of gender-neutrality has obscured the nature of this differential relationship.⁹

Citizenship cannot be understood without a dynamic theory of gender relations.¹⁰ Women are not the only group of people, however, who suffer from being second-class citizens. Critical studies in masculinities also reveal us that society has a gender order, which consists of a hierarchy of masculinities and femininities. For example, R. W. Connell (1987) states that at the top of this hierarchy there is 'hegemonic masculinity', which is a dominant set of ideas that establish the superiority of men. Heterosexuality is at the core of hegemonic masculinity, however, this also involves the valuation of toughness, physical strength, authority and aggression. There is also 'subordinated masculinity', which is subordinated by practices of exclusion, violence, and discrimination. There is also hierarchy of femininities. 'Emphasised femininity' is at the top of the hierarchy of femininities. The option of compliance is central to femininity. But all forms of femininities are constructed in the context of subordination of women to men. Based on this hierarchy of masculinities and femininities we can argue that 'subordinated masculinities' also suffer from being second-class citizens along with women.

Citizenship has different dimensions. At the individual level, a person's citizenship, according to Kymlicka and Norman (1994, 2000), is composed of three main elements or dimensions which are linked in a variety of ways. The first is citizenship as legal status, defined by civil, political and social rights. The second dimension refers to citizenship as membership in a political community that furnishes a distinct source of identity. The third dimension, civic virtue, considers citizens specifically as active political agents. Without citizens who possess political virtues democracies become difficult to govern.¹¹ How and where are these virtues developed? One answer is civic education. If we want citizens to develop the 'right' attitudes and dispositions, we should encourage

⁸ Ruth Lister, "Citizenship and Gender", in *The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Political Sociology*, eds E. Amenta, K. Nash, and A. Scott, Wiley-Blackwell, U.K, 2012, p. 372.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 372-373.

¹⁰ Sylvia Walby, "Is Citizenship Gendered?" *Sociology*, Vol. 28, No. 2, p. 379.

¹¹ See Will Kymlicka and Wayne Norman, "Return of the Citizen: A Survey of Recent Work on Citizenship Theory," *Ethics*, Vol. 104, No. 2, 1994, pp. 352-81 and Will Kymlicka and Wayne Norman, "Citizenship in Culturally Diverse Societies: Issues, Contexts, Concepts," in *Citizenship in Diverse Societies*, eds. W. Kymlicka and W. Norman, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, pp. 1-45.

civic education that teaches respect for differences while providing the necessary skills for democratic discussion.¹²

As political theorist Herman Van Gunsteren has pointed out ‘We are not born citizens, but are formed through education and experience’.¹³ Thus, one of the key elements in the creation of stable nation-states has been the states’ ability to socialise their young into the role of citizen through mass schooling. The educational system is the institutional tool that shapes the relationship between female and male citizens and these citizens’ relations to the state.¹⁴ As with citizenship, citizenship education is an issue of debate and controversy.¹⁵ In the discussion of citizenship education, gender stereotyping in school textbooks is scarcely taken up.

The aim of this paper is to examine gender stereotyping in civic education textbooks in Turkey from foundation of the Republic (1923) up to the present. To determine how accurately the civic education textbooks reflect the status of women and men in Turkey a content analysis was conducted on civic education textbooks throughout the Republican period. The findings suggest that the ideal of a truly balanced treatment women and men has yet to be achieved and traditional ‘masculine’ understandings of citizenship appear to permeate civic education textbooks’ in Turkey. The discussion shows that there is an urgent need to employ gender and difference as categories to create a more inclusive understanding of citizenship in Turkey.

Methodology

Data for the article come from curricula for Turkish primary and junior high schools (applicable to children from seven to 14 years old). Of Turkey’ 73 million population, about 21 million are under 15 years old. Of the under-15 age group, more than ten million are enrolled in educational institutions.¹⁶ Education in Turkey is predominantly under state responsibility. A board under the Ministry of National Education prepares the curricula for all subjects, and its approval is required for the adoption of textbooks. Private publishing

¹² See Amy Gutmann, *Democratic Education*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1987; Harry Brighouse, *School Choice and Social Justice*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000; Harry Brighouse, *On Education*, Routledge, London, 2006.

¹³ Herman Van Gunsteren, “Four Conceptions of Citizenship,” in *The Condition of Citizenship*, edited by B.V. Steenbergen Sage Publications, London, 1994, p. 36.

¹⁴ See Madeleine Arnot, “Freedom’s Children: A Gender Perspective on The Education of The Learner-Citizen”, *International Review of Education*, Vol. 52, No. 1, 2006, pp. 67-87

¹⁵ See Audrey Osler and Hugh Starkey, “Learning for Cosmopolitan Citizenship: theoretical debates and young people’s experiences”, *Educational Review*, Vol. 55, No. 3, 2003, pp. 243-254.

¹⁶ See *Türkiye İstatistik Yılığ 2007*, T.C. Başbakanlık Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu, Ankara, 2007. Unfortunately, there is no exact information on the percentages of students who were enrolled in primary and junior high schools during the periods 1923-1946, 1946-1960, and 1960-1980.

companies may produce textbooks if their content is approved by the board of education. There is no great difference between textbooks, other than emphasis, because they must all follow the detailed guidelines of the board.¹⁷ A copy of almost all published textbooks are kept in Turkey's national library in Ankara, from where the author selected the books for the given time period for analysis.

