

TEACHER IDENTITY FORMATION  
IN THE EARLY ERA OF  
THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
OF  
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

NAZLI GÜZİN ÖZDİL

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR  
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE  
IN  
THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL POLICY

MAY 2015

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

---

Prof. Dr. Meliha Altunışık  
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

---

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Fatma Umut  
Beşpınar Akgüner  
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

---

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hanife Akar  
Supervisor

**Examining Committee Members:**

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mehmet Okyayuz	(METU, ADM)	_____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hanife Akar	(METU, EDS)	_____
Assoc.Prof.Dr.Fatma Umut Beşpınar Akgüner	(METU,SOC)	_____

**I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.**

**Name, Last name** : Nazlı Güzin ÖZDİL

**Signature** :

## **ABSTRACT**

### **TEACHER IDENTITY FORMATION IN THE EARLY ERA OF THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY**

Özdil, Nazlı Güzin

M.Sc., Department of Social Policy

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hanife Akar

May 2015, 132 Pages

With the declaration of the Republic in 1923, Turkey had been directed toward a new route in political, cultural and social domains and education was one of the reformed areas. The newly founded republic was based on nationalistic ideals and reaching the contemporary civilization niveau was the main objective that braces up the entire body of Republican reforms. In order to equip society with nationalistic ideals and elevate them to the contemporary civilization niveau, education functioned as the primary agent that assisted to the founding fathers to realize the abovementioned goal. To sum up, “the Turkish Revolution was more than a political event” and “the entire modernization movement was an experiment in education: how to create new values, new ideologies, new human beings, or new Turks.” Teachers, as a premier professional group concerned with educational issues, were actively reminded of their roles in reshaping the society back then.

In that regard, this history research study was designed to analyse teacher identities in the early era of the Republic of Turkey, dated 1921 – 1941. In order to achieve this goal, the data collected from policy documents, selected newspapers and parliamentary discussions were analysed thematically. The results revealed that teachers were envisaged as idealist, devoted, modern, and nation-saving elements of the society. They were expected to remove the ruins of the old Empire, direct the society towards a modern path as well as found a national education system along with carrying their educational responsibilities between the years of 1921 and 1940.

**Keywords:** Teacher Identity, Identity Formation, Early Republican Era, Education Policy, History of Education

## ÖZ

### ERKEN CUMHURİYET DÖNEMİNDE ÖĞRETMEN KİMLİĞİNİN İNŞAASI

Özdil, Nazlı Güzin

Yüksek Lisans, Sosyal Politika Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Hanife Akar

Mayıs 2015, 132 Sayfa

1923'te Cumhuriyet'in ilanıyla Türkiye politik, kültürel ve sosyal alanlarda yeni bir yol izlemeye başlamıştır ve eğitim de yeni bir rotanın benimsendiği alanlardan biridir. Yeni kurulan Cumhuriyet milliyetçi temellere dayanırken, muasır medeniyet seviyesine ulaşmayı Cumhuriyet devrimlerini bir arada tutan temel hedef olarak belirlemiştir. Eğitim de Cumhuriyet'in kurucularının toplumu milliyetçi düşüncelerle donatma ve muasır medeniyet seviyesine ulaştırma hedefine hizmet eden temel aracı olarak işlev görmüştür. Özetle “Türk Devrimi politik bir olaydan çok daha fazlasıdır” ve “tüm modernleşme hamleleri yeni değerlerin, yeni ideolojilerin, yeni insanların ya da yeni Türklerin nasıl yaratılacağına dair eğitsel bir deneydir.” Eğitim ile ilgili konularda mesleki sorumluluğa sahip olan öğretmenlerin toplumu yeniden şekillendirmedeki rolleri ise sürekli olarak hatırlatılmıştır.

Bu çalışma da Cumhuriyet'in ilk yıllarındaki öğretmen kimliklerini analiz etmek amacıyla 1921 – 1940 tarihlerini kapsayan bir tarih araştırması olarak yürütülmüştür. Çalışmayı gerçekleştirmek için politika belgelerinden, seçilen gazetelerden ve meclis görüşmelerinden elde edilen veriler tematik analize tabi tutulmuştur. Sonuçlar öğretmenlerin 1921 – 1940 yılları arasında idealist, fedakâr, modern ve millet kurtarıcı olarak kimliklendirildiklerini ortaya çıkarmıştır. İmparatorluğun katıntılarını silmek, toplumu modern bir yola yönlendirmek ve ulusal bir eğitim sistemi kurmak ise karar alıcıların eğitsel sorumluluklarının yanında öğretmenlere yükledikleri sorumluluklar arasında yer almaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Öğretmen Kimliği, Kimlik İnşaası, Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi, Eğitim Politikası, Eğitim Tarihi

*To Halil Serkan Öz*  
*who has become a lighthouse for us, teachers,*  
*with his heartbeaking decease*



## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

This study would not have been completed without the guidance of Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hanife Akar, my supervisor. Since my very first day at METU, her calming smile, enlightening guidance and meticulous comments have always given me the energy to follow my dreams in my darkest days (especially when someone broke into my house and stole my computer and a part of my thesis as well). I owe her a lot. Without her support, I would not find any courage to complete my thesis.