The data set for this study was constructed by sampling the civic textbooks in Turkey for four time periods: 1923-1946, 1946-1960, 1960-1980, and 1980-2016. This periodisation reflects landmark developments in Turkish political history and is useful for an understanding of the notion of citizenship and the changes it underwent throughout the Republican period. Civic education is susceptible to political and social conditions. Changes of perspectives and ideals in the dominant political discourse affect the title of the school subject, its content and the pedagogical discourse used to justify its importance.

Simple questions initiated the analysis: How are female and male characters depicted in civic education textbooks? How are female and male domestic roles defined by the authors? Are the principles of gender equality respected within the textbooks? Do stereotypes and negative judgments persist in recently developed textbooks?

Gender and Domestic Roles in Civic Education Textbooks: 1923-1946

The Republic of Turkey was founded in 1923, and until 1946 the Republican People's Party (CHP) was the only ruling organisation in Turkey. During the single-party period one of its most important projects was to create civilised, modern citizens, who were obedient to the state. This mission was reflected in the education policy of the CHP, especially through civic education courses.

The textbooks of the period contrasted the era of the Ottoman Empire with the Republican period. After the establishment of the Republic it was as if the citizens (especially women) had everything. Kazım Sevinç compares the two periods in pictures. One picture shows a veiled woman, a child wearing the fez, and a man wearing the traditional *şalvar*. In the other picture a man wears a tuxedo, a woman wears modern clothes, and a boy wears shorts.¹⁸ In some of the textbooks, in unrelated parts, there are pictures of modern women. Such well dressed women would be few at the time. These textbooks were trying to create an image of the new woman under the Republic.

¹⁷ Kenan Çayır, "Tensions and Dilemmas in Human Rights Education", in *Human Rights in Turkey*, edited by Z. F. Kabasakal Arat, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 2007, p. 236.

¹⁸ Kazım Sevinç, *Türk Yavrularına Yurt Bilgisi: Sınıf 5*, Ekspres Matbaası, İstanbul, 1931-32, p. 20.

Almost all textbooks during the single-party period emphasised the importance of living in unity in a community. Textbooks warned students about the dangers of living alone. In one textbook, under the heading ‘people cannot live alone’, the author contrasts two pictures. One of the pictures shows a lone man who looks like a caveman and the caption reads ‘man alone’. The other picture titled ‘man in community’ shows a very modern woman and a man walking side by side, wearing modern clothes.¹⁹ In order to strengthen the idea that ‘man cannot live alone’ textbooks emphasise the importance of marriage and children. They define a most important duty towards the family, nation and humankind as having a family.²⁰ Pupils were essentially told to get married and have children, otherwise they would be unhappy and cannot survive in the community.

Textbooks of the period also focus on the importance of work and division of labour in the community, citing the proverb, ‘Idleness is the mother of all vice’. The division of labour in the family was gendered. Women are portrayed as mothers who are generally engaged in domestic and traditional roles while men are almost always portrayed as fathers, authority figures who work outside of the home. In Abdülbaki, in response to a question on what is needed to survive and how it is procured, students answer ‘food, drink, and clothes’ and ‘father brings them, mother cooks, we eat all together’.²¹ Another textbook also emphasises that mothers give birth, whereas fathers work from morning to night to feed the family.²² These claims show that one has to be ‘a man’ to work in the public realm. Women and children are usually portrayed in the textbooks as being prime movers in consumption rather than production.

Almost all the textbooks separate city and village life. However, the division of labour within the family does not differ between the village and the city. In the village ‘father works in the field and when his term comes goes to war to protect the country;²³ the boys go to school; mum cooks, looks after the children, and help her husband in the field; girls look after their sisters and brothers, sew, and weave socks’.²⁴ Of the division of labour in the city the author says ‘fathers can do only one job...because they are working from morning till night’. Mothers’ major responsibility is defined in the textbooks as

¹⁹ [Muallim] Abdülbaki, *Yurt Bilgisi*, Maarif ve Şark Kitaphaneleri, İstanbul, 1927-28, p. 13.

²⁰ Tezer Taşkıran, *Yurt Bilgisi I*, Maarif Matbaası, İstanbul, 1939, p. 84.

²¹ [Muallim] Abdülbaki, *Yurt Bilgisi*, Türk Neşriyat Yurdu, İstanbul, 1929, p. 14.

²² Tark Rona, *Yurt Bilgisi Dersleri*, Çankaya Matbaası, Ankara, 1945, p. 4.

²³ Bedia Ermat and K.emal Ermat, *Yurt Bilgisi Dersleri: IV. Sınıf*, Milli Eğitim Basımevi, İstanbul, 1943, p. 31.

²⁴ Abdülbaki, *Yurt Bilgisi*, Türk Neşriyat Yurdu, p. 70.

housework. One of the textbooks emphasises that we depend on our fathers on every issue and he is the head of the family.²⁵

In the books published during this period, citizens' duties are emphasised more than their rights. One of the books defines the purpose of the civic education as 'teaching the duties of citizenship'.²⁶ To deserve rights 'citizens should first fulfil their duties, because duties and rights are inseparable'.²⁷ Chief among these duties is military service (then, as now, required only of males), presented as an educational institution enlightening the minds of the country's sons.²⁸ This duty is justified by the large number of Turkey's enemies.²⁹

Voting is also underlined as a most important duty and holy right of citizens. Most textbooks published before 1930s state 'every Turk can vote'. But when they say 'every Turk' they mean 'every man.' In Turkey, women were given the right to vote in municipal elections in March 1930 and women's suffrage was achieved for parliamentary elections in December 1934. In Sevinç's book it is stated that under the current conditions women cannot vote, however, the author does not criticise such political inequality.³⁰

The post-1930 textbooks do, however, talk about voting rights for women. Describing voting rights of women in western countries, Afet İnan³¹ says 'There is no logical explanation regarding women's political inability...Women-mothers are the first discipliners of men'. She continues 'When women have political rights they can suggest the sanctity of freedom to their children'.³² The

²⁵ Rona, *Yurt Bilgisi Dersleri*, p. 4.

²⁶ Bedia Ermat, and K.emal Ermat, *Yurt Bilgisi Dersleri: V. Sınıf*, Milli Eğitim Basımevi, İstanbul, 1945, p. 13.

²⁷ Abdülbaki, *Yurt Bilgisi*, pp. 44-48.

²⁸ Afet [İnan], *Vatandaş İçin Medeni Bilgiler*, Devlet Matbaası, İstanbul, 1931, p. 79.

²⁹ Sevinç, *Türk Yavrularına Yurt Bilgisi: Sınıf 5*, p. 61.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

³¹ The adopted daughter of Atatürk, Afet İnan, was commissioned to write a civic education textbook, *Vatandaş için Medeni Bilgiler* (Civic Information for the Citizen), which is the cult text of official understanding of citizenship. It was not coincidence that Afet İnan was commissioned to write this book, as she was also commissioned to write *Türk Tarihinin Anahatları* (Main Lines of Turkish History), which was the main text of the Turkish History Thesis. İnan was teaching *Yurt Bilgisi* (Information about Fatherland) and History. Nevertheless when Atatürk saw the textbook for *Yurt Bilgisi* he did not find the book sufficient and he wanted her to translate French books on the subject. For this reason İnan translated the book, *Instruction Civique* that she read during her education at a French lycée. Atatürk's general secretary, Tevfik Biyıklıoğlu, searched other books on the subject and translated German civic education textbooks. Atatürk himself read French books related to the subject, and these translations, and then wrote the book himself, dictating it to Afet İnan. The book was first published in 1930 as a course book for secondary schools. İnan published a revised version with the addition of Atatürk's own notes in 1969. See Anı İnan, *Tarihe Tanıklık Edenler, Çağdaş Yayınları*, İstanbul, 1997.

³² Afet İnan, *Vatandaş İçin Medeni Bilgiler*, Devlet Matbaası, İstanbul, 1936, p. 126.

author then mentions women's heroism in the Turkish War of National Independence. Based on these reasons the author says that the right to vote in the municipal elections was given to women.

Textbooks also talk about familial duties. In the family fathers have the duties of looking after their spouses and earning money. Meanwhile, the list of duties for mothers in the textbooks is long. These are: looking after children, cooking, cleaning, loving her husband and children, and obeying her husband. It is stated that only if the mother accomplishes her duties can she expect respect from her children and love and loyalty from her husband.³³

The importance of being strong and healthy citizens was emphasised by the textbooks. In order to be strong and healthy the importance of sports was stressed. One book shows pictures of a child involved in a sports activity in unrelated parts of the book, such as in a section stressing the importance of paying taxes.³⁴ In order to illustrate the importance of being healthy and strong there are pictures of 'healthy' and 'strong' village men and boys. One of the textbooks says 'in the village big, strong, and patriotic villagers live'. The book has a picture of a young man who is shooting puts with the caption 'Steel-Bodied Turkish Young Man'.³⁵ The textbook states 'Our nation and homeland demand healthy young people'.³⁶

Being healthy was an important aspect of being a civilised citizen. Most importantly it was an important condition for having strong soldiers. Textbooks define one of the most important citizenship duties as performing military service. The books emphasise the importance of being born a Turk, living as a Turk, and dying as a Turk. For this reason the books quote Atatürk repeatedly throughout their pages, featuring such sayings as, 'How happy is the one who says, I am a Turk,' and state that emulating the expression 'strong like a Turk' is the most important duty of Turkish youth.³⁷

An important question is whether the same understanding of citizenship was continued during the multi-party period or whether the transition to democracy in 1946 brought about significant changes. The next part considers these aspects of the discussion on citizenship.

Gender and Domestic Roles in Civic Education Textbooks: 1946-1960

This period begins with the establishment of the Democratic Party (*Demokrat Parti*, DP) in 1946 and ends with the 1960 military coup. During this

³³ Abdülbaki, *Yurt Bilgisi*, p. 46.

³⁴ Sevinç, *Türk Yavrularına Yurt Bilgisi: Sınıf 5*, 58-60.

³⁵ Ermat and Ermat, *Yurt Bilgisi Dersleri: IV. Sınıf*, p. 36.

³⁶ Sevinç, *Türk Yavrularına Yurt Bilgisi: Sınıf 5*, p. 103.

³⁷ *Ibid*, p. 10.

period certain laws about citizenship were liberalised. The liberalisation was reflected in civics textbooks, which emphasised democracy and citizenship rights more than those of the previous period. However, the DP, in government between 1950-1960, made no revolutionary changes in educational policy, keeping the CHP's policies and education programmes intact.