I would like to thank Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mehmet Okyayuz. When I went to his office to get consent to take his “Advanced Policy Analysis” course, I did not know anything about him. However, with his approach to policy analysis, his teaching style and his academic guidance, he took his place in my “professors I would like to be” list.

I also would like to thank to the last member of the examining committee, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Umut Beşpınar. Even if I could not get the chance of taking her classes (Her courses’ capacities are always full. Guess why?), with her continuous support, she has always assisted me to have a deeper understanding of the concept of “policy”. I cannot express my gratitude towards her.

The History Foundation of Turkey has been one of the best supporter for me. I would like to thank Abdürrahim Özer, Öykü Özer and Aslıhan Sharidan, my

Ottoman Turkish instructor. Without their comments and motivation, I would not be able to read all these documents written in old script.

Beyazıt State Library's librarians are also among the ones who I would like to thank to. I cannot deny their contributions to my thesis. They have taught me the importance of the collaboration of the researcher and the librarian.

I should not forget my classmates who supported me always. Gülşah, Tuğba, Esra, Eda and Zeynep Serap: I have learnt so many things in our endless thought provoking discussions from them. I believe that all of them will be either great researchers or fair policy makers. Ayşegül, Büşra and Mehmet are the ones who asked me the magical question almost every day: "What did you do for your thesis today". Without them, I would still be whining. I also would like to thank to Hakan. Thanks to his high charges for transcription of Ottoman Turkish texts, I decided to learn it myself, then it became a great deal for me. İdil's and Gülçin's comments, encouragement and support cannot be forgotten. Merva's language related support cannot be underestimated. Beyza and Fatih's all support cannot be minimised also. Lastly, I would like to thank to Dilek, who has long been an elder-sis for me and whose houses' doors are always open for me.

Finally, I would also like to show my appreciation to my family. I want to send a lot of thanks to my uncle. Without his continuous support, I would hardly achieve my archival trips. Millions of thanks go to my mom, who has been changing her identity in my life from time to time (a guide, a teacher, a learner, a knitter, a confectioner, and so forth). I owe her so much. And my grandmother... Even if she would not be able to see me in METU's red and black gown, I believe that she feels my excitement and happiness up there.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM .....	iii
ABSTRACT .....	iv
ÖZ .....	vi
DEDICATION .....	viii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS .....	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	xi
LIST OF TABLES .....	xiii
LIST OF FIGURES .....	xiv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS .....	xv
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION .....	1
1.1 Background of the Study .....	1
1.2 Significance of the Study .....	9
1.3 Definitions of the Terms .....	11
2. THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK .....	18
2.1 A Brief Introduction to the Ottoman Modernism .....	18
2.2 The War Years .....	27
2.3 Sociopolitical Context of the Republican Era .....	32
2.4 Studies on Teachers of Early Republican Era .....	40
3. METHODOLOGY .....	42
3.1 Research Design .....	42
3.2 Research Questions .....	43
3.3 Data Sources .....	44
3.4 Data Collection and Analysis .....	47
3.4.1 Trustworthiness .....	51

3.5 Limitations of the Study.....	51
4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION.....	53
4.1 Teachers' Identities.....	54
4.1.1 Idealist Teachers.....	55
4.1.2 Devoted Teachers .....	58
4.1.3 Nation-saving Teachers.....	63
4.1.4 Modern Teachers.....	68
4.2 Responsibilities of Teachers .....	70
4.3 Privileges of Teachers.....	80
4.4 Metaphors Used for Teachers .....	83
5. CONCLUSION .....	89
5.1 Implications for Further Research .....	94
REFERENCES .....	96
APPENDICES.....	109
Appendix A .....	109
Appendix B .....	110
Appendix C .....	110
Appendix D .....	111
Appendix E .....	112
Appendix F.....	113
Appendix G .....	114
Appendix H .....	115
Appendix I.....	116
Appendix J .....	117
Appendix K .....	118
Appendix L.....	119
Appendix M.....	120
Appendix N .....	121
Appendix O.....	123
Appendix P .....	124
Appendix R .....	132

## LIST OF TABLES

<b>Table 1</b> Number of Schools and Teachers in 1923-24 Academic Year .....	6
<b>Table 2</b> Experts Invited to Turkey in the Early Republican Era .....	36
<b>Table 3</b> Detailed Information Related to Examined Parliament Minutes.....	45
<b>Table 4</b> Detailed Information Related to Examined Government Programmes.....	45
<b>Table 5</b> Detailed Information Related to Newspapers .....	46
<b>Table 6</b> Data Sources .....	47
<b>Table 7</b> Some of the Metaphors about Today's Teachers .....	84