Textbooks in this period have fewer illustrations than those written during the single-party period. However, as in the previous period male pictures were predominant in the texts analysed. There is no great difference between male pictures of this and the previous period. But there are some differences between the pictures of women in the two periods. Women are generally pictured wearing modern clothes but they are not as modern as those of the single-party period. In the multiparty period pictures of women are more realistic, unlike the previous period when depictions of women resembled fashion models. Unlike under the single-party period, there are pictures of women wearing headscarves while voting,³⁸ which can be explained by a softer perspective on secularism under DP government. Women are generally pictured in the house, doing housework. When women are pictured outside of the home they are generally pictured in children's playground sitting with other women and watching their children.³⁹

Textbooks of this period also emphasise the importance of division of labour in the family. According to textbooks every family has a head (*başkan* – literally 'president'). As head of the household, the father is supposed to look after his family. Members of the family love and respect him. The mother is to ensure order in the family, tell the father what to buy, and look after her children. Children should love their parents, study at school and work at home to make their parents happy.⁴⁰ Textbooks refer to the Turkish Civil Code of 1926 while talking about the division of labour in the family. The Civil Code of 1926, however, included several articles reducing women to a subordinate position in the family. For example, the husband was defined as the head of the marriage union, granting him final say over the choice of domicile and children. In one of the textbooks the father is defined as the 'first president' responsible for external affairs and the mother is defined as the 'second president' responsible for internal affairs.⁴¹ Everybody in the family has to work.⁴² Having said this, textbooks point out that being a housewife cannot be defined as a work. In a chapter on occupations one of the textbooks states:

³⁸ Mefharet Arkin, *Yurttaşlık Bilgisi Sınıf: 5*, Bir Yayınevi, İstanbul, 1953, p. 36 and p. 79.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁴⁰ Mithad Sadullah Sander, *Yurt Bilgisi Özeti*, İnkılâp Kitabevi, İstanbul, 1946, p. 4.

⁴¹ Ziya Gökalp, *Yurt Bilgisi, Orta Kısım Sınıf I*, Berrin Basımevi, İzmir, 1950, p. 11.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

What women do when they take on the entire care of their homes, children and families and households jobs cannot be considered practicing a profession. This is because they do these jobs for themselves and for their relatives. However, that they should work for [...] the home and raise beneficial children for the homeland is of immeasurable value.⁴³

Textbooks of the period also emphasise the importance of division of labour in the community and having a job as in the previous period. In one chapter titled 'Everybody has to find an occupation based on his/her abilities' there is only one picture of a woman who is a secretary.⁴⁴ In another picture captioned 'Everybody, young and old, have a job to do' the father of the household is pictured as shoemaker, the mother does laundry, the son studies, and the daughter plays with her doll.⁴⁵ On 'The importance of libraries to enlighten citizens' a textbook picture depicts a library, where there are only boys reading books.⁴⁶ Another picture titled 'Children who graduate from primary school go to secondary school' there are only pictures of boys.⁴⁷ In his book, Halit Aksan, shows only pictures of boys under the title 'Young people who have chosen a profession'.⁴⁸ In one of the textbook's under the title 'The choice of profession for girls' the author mentions the future role of girls as 'mothers and women' and then lists the following 'conditions':

- a) Her profession should not unduly occupy her outside the home.
- b) Professions which require great exertions of physical labour are not suitable.
- c) [She] should select a profession that is truly beneficial to the community and is in keeping with [her] tastes.
- d) In addition to contributing financially to the household, the profession should allow [her] to share in the joys of [her] home.⁴⁹

Voting was underlined as the citizen's important duty and holy right. Textbooks of this period pointed out that it was very normal to have different views among citizens. Gökalp stated that even members of the same family may have different political views. The father and the mother may vote for different political parties.⁵⁰ However, illustrations for the freedom of thought,

⁴³ Mefharet Arkin and Mükerrrem Kamil Su, *Yurttaşlık Bilgisi Orta: II*, Bir Yayınevi, İstanbul, 1956, p. 78.

⁴⁴ Mefharet Arkin, *Yurttaşlık Bilgisi Sınıf: 5*, Bir Yayınevi, İstanbul, 1953, p. 85.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p. 86.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p. 55.

⁴⁷ Mefharet Arkin and Mükerrrem Kamil Su, *Yurttaşlık Bilgisi Orta: III*, Bir Yayınevi, İstanbul, 1957, p. 89.

⁴⁸ Halit Aksan, *Yurttaşlık Bilgisi*, Maarif Basımevi, İstanbul, 1957, p. 83.

⁴⁹ Halit Aksan, *Yurttaşlık Bilgisi Sınıf III*, D.K, İstanbul, 1956, p. 120.

⁵⁰ Ziya Gökalp, *Yurt Bilgisi, Orta Kısım Sınıf I*, p. 13.

defined as the essence of democracy, show only males.⁵¹ In a picture titled ‘citizens are voting’ there are eight men and only one woman.⁵² There are also only pictures of male members of the parliament.⁵³ Textbooks do emphasise that in some countries women do not have the vote, which is not the case in Turkey.⁵⁴

Military service continued to be seen as the essential duty of a ‘first class citizen’. A textbook states ‘Every son of Turkey who turns 20 is called up for military service... Military service is very high standing and honourable. Every Turkish youth carries out this duty with the greatest effort’.⁵⁵ Another says ‘There are some requirements of a good soldier and a good citizen, which are furnished by the state. From the classroom onwards [the state] prepares Turkish children and Turkish youth for military service’.⁵⁶

Gender and Domestic Roles in Civic Education Textbooks: 1960-1980

This period begins with the 1960 military coup and ends with the 1980 military coup. A new constitution went into in 1961. It differed from its 1924 predecessor in several important respects: it attached more value to individuals; it emphasised citizenship rights more than citizenship duties; it limited the state’s interference in the affairs of individuals and defined the state’s duties towards individuals.⁵⁷ With the 1961 Constitution, a more liberal understanding of citizenship emerged. Although this liberal atmosphere influenced civics textbooks, gender stereotyping in the textbooks continued.