## LIST OF FIGURES

<b>Figure 1</b> Process of Modernization .....	12
<b>Figure 2</b> Steps of Thematic Analysis .....	49
<b>Figure 3</b> Sample Ottoman Text .....	50
<b>Figure 4</b> Sample Turkish Text.....	50
<b>Figure 5</b> News Related Clothing of Teachers.....	70
<b>Figure 6</b> Cartoon Related to Education.....	77

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

AKP – Justice and Development Party

TBMM – Grand National Assembly of Turkey

CHP – Republican People’s Party

KPSS – Public Personnel Selection Examination





## CHAPTER 1

### 1. INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Background of the Study

If it is thought how education functions, how it serves society; one can confront with various approaches. If the focal point is the social roles of education from Durkheim's and Parsons' perspective, it is first thought that education transfers the social norms and cultural codes to the next generations (Fulcher & Scott, 2011). If the economy is taken to the centre, it is learnt that compulsory education laws have been developed as a result of the need for qualified workers that industrialized societies need (Fulcher & Scott, 2011; Giddens, 2006). Ideological function of education comes to the stage when the states need to create *les bons citoyens* (Üstel, 2011).

According to Althusser (2003), children learn various elements in their studies; literacy, numeracy and technical skills which will be useful when they take part in production. Besides these, they also learn the rules of "good" behaviour, i.e. moral rules, civic and professional conscience, division of labour, and so forth. However, the school, as an Ideological State Apparatus, teaches all these in a way that "ensure subjection to the ruling ideology or the mastery of its 'practice'." (p 159).

Fortna (2013) also supports Althusser's ideas on education with his remarks stating that "universal education and literacy were the vehicles through which the state was to pursue its aim of both creating and then shaping national

identity and loyalty. The specific tools employed were the teacher and the textbook.” (Fortna, 2013, p. 39).

The Law on the Organizational Structure and the Duties of Ministry of National Education Number 3797, which was accepted in 1992, was replaced with the Statutory Decree on the Organizational Structure and the Duties of Ministry of National Education Number 652 in 2011. According to Law No: 3797 the first duty of the Ministry was focusing on creating “favourite citizens” who are loyal to the fundamental principles of the Republic of Turkey<sup>1</sup> (Article 2, Clause a). While the former legislation focuses on the citizens who are respectful and loyal to national values, the latter one stresses the economic dimensions of education. The Statutory Decree on the Organizational Structure and the Duties of Ministry of National Education Number 652 implies that the first duty of the Ministry is adapt educational processes to neoliberal transformation of society<sup>2</sup> (Article 2, Clause a). This legal item, which stresses the integration of individuals to global economic life, shows that the Turkish State’s national education system gave up raising patriotic citizens. This also points out that the expectations from teachers has changed in time and it is a clear evidence which reveals that teaching is one of the profession that is effected by the neoliberal structural transformations. Teacher who were expected to raise loyal citizens are now being waited to cradle people who are loyal to the economic expectations of the time (Yıldız, 2014).

---

<sup>1</sup> “To plan, to programme, to conduct, to monitor and to inspect all education and training activities which aims to create citizens who are loyal to Atatürk’s nationalism which is embodied in Atatürk’s principles and reforms; who internalize, protect and develop the national, moral, historical and cultural values of Turkish society; who love their family, country and nation; who know their duties and responsibilities towards the Republic of Turkey which is an democratic, secular, social and constitutional state” (The Law on the Organizational Structure and the Duties of Ministry of National Education Number 3797; 1992; Article 2, Clause a)

<sup>2</sup> “To design, to apply, to update curricula which develop pre-school, primary and secondary education students’ physical, mental, moral, social and cultural qualifications, and which equip students from all levels with the knowledge and skills which are required by the globally competitive economic system” (The Statutory Decree on the Organizational Structure and the Duties of Ministry of National Education Number 652; 2011; Article 2, Clause a)

Considering all these factors together, one can conclude that teachers, as one of the main actors of educational matters, are actively working for the psychological, curricular, social, cultural, economic as well as ideological aims of the educational system; they are a part of Ideological State Apparatus (Harvie, 2006). Yet, while taking a major part in indoctrinating the principles of the current dominant ideology; their roles, their social positions, their responsibilities, their identities are being designated by existing educational policies, which makes the teachers objects of the policies as well as subjects of them.

The Basic Law of National Education Number 1739 which has been enacted in 1973 defined teaching as a professional occupation. The standards of teaching profession are also set by the same legal text with its Article 43. It states that teaching is a specialized profession which undertakes State's educational, instructional as well as education and training related administrative issues. Teachers are required to conduct their duties according to general aims and basic principles of the Turkish National Education.

Article 43 of the Basic Law of National Education Number 1739 also states that preparation for the teaching profession is provided via general culture, subject-specific training and pedagogical formation. Teacher training happens at tertiary level and programs of all teacher training departments in Turkey has been determined by Higher Education Council. After the adoption of the constructivist curriculum for primary and secondary education levels in 2003-2004 academic year, the teacher need of the education system has changed and teacher education standards has been arranged accordingly. According to this arrangements, teacher candidates in education faculties are to take general culture courses (foreign language, information technologies, history of Turkish revolution, Turkish language and community service), pedagogic

formation courses (introduction to educational sciences, educational psychology, instructional principles and methods, instructional technology and material development, classroom management, measurement and assessment and so forth) as well as subject-specific courses (like laboratory applications in science course in departments of elementary science teacher education or contextual grammar in departments of foreign language education) (YÖK, 2007).

Graduates of faculties of science and letters can also be entitled as teachers by completing pedagogic formation certificate programmes standards of which are again set by Higher Education Council. In order to complete the certificate programs and become a teacher, graduates of faculties of science and letters have to take pedagogic formation courses (YÖK, 2014).

Even though state defines the teaching profession in Law No: 1739 and prepares prospective teachers in higher education institutions according to the requirements of forementioned law; it gives information about general aims, basic principles, school building facilities, teaching materials and duties and responsibilities of the Ministry, in sum the structure of Turkish national system. However, teacher recruitment policies or the state's, parents' and students' expectations from teachers cannot be understood by examining this legal document.

Teacher recruitment policies as well as expectations from education and teachers are changing according to trending ideological tendencies, which is neoliberalism in 21<sup>st</sup> century. Neoliberalism can be defined as the alliance of political and economic practices which aim to liberate individual entrepreneurs in order to advance the well-being of people. However, the premises of neoliberalism like withdrawal of state from certain areas,

deregulation and privatization has been entailing problems in division of labour, social relations and welfare provisions (Harvey, 2005). All these characteristics of neoliberal policies lead people to think about relationship between neoliberalism and education. Under the neoliberal regimes, schools are expected to be in competition. They have to be accountable. Their students are supposed to get high notes in standardized tests. Under these circumstances, definition of good teacher has changed as well (Connell, 2009): “The essential image is that of a compliant technician, worker, and civil servant” (Weber, 2007, p. 288).

In that regard, the recent changes in the duties of Turkish education system has affected the teacher identity as well. As national education system of Turkey aims to prepare students to “globally competitive economic system” rather than to evoke nationalistic and patriotic values; all discourses which effect and are effected by teachers has changed as well. Teachers of 21<sup>st</sup> century are just expected to transfer technical knowledge rather than inspire students, to prepare them to standardized tests rather than teaching them how to access the resources (Yıldız, 2014), to use the technological devices sent from the center rather than producing their own teaching materials (Öztürk, 2014), to be *merchants* rather than being moral authorities (Yıldız, Ünlü, Alica, & Sarpkaya, 2013).

In order to see the changes in the educational expectations clearly, it is a must to examine the educational practices of early years of the Republic of Turkey. Creating a national identity, suggesting the idea of citizenship, stressing the importance of national development was among the main concerns of early Republican policy makers (Ahmad, 1993; Ateş, 2010; Berkes, 2012; Lewis, 2013; Zürcher, 2004). Education was one of the main agents which assisted them to realize Republican ideals. As it is stated before, teachers, as “the tools employed to create and shape national identity” (Fortna, 2013), shouldered the

responsibility of “founding the “national education system” with their patience and solidity.

The roots of these nationalistic aims go back to Ottoman Empire. As the stability of political equilibrium changed at the beginning of the 20th century, the Empire was also influenced by the fall of imperial and the rise of nation states. The World War I, in which the Ottoman took place in one of the sides, was the breaking point in Turkish history with Gallipoli Campaign. Too many schools paused their educational activities because of students’ and teachers’ taking place in the war. Schools were used as hospitals. A great number of well educated people lost their lives. All these created a serious human capital problem at the very beginning of the Republic (Şahin, 2012). Only %10 of people were literate in 1897 (DiE, 1997; in Yumuşak, 2008) and this ratio did not show any significant raise because of the continuous wars till the declaration of the Republic. According to Gökçe (1996), teacher numbers were very dramatic compared to the population in the young Turkish republic, 1923-24. For instance, there were around 5000 primary schools available tens of thousands of residential areas and there were approximately 2 teachers for each school at that time (Table 1).