Despite there being more illustrations of women now compared to the 1946-1960 period there were still more male illustrations. In Pazarlı’s textbook there is a picture captioned ‘The right to peaceful assembly’. In that picture there are several men but only one woman with half of her head covered.⁵⁸ In a picture titled ‘Citizens are voting’ there is an old lady covering half of her head among six men who wear modern clothes.⁵⁹

The more frequent depiction of female figures in this period does not mean that there was a change in the traditional gender roles in the textbooks. On how to choose a job, one author states the importance of choosing a job based on one’s physical abilities. The section contains a picture of a girl doing

⁵¹ Arkin, *Yurttaşlık Bilgisi Sınıf: 5*, p. 77.

⁵² Aksan, *Yurttaşlık Bilgisi Sınıf III*, p. 58.

⁵³ Arkin, *Yurttaşlık Bilgisi Sınıf: 5*, p. 7.

⁵⁴ Arkin and Su, *Yurttaşlık Bilgisi Orta: III*, p. 50.

⁵⁵ Sander, *Yurt Bilgisi Özü*, p. 45.

⁵⁶ Arkin and Su, *Yurttaşlık Bilgisi Orta: II*, p. 36.

⁵⁷ See Bülent Tanör, *Osmanlı-Türk Anayasal Gelişmeleri*, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul, 2001.

⁵⁸ Osman Pazarlı, *Yurttaşlık Bilgisi Sınıf I*, Remzi Kitabevi, İstanbul, 1961, p. 47.

⁵⁹ Halit Aksan, *Yurttaşlık Bilgisi III*, AS Matbaası, İstanbul, 1969, p. 71.

handicrafts.⁶⁰ Other authors also emphasised choosing a job based on one's physical abilities. In one chapter titled 'The division of labour' a picture is captioned 'Nursing: A Sacred Profession for Girls'.⁶¹ There are also pictures of female teachers and female secretaries.⁶²

As in the previous periods, textbooks focus on three important duties: performing military service, voting, and paying tax. The most important duty continues to be performing military service. The basis of Turkish nationalism is described as 'Everybody and everything is for Turkey.' 'Every Turk', say the books, should feel 'I am a Turk, and I am proud to be a Turk'.⁶³ In the textbooks there is even a chapter on 'Preparing for war during peace'. Textbooks also talk about the importance of being healthy for future soldiers. In a textbook a picture titled 'Communities that raise robust children found strong nations' there is a picture of a 'robust boy'.⁶⁴ In a chapter about how to find the right job Aksan states that 'those who are skinny and weak cannot succeed in many jobs'.⁶⁵ Tellingly, there is a picture of woman doing handicrafts in that section.⁶⁶

Gender and Domestic Roles in Civic Education Textbooks: 1980-2016

After the 1980 military coup textbooks were reorganised from the military's perspective. Kemal İnal has argued that after 1980, both in general and regarding textbooks in particular, education became a tool for ideological indoctrination.⁶⁷

During the period 1980-2016 (especially after 2000) there was an almost equal representation of women/men or girls/boys in the textbooks. The preference for drawings gave way to that for photographs. Nevertheless, traditional gender roles also continued to be maintained during this period. For example, one of the textbooks contains a picture titled 'Sharing jobs in the family'. In the picture the mother in an apron serves tea, while the father helps the son study.⁶⁸ Men are generally pictured as soldiers but also in diverse occupations such as doctors, engineers, and policemen. Yet there are no pictures of male nurses. Women are generally pictured as teachers, nurses,

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. 121.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, p. 117.

⁶² Selman Erdem and İsmet Konuk, *Yurttaşlık Bilgisi: Ortaokul III*, Atlas Yayınevi, İstanbul, 1972, pp. 79-80.

⁶³ Osman Pazarlı, *Yurttaşlık Bilgisi Sınıf II*, Yükselen Matbaası, İstanbul, 1964, pp. 54-55.

⁶⁴ Selman Erdem and İsmet Konuk, *Yurttaşlık Bilgisi: Ortaokul II*, Atlas Yayınevi, İstanbul, 1973, p. 111.

⁶⁵ Aksan, *Yurttaşlık Bilgisi III*, p. 121.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*,

⁶⁷ Kemal İnal, *Eğitimde İdeolojik Boyut*, Doruk Yayınları, Ankara, 1996, p. 22.

⁶⁸ Emircan Ceylan, *İlköğretim Vatandaşlık Bilgileri*, SEK Yayınları, Ankara, 1996, p. 19.

tailors, or weaving carpets at a loom. There are also pictures of women carrying ammunition to the front, along with their babies, during the War of Independence. However, after 2000 there appear some exceptional pictures of women. For example, there was a picture of female DJs,⁶⁹ female lawyers,⁷⁰ and female doctors.⁷¹ There are also pictures of the first female *muhtar* (the elected village or a neighbourhood head), deputy mayor, member of parliament, minister, governor, and prime minister.⁷² However, in pictures titled ‘Turkish women serve in all lines of work’ there are pictures of a female secretaries⁷³ or pictures of female teachers⁷⁴ In another picture titled ‘The level of education of women rose after the Republic’ there are pictures of female lawyers but then there is a picture of a woman weaving a carpet at the loom.⁷⁵ Only a female teacher is depicted in the picture captioned ‘Turkish women serve in all lines of work’ under the section on the place of Turkish women in working life.⁷⁶