**Table 1** Number of Schools and Teachers in 1923-24 Academic Year

	Schools	Teachers
Pre-School	80	136
Primary School	4.894	10.238
Secondary School	116	1.054
General High School	23	513
Vocational and Technical High School	20	325
Higher Education Institution	9	307

**Source:** Gökçe, 1996

The severity of the case can be understood by the numbers introduced in Table 1. Moreover, most of the schools mentioned above were located in İstanbul and Bursa, which was tragic when the remaining population and their educational needs is thought. It is quite apparent that the Ottoman gave priority to educational activities in the metropolises. Somel (2010) states that if the people living in smaller or further parts of the country requested schools in their districts, they had to provide some financial support to the state in order to attain their requests.

On 4th of December, 1920; Tokat Deputy Mustafa Bey said in a Parliamentary Speech: “My town’s population is about 100.000. There are not even 2 people who can be named as intellectuals. ... Why are our people deprived of education”. People were to be educated but the number of schools and teachers were not sufficient. One of the solutions offered by Ankara Government said that the military service of teachers’ and teacher trainees’ would be postponed (Sakaoğlu, 2003). First a deputy’s admonitory remarks about being left to illiteracy shows the severity of the case. Moreover, as the members of a *soldier nation*, teachers were assigned a more important duty than protecting and rescuing the motherland: to educate the people. This indicates the determination of the policymakers to fight against the ignorance and illiteracy which can be seen among the causes of the fall of the Empire.

In the very first years of the Republic, politicians were face to face with serious problems inherited from the Ottoman Empire. Ottoman Public Debt Administration’s accounts which were to be closed, founding national industrial enterprises, finding a solution to Straits question without threatening the national sovereignty, protecting the rights of Turkish minority in Western Thrace were among the problems that was waiting for Republican bureaucrats. Reforming the education system which was not successfully institutionalized

during the Ottoman era, removing the stains of illiteracy and ignorance from society were other important issues to be resolved (Sakaoğlu, 2003).

“The Turkish Revolution is, in fact, the name given to a period of Turkish history of indefinite length during which the Turkish political system was transformed” (Mardin, 1971, p. 198). The ideas lying behind this political transformation stretches out to late Ottoman modernist movements and ideas like scientism, anti-clericalism and nationalism. These ideas were taken from the France of the *fin de siècle* and then transferred by Young Turks to Kemalist Republican ideologists (Zürcher, 2005).

Republican ideas about political, economic and cultural development mainly took their roots from the education system (Akyüz, 2008). Republican education movements was mainly stressing not only to remove illiteracy from the country but also to make republican ideals internalized by people (Sakaoğlu, 2003). In order to realize aims of the young Republic, serious educational reforms were put into practice. All educational institutions were collected under the Ministry of National Education with *Tevhid-i Tedrisat Kanunu*, which was enacted in 1924, in order to unify the education policies. Education was secularized and democratized. Subjects like history, language and literature were nationalized. New Turkish alphabet was accepted and with adoption of co-education, mixed gender classrooms were started to be seen (Akyüz, 2008). According to the citizenship education curricula of 1948, teachers were expected to introduce national institutions, their aims and create bonds of commitment to these institutions. Moreover, while they were explaining rights and responsibilities, they were to remind students the dedication of previous generations to get these rights as well (Üstel, 2011).



## 1.2 Significance of the Study

The researches focused on the teachers usually question the current trends in teacher education (Aydın & Başkan, 2005; Aykaç, Kabaran, & Bilgin, 2014; Başkan, 2001; Başkan, Aydın, & Madden, 2006;), teacher competencies (Seferoğlu S. S., 2004; Şişman, 2009), teacher employment strategies (Bora, Bora, Erdoğan, & Üstün, 2012; Ertürk, 2013; Nartgün, 2008), and teachers' delineation in media organs (Yıldız, Ünlü, Alica, & Sarpkaya, 2013). Teacher identity is embraced from the perspective of labour process as well as proletarianization (Durmaz, 2014). There is also a PhD dissertation which has been under preparation focusing on the changing social status of teachers in Turkey (Ertem, n.d.). Almost all of these researches mention a transformation that teachers have been experiencing roughly since 1980'.

However little effort has been devoted to show much more previous position of teachers in the Turkish society. Literature shows that researches focusing on the Early Republican education mostly deals with the modernization of and through education (Başgöz & Wilson, 1968; Kazamias, 1966), literacy (Fortna, 2013), citizenship education (Gürses, 2011; Şahin, 2002; Üstel, 2011), secularism (Özakın, 2004), curricula (Tazebay, Tertemiz, Kalaycı, & Çelenk, 2000) or teacher education. Nevertheless, teacher education is mainly investigated under teacher education systems (Kavcar, 2002; Öztürk, 1996) or Village Institutes (Karaömerlioğlu, 1998; Kirby, 2012).

From this starting point, it would not be wrong to say that researchers working on education policy and history of education showed lack of interest in teacher identity during the early Republican era. In order to understand today's teacher identity formation policies and to show how expectations from education and teachers has changed, it is vital to understand the expectations from education as well as teachers in the past. Hence, this study aims to portray the way

teachers were formed in the early years of the Republic of Turkey. This will also give opportunity to researchers to observe the evolution of the teacher identity in the course of time.