Like the previous periods textbooks talk about the importance of family and division of labour in the family. The family is founded by a union of two sexes.⁷⁷ Textbooks point out the importance of marriage and engagement. It is said people without families cannot put up with pain and that the suicide level among them is higher.⁷⁸ Textbooks also state that the head of the family is the husband and he is supposed to see to business outside the home and meet his family’s expenses. It is further emphasised that the father is responsible for domestic work, like repairs, that require physical strength.⁷⁹ Mothers have several responsibilities such as helping and advising their husbands and taking care of the home. The mother bears her husband’s surname and helps him with everything. Things women have to do are generally in the home. These are taking care of the children, cleaning the house, cooking, washing, sewing etc.⁸⁰ With reference to the saying ‘the she-bird builds the nest’ it is said the mother

⁶⁹ See Nuri Ceylan, *İlköğretim Vatandaşlık ve İnsan Hakları Eğitimi*, Meram Yayıncılık, İstanbul, 2002, p. 11.

⁷⁰ Nihat Bilgen, *8. Sınıf için Vatandaşlık ve İnsan Hakları Eğitimi*, Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, Ankara, 2001, p. 26.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, p. 29.

⁷² *İlköğretim Sosyal Bilgiler 6*, Ankara: Semih Ofset, Ankara, 2008, p. 165.

⁷³ Ceylan, *İlköğretim Vatandaşlık ve İnsan Hakları Eğitimi*, p. 34 and 37.

⁷⁴ Çiftçi, F. & Yüksel, İ. & Yıldız, R. & Kıvrak, M. & Öztürk, R. & Cereno, A. & Efe, F. 2005. *İlköğretim Vatandaşlık ve İnsan Hakları Eğitimi*, Milli Eğitim Basımevi, İstanbul, 2005, p. 28.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, p. 26.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p. 27.

⁷⁷ Ceylan, *İlköğretim Vatandaşlık ve İnsan Hakları Eğitimi*, p. 13.

⁷⁸ Kenal Dal, and O. Çakıroğlu and A. İ. Özyazgan, *Vatandaşlık Bilgileri Ana Ders Kitabı Ortaokul III*, Milli Eğitim Basımevi, İstanbul, 1986, p. 41.

⁷⁹ Nuri Korkmaz, *İlköğretim Vatandaşlık Bilgileri*, Secan Yayıncılık, Ankara, 1994, p. 36.

⁸⁰ Dal, Çakıroğlu and Özyazgan, *Vatandaşlık Bilgileri Ana Ders Kitabı Ortaokul III*, p. 36.

takes care of the home.⁸¹ A woman's greatest duty is motherhood.⁸² In the section on the household budget it is claimed that the father working should be sufficient. Sometimes the mother may also have a job, when the woman works to contribute to the household budget, while at the same time taking care of housework. The Turkish woman is strong and diligent. She has helped her husband throughout history. She has toiled with her husband in the fields. She has fought alongside men in defence of the country, as in the War of Independence.⁸³

Textbooks published after 2000 talk about some of the international agreements that Turkey signed to protect women's rights in Turkey such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. These textbooks point out that the state led feminism in Turkey by saying that the recognition of women's rights in Turkey was not the outcome of currents of thought or social evolution as it was in some European countries. In Turkey the rights of women are a result of Atatürk's revolutions. Atatürk tried to make everyone equal citizens by removing the distinction between women and men. This is followed by a quote from Atatürk: 'A woman's most important duty is motherhood'.⁸⁴

Textbooks published after 2000 talk about the changes in the Civil Code. According to the new civil code that became effective in January 2002, 'Neither of the spouses has to seek the other's permission for picking a job or a profession. However the peace and good of the marital union is considered when picking jobs or professions'.⁸⁵ Also textbooks give some examples of civil society organisations that protect women's rights such as *Mor Çatı* (a women's shelter foundation also offering consultancy to women against domestic violence) and *KADER* (Association for the Support of Women Candidates), which encourages women to be active in politics and informs female voters.⁸⁶

As in the previous periods one of the most important citizenship duties is military service. It is said 'military service is the right and duty of every Turk'.⁸⁷ Books talk about internal and external threats and state that the nations should

⁸¹ Emircan Ceylan, *İlköğretim Vatandaşlık Bilgileri 8*. Ankara: SEK Yayınları, 2001, p. 19.

⁸² Dal, Çakıroğlu and Özyazgan, *Vatandaşlık Bilgileri Ana Ders Kitabı Ortaokul III*, p. 30.

⁸³ Ceylan, *İlköğretim Vatandaşlık Bilgileri 8*, p. 20.

⁸⁴ Çiftçi, et al., *İlköğretim Vatandaşlık ve İnsan Hakları Eğitimi*, p. 26.

⁸⁵ Yalçın Öztürk, *İlköğretim Vatandaşlık ve İnsan Hakları Eğitimi 8*. Altın Kitaplar, İstanbul, 2006, p. 35.

⁸⁶ Nuri Ceylan, *İlköğretim Vatandaşlık ve İnsan Hakları Eğitimi 7*. İstanbul: Meraç Yayıncılık, 2006, p. 34.

⁸⁷ Ceylan, *İlköğretim Vatandaşlık ve İnsan Hakları Eğitimi*, p. 47.

be vigilant. 'A Turk has no friend but a Turk'.⁸⁸ All books contain many illustrations of soldiers, tanks and military aircraft.