This study was planned to disclose the answers of the following questions about teachers, who are in the middle of the educational practices:

- 1- What identities were attributed to teachers in the early Republican era, between 1921 and 1940 regarding parliamentary minutes, printed media, legal documents, educational meetings and Mustafa Kemal's written and oral appeals?
- 2- What responsibilities were teachers conferred in the early Republican era, between 1921 and 1940 regarding parliamentary minutes, printed media, legal documents, educational meetings and Mustafa Kemal's written and oral appeals?
- 3- What privileges were given to teachers in the early Republican era, between 1921 and 1940 regarding parliamentary minutes, printed media, legal documents, educational meetings and Mustafa Kemal's written and oral appeals?
- 4- What metaphors were used when mentioning teachers in the early Republican era, between 1921 and 1940 regarding parliamentary minutes, printed media, legal documents, educational meetings and Mustafa Kemal's written and oral appeals?

These questions are the heart of the thesis' pursuit.

In order to answer these questions; parliamentary discussions, government plans, declarations of opinion leaders' addressing teachers and newspaper articles were examined.

### 1.3 Definitions of the Terms

At this part of the study, definitions of the terms are provided. First, identity is defined. Then modernism and nationalism, which are the most common two terms used to describe the Turkish revolution (Lewis, 2013) are introduced. The section is ended with the definition of the term development.

**Identity:** According to Richard Jenkins (2008) "identity is the human capacity to know 'who's who' (and hence 'what's what')" (p. 5). While personal identity refers to someone's sui generis characteristics, social identity term is used to define person's common aspects as the same as others (Fulcher & Scott, 2011).

"Identity is never unilateral" (Jenkins, 2008, p. 42). A person may have more than one identity in at the same time. These are primary identities (acquired through primary socialization) and secondary identities (shaped on primary identities and gained through secondary socialization. While gender and ethnicity of a person can be grouped under his/her primary identities, his/her occupational identity can be grouped among his/her secondary identities (Fulcher & Scott, 2011). In this study, the term identity will be used for occupational identity of *teachership*.

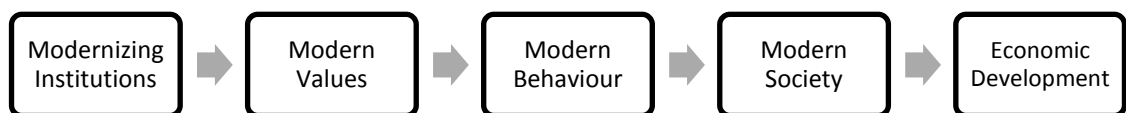
Just like identity itself, *identity formation* is not unilateral. It has psychological, social and political functions. The terms identity formation, or identification, is

used to define all political actions in order to create an occupational identity to teachers.

**Modernism:** Modernization is a process which defines the change of traditional societies which results in the creation of new societies that has similar features with so-called advanced and economically developed worlds' (O'Connell, 1976).

According to Berkes (2012), the word *asrî* was used in the meaning of modern. It described the people or institutions which followed the requirements of the age. However, because of the negative connotations of the word<sup>3</sup> attributed by conservatives, the word *muasırlaşmak* was used and internalized by Turkish intellectuals (Berkes, 2012).

The people who fulfil the requirements of the age is politically participant. They are establishing networks larger than their kinship network. The institutions which works according to the requirements of the age needed punctual people, abstract rules, objective evidences to make judgements (Inkeles & Smith, 1974). Inkeles and Smith's study (1974) reveals that there is a causal relationship between modern institutions, modern values, modern behaviour, modern society and economic development.



**Figure 1** Process of Modernization  
Source: Fagerlind & Saha, 1989

---

<sup>3</sup> Snobbery, rootlessness, superficiality and atheism (Berkes, 2012).

In this study, modernism is used for a multidimensional phenomenon which aims to solve the problems of existing system, social structure and state mechanism by launching a social movement and setting the masses in motion (Aksakal, 2010) and Turkish modernization means all these institutional and social transformation processes as well as all actions which directed the Ottoman Empire and Republic of Turkey towards the goal of the attaining contemporary European civilization.

**Nationalism:** In Turkish language, the term used commonly to define nationalism is *milliyetçilik*. The word is derived from Arabic word *millet*, which is used for religious groups during the pre-modern Ottoman era. According to millet system, Christian and Jewish societies were given a special status, *dhimmi*. They were not forced to convert their religions in exchange for special taxes (Ahmad, 1993; Lewis, 2013; Zürcher, 2004). In the pre-modern Ottoman world, education of *dhimmis* were focusing on their own religious principles and aiming to raise faithful generations. Holy scriptures were being used as text books (Somel, 2013).

Establishment of secular schools in Balkan districts was the starting point of the transformation in Balkan masses into nations, which was the emergence of nationalistic movements as well (Altıntaş, 2005; Roudometof, 1998). The ethnic groups in the Balkan peninsula was influenced by the nation-state ideal and churches and schools worked for spreading these ideals (Altıntaş, 2005).

Nationalistic movements in Europe caused major territorial losses in the Empire; therefore Ottoman intellectuals sought for the ways to recover it. The very first solution, *Ottomanism*, was offered to create an Ottoman spirit to combine all the nations living under control of Ottoman. Ottomanist intellectuals used *İttihad-ı Anasır* (unification of the nations) as their main slogan (Ateş, 2010). However, as a result of Balkan Wars, Ottomanism was abolished due to

Greek and Serbian nationalist movements (Ateş, 2010; Zürcher, 2004). Pan-Islamism, the second solution offered, tried to keep the control over all Muslim societies by using the power of the caliphate. It was intensely used during the reign of II Abdülhamit. The Sultan's main aim was to stop Panslavist movements in Balkans. However, it did not show any positive results as well (Ateş, 2010).

Pan Turkism is another solution offered to alleviate the sick man. It is the expression of an emerging nationalist ideology which foresaw a cultural unity of all Muslim and Christian Turks in the land of *Turan*. It also meant a cultural unification of Turks in and outside of the Empire's lands (Kazamias, 1966)

Young Turks were the people who introduced and made popular the concept of *millet*, which means nation rather than religious groups (Kazamias, 1966). As a result of the loss of the Balkans, Empire had a more homogeneous mass and *İttihad ve Terakki Komitesi* (Committee of Union and Progress), which had a great impact on the declaration of the Second Constitutional Era, reformed their ideology by emphasising nationalism (Ahmad, 1993).

During the First World War, Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points<sup>4</sup> stated the policy that would call peace for post-war World. According to the Article 12, territorial integrity of the remaining Ottoman state was endangered. Because of the self-determination principle, territorial unity of the Empire was threatened (Smith, 2014). At the end of the war, an oath stressing the minimum conditions to be accepted in the treaty that would end the war was declared by the last

---

<sup>4</sup> "XII. The Turkish portion of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees." (President Wilson's Fourteen Points, 1918)

Ottoman parliament: *Misak-ı Milli*. While stating the national borders, *Misak-ı Milli* underlined the inseparable territorial integrity<sup>5</sup>. It was a reaction against the Wilson's Fourteen Points and it obviously accepts the fall of Ottoman Empire (Berkes, 2012). *Misak-ı Milli* was one of the political bases of the Republic of Turkey, and with its emphasis on the inseparable territorial integrity, it showed that Turkish nationalism did not have a separatist character.

The new Turkish state was founded on these bases. Nationalism was taken its place at CHP's (Republican People's Party) party programme in 1927 and with a constitutional amendment in 1937, six principles of Republican People's Party, which are republicanism, nationalism, populism, etatism, secularism, and reformism, were inserted into the 1924 Constitution. From then on, nationalism has taken its place among the official ideology of the Republic. It is stated that Turkish nationalism is moderate, peaceful and respectful to other nations and cultures and not racist (Tunç & Bilir, 1998). Article 88 of 1924 Constitution also states that "Everyone bound to the Turkish State through the bond of citizenship is a Turk without making any discrimination based on religion or ethnicity". Compared to other nationalistic social and political movements of the era; Turkish nationalism was a reaction against separatist nationalism and imperialism (Findley, 2010).

This specific approach to nationalism has overtones of Ottomanism. As it is stated before just like Ottomanism, Turkish Constitutions prepared since 1924<sup>6</sup> has collected all citizens under *Turkishness* without considering their religious

---

<sup>5</sup>Misak-ı Milli Article I: The future the districts inhabited by Arab majority at the time of the ratification of the Armistice of Mudros will be determined by a referendum. All parts of Ottoman state populated by Ottoman-Muslim majorities are homeland of the Turkish nation and inseparable, neither by an action, nor by a decision. (Ulusal Ant (Misak-ı Milli), 1920)"

<sup>6</sup> "Residents of Turkey regardless of their religion or ethnicity are Turkish citizens" (1924 Constitution, Article 88)  
"Everyone bound to the Turkish State through the bond of citizenship is a Turk" (1961 Constitution, Article 54; 1982 Constitution, Article 66)

or ethnical backgrounds. This is the great similarity between these two ideologies (Ateş, 2010).