One textbook features a discussion among male and female students on military service. It presents two views. One argued by female pupils is that women should do military service too, since women fought in the War of Independence and since the country needs constant vigilance. The other view, put forward by a male pupil is that women do not need to do military service, since they are not as strong as men. Readers are then asked which side of the argument they would take.⁸⁹

In 2000, with the incorporation of citizenship education and human rights education, the importance of human rights and international organisations started to be emphasised. In the context of the EU adjustment process, the content of the primary education programme was revised. The most important objective of this new curriculum was to instil respect for human rights in the coming generations. Accordingly, it was stated that the new curriculum is against any kind of discrimination based on race, colour, sex, language, religion, nationality, political view, social class and physical/mental health of individuals, etc.⁹⁰ However, gender discrimination continued in the new textbooks. The changes to the curriculum were not carried out because of ethical concerns, but rather because it was thought to be a mark of a civilised country. Human rights are not an end, merely a means to promote Turkey's reputation and respectability on the international stage.⁹¹ A Ministry of Education decision is evidence of this: in 2006, Turkey's Ministry of Education censored the *Vatandaşlık ve İnsan Hakları* (Citizenship and Human Rights) textbook for year seven students as it contained a reproduction of the portrait *Liberty Leading the People*, by Delacroix, because Liberty's breasts were bare.⁹²

Since the 2008-2009 academic year, Turkey's Ministry of National Education has incorporated civic education into social studies textbooks for grades six and seven. The social studies subject includes history, geography, general culture, and civic information. Many similarities remained between the civics textbooks published before 2008 and the social studies textbooks published after 2008. The current social studies texts continue to emphasise duties more than rights.⁹³ Although there have been certain improvements in

⁸⁸ Ceylan, *İlköğretim Vatandaşlık Bilgileri*, p. 57.

⁸⁹ *İlköğretim Sosyal Bilgiler 6*, p. 25.

⁹⁰ Esen, "Sexism in School Textbooks Prepared under Education Reform in Turkey", p. 2.

⁹¹ Gök, "Vatandaşlık ve İnsan Hakları Eğitimi Ders Kitapları", p. 160.

⁹² *Türkisch Daily News*, October 21, 2006.

⁹³ See *İlköğretim Sosyal Bilgiler 6* and *İlköğretim Sosyal Bilgiler 7* textbooks published in 2008, 2009, 2013, and 2016.

the current social studies textbooks the understanding of citizenship is still gendered.

Analysis

The traditionally ‘masculine’ understanding of citizenship appears to permeate civic education textbooks in Turkey. The curriculum in Turkey does not examine citizenship as a gendered construct. On the contrary citizenship education in Turkey was predicated upon the ideal citizen as the public, obedient, militarist and heterosexual male. This makes women and ‘subordinated masculinities’ second-class citizens.

Following Jennifer Tupper, citizenship may be understood as a series of dichotomies such as public/private, individual/community, male/female, and rights/responsibilities. Such dichotomies lead to inequality as one component is always valued over the other component.⁹⁴ In the civic education textbooks in Turkey throughout the Republican period, the emphasis has always been on public over private, community over individual, male over female, and responsibilities over rights.

Female and Male Illustrations

A comparison of female and male illustrations in the analysed civic education textbooks reveals that throughout the Republican period men have been predominant. Clothing of the male and female figures are found to convey sexist messages. The female figures are portrayed in skirts and dresses. There are no female figures in trousers. Most male figures are portrayed as soldiers. In general textbooks revolve around children and life in towns. But sometimes they refer to rural life. The authors want every man to be healthy, because Turkey needs healthy soldiers. These illustrations feature stereotypes about both sexes.

Women are usually illustrated at home and the domestic environment while men are generally depicted in public while working. When a woman is illustrated in public space, she is always accompanied by a man. The illustrations of political activity are of men. In depictions of political participation men overwhelmingly outnumber women. Women are usually shown as housewives, teachers and nurses. In contrast with these female role models, high-level professional are invariably male. Despite the fact that many women have entered the labour force in Turkey, there is still a dichotomy between masculine and feminine roles, with high-status occupations being considered men’s jobs, some others women’s jobs.

⁹⁴ Jennifer Tupper, ‘The Gendering of Citizenship in Social Studies Curriculum’, *Canadian Social Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 3, 2002, p. 2.

Public/Private

Ruth Lister has pointed out that the ‘public-private divide is pivotal to women’s longstanding exclusion from full citizenship in both theory and practice’.⁹⁵ Critical feminists have argued that, women are often marginalised from the formal public realm and the project of citizenship because of the sexual contract.⁹⁶ The sexual contract leads to the isolation of women in the private realm. As wives and as mothers women are not political subjects.

Civic education textbooks in Turkey throughout the Republican period conform to this relationship between public and private spheres. In the textbooks a man’s place is in the public, especially in the workplace, whereas a woman’s place is private, in the home. There is a high degree of repetition in the textbooks about women’s domesticity that can only be described as ideological.

The content explicitly or implicitly states that political activities belong to men. Turkish students learn at an early age that politics is a man’s world. Politically active female citizens are not reflected in the curriculum. Female civic political action has been portrayed only in one textbook and it was about day cares.⁹⁷

Despite historical and material changes in the sexual contract, the above discussion suggests that the sphere of politics and of economic life remains unambiguously masculine in the civic education textbooks in Turkey. As long as women are denied participation in public realm, they are treated as second class citizens.

Individual/Community

In civic education textbooks in Turkey the community is emphasised over the individual. The importance of living in a community is constantly underlined by the authors. Textbooks point out that marriage and engagement are very important and citizens cannot survive without them in the community. ‘The model of nucleus family’ which includes the father, mother and the children, is the only form of family. This excludes families without children and single parent families. One textbook explicitly pointed out that ‘the family is founded by a union of two sexes’. Homophobia can easily be instilled in young minds through such statements. Contemporary debates about sexuality and citizenship have no place in the curriculum. It may be said citizenship education courses sustain a conventional model of heterosexuality in Turkey. These textbooks also fail to address complex changes in gender relations in the private

⁹⁵ Ruth Lister, *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives*, Macmillan, London, 1997, p. 6.

⁹⁶ Arnot, “Freedom’s Children”, p. 80.

⁹⁷ Uygun, O. *İlköğretim Vatandaşlık ve İnsan Hakları Eğitimi* 7, İnkılap, Ankara, 2008, p. 128.

sphere. They do not cover single mothers, the increase in the divorce rate or gender based violence.

Rights/Responsibilities

In civic education textbooks duties are emphasised over rights. The most important duties are paying taxes, voting, and performing military service. All the textbooks emphasise or imply that in order to be a ‘first class citizen’ one has to accomplish all of these duties. Most of these duties could not be undertaken by women until the 1930s. For example women did not have right to vote until the 1930s. Performing military service, which is chief among these duties then, as now, is required only of men. Under the circumstances, women can only be ‘second class citizens’. As Altınay has pointed out, apart from its militaristic tone, the identification of a ‘good citizen’ with a military service reduces women’s citizenship to secondary status.⁹⁸ Textbooks do not mention the increasingly large number of Turkish men who have evaded military service since the 1980s and conscientious objectors who have articulated challenges to militarised nationalism.

The most important duty of women is defined as motherhood. Historically, citizenship has been understood in relation to the nation-state. For women, service to the nation was realised through reproduction as they became ‘mothers of the nation’ or ‘mothers of citizens’.⁹⁹ Altınay has pointed out women were constructed as the ‘guests’ of a male state in Turkey,¹⁰⁰ which was mediated through motherhood, although occasionally they played the role of the ‘warrior heroine’.¹⁰¹

The militarist approach dominating the textbooks also determines the way women received the right to vote in Turkey. It is explained that because of the sacrifices made by Turkish women during the War of Independence that Atatürk gave women the right to vote. However, these rights, as Füsün Üstel has pointed out, provided women with a ‘logistical citizenship’ in bringing up new generations and contributing to war.¹⁰²

Textbooks reduce women’s citizenship to the question of female suffrage. Textbooks create a rosy picture as if the story of gender inequality in Turkey ended with universal suffrage and women are now free to take their place in the

⁹⁸ Ayşe Gül Altınay, *Myth of the Military Nation: Militarism, Gender, and Education in Turkey*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2004, p. 83.

⁹⁹ Ursula Vogel, “Is Citizenship Gender Specific?” in *The Frontiers of Citizenship*, eds. U. Vogel and M. Moran, MacMillan, Basingstoke, 1991, p. 63.

¹⁰⁰ Altınay, *Myth of the Military Nation*, p. 53.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, p. 34.

¹⁰² Çayır and Gürkaynak, “The State of Citizenship Education in Turkey: Past and Present”, p. 55.

world alongside men in every sphere of life. There is no consideration of the problems or inequalities faced by women after universal suffrage.

Conclusion

Turkey has signed two documents which aim to establish greater gender sensitivity in education. The first is the Beijing Action Plan (1995) that requests the formulation and implementation of gender sensitive curricula at all levels of education. The second is Article 5 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1985) that requires signatory states to be responsible for: ‘the abolition of all custom, practice, traditional behaviour and prejudices that serve the degradation of one gender with respect to the other, or claim the superiority of one sex to the other, or envisage roles based on stereotypes’.

There have also been some legal amendments for gender equality in Turkey. For example, the new Turkish Civil Code, which abolished the supremacy of men in marriage was approved by parliament in November 2001, and came into effect in January 2002. The old civil code (1926) was included several articles reducing women to a subordinate position in the family. For example, the husband was defined as the head of the marriage union, thus granting him the final say over the choice of domicile and children.

Despite all these legal developments, civic education textbooks in Turkey are still gendered. Citizenship education in Turkey was predicated upon the ideal citizen as the public, obedient, militarist and heterosexual male. The model of citizenship taught to children should be designed to challenge gender-dualistic thinking, the separation of public and private spheres, and homophobia.

Schools in Turkey should provide opportunities for all students to investigate gender related issues. Only with such preparation can more democratic and tolerant citizens and society be ensured. For this reason the Ministry of National Education should require textbook publishers to have an equal number of female and male textbook authors; to insist on the principle of gender equality both in photos/drawings and text; to ensure gender equality in the use of language; to incorporate the new legislation, especially those dealing with gender equality; to include examples of pluralism, tolerance and respect for LGBT individuals.

Despite the urgent need for policies and mechanisms for the inspection of education materials with a gender sensitive approach, the production of new texts following the removal of sexist elements is yet to be formulated. What sociologist Hülya Uğur Tanrıöver had to say on the subject is very articulate. ‘We wanted to see a picture of a father cooking in the Social Studies books.

However, if a child goes home and asks her/his father to cook, s/he may experience violence.¹⁰³

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¹⁰³ Hülya U. Tannöver, “Ders Kitaplarından Örtük Cinsiyetçilik de Çıkarılmalı,” *Bianet*, May 25, 2009. Accessed December 15 2016 <http://bianet.org/bianet/toplumsal-cinsiyet/114737-ders-kitaplarindan-ortuk-cinsiyetcilik-de-cikarilmali>.

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