On the other hand, nationalism has always been a profoundly controversial issue in Turkish politics. This constitutional definition of nationalism underlies most of the ethnic based disputes. Hobsbawm (1983) states that nations and nationalism are outputs of “social engineering” (as cited in Özkırımlı, 2010). According to Ateş (2010); the reason why the term nation was offered is the masses which claim right at the power. Bourgeoisie did not want to share the power with people and stated that sovereignty did not belong to people masses but belong to nation. The term nation was offered as a result of a power struggle; it was based on a fight for power. Then, when Ateş’s statements are considered, constitutional definition of nationalism stresses the Turkishness; it melts all the elements in the society in the same pot and emphasizes the authority of Turkish ethnicity and this raises the ethnic based disputes mentioned before.

As this study aims to portray what kind of policies was followed in order to give an identity to teachers, nationalism and citizenship definition taking place in 1924 constitution is used in the study.

**Development:** The term development is commonly used instead of growth, evolution, progress, advancement, modernization and social change. Except for social change, all these words have a positive connotation (Fagerlind & Saha, 1989).

According to Fletcher (1976), development is an intricate concept as it can give several meanings. First, it can literally mean that “certain changes let directly



and decisively to other changes” (p 42). The other meaning of development can be:

The actualization of an implicit potentiality, the simplest example being the patterned growth and maturation of a seed, or an initial germ-cell, to the full adult form of the individual plant, or animal, or human person. Without stipulating, at this point, anything too weighty or too precise, this can also certainly seem to apply to men and his social situations. (Fletcher, 1974, p. 43).

Development is a multi-dimensional concept; it has economic, political and social dimensions. It is under interference with societies and development agencies. Education is one of the strongest institution for social, political and economic development (Ponsioen, 1968).

In this study, the term development is used to define all positive changes in political, economic and social domain.

This study includes 5 chapters. In order to inform the reader about the historical and theoretical framework of the study, Turkish modernization and role of education in it are discussed in Chapter 2. In Chapter 3, methodological foundations of the study is introduced. In Chapter 4, data obtained from the sources mentioned above will be introduced and interpreted. Finally, in Chapter 5, an overview of the study that concludes and discusses the implications for further research are presented.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **2. THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK**

In order to answer the research questions properly, it is a must to delineate the overall picture of the late Ottoman era. According to Ahmad (1993), every nation has a history which follows a continuing path and which rarely breaks from the past completely. Nevertheless, in the Turkish Republic case, the historical bounds with the Ottoman Empire was tried to be broken continuously. Without understanding the conditions of last centuries of the Empire, all discussions on the young Turkish Republic, as well as this specific paper's concern teacher identity formation, would be defective, however. In order to avoid misconceptions and any misleading comments, literature review of this study starts with a brief introduction to the Ottoman modernism. Then it gives information about the historical background of early Republican era. The aim and role of education in the Turkish modernization is discussed and ideal student and child profile is mentioned to provide a base to understand expectations from teachers.

#### **2.1 A Brief Introduction to the Ottoman Modernism**

This section provides a brief introduction to the political, social, educational modernism movements that took place during the last years of the Ottoman Empire.

The decline and fall of Ottoman Empire was seen as a result of a complicated interaction of several causes. According to Lewis (2013), these causes can be

examined under 3 main categories: those relating to government, to economic and social life as well as to moral, cultural and intellectual change.

Governmental causes were mentioned in *Koçi Bey Risalesi* (1630), which was prepared under the reign of Murat IV for the first time. With the second siege attempt of Vienna, Ottoman authorities could clearly observe the quality differences between Janissaries and European modern armies. This unsuccessful conquest trial led Ottoman Empire to lose its well-esteemed position in Europe. That was followed by major territorial losses, the first of which was result of Treaty of Karlowitz (1699) (Lewis, 2013).

Territorial losses are seen as not the causes but the symptoms of the weakness by modern historians. However, effects of losing manpower, taxes and resources cannot be ignored. Discovery of new trade routes, exploration of America, precious metals' (coming from the New World) getting into the circulation caused a financial crisis. Effects of the crisis were multiplied as a result of the increase in the military spending: *sipahis* were no longer able to meet the needs of Ottoman army; instead of them professional soldiers were employed which led the increase of military spending (Lewis, 2013).

While military, administrative and economic shortcomings were easily observed, problems of intellectual world were not detected quickly. *Divan* literature continued to exhibit the best pieces with the works of Nedim and Şeyh Galib while Ottoman Army was being defeated on the battlefields (Lewis, 2013). In 1727, introduction of printing press by İbrahim Müteferrika was a great step towards catching up to the age. However, the limitations applied to press publications did not allow it to develop (Berkes, 2012).

This negligence had continued till the Selim III's reign. Sultan Selim III started a new reform program called as *Nizam-ı Cedid* (The New Order) to promote the central state power against inner and outer threats. Among the main aims of the program were to struggle against bribery, to regain the upper hand against Russia, and re-establish the existing system. He also set up new communication strategies with Europe apart from sending temporary diplomats. Ottoman Empire opened permanent embassies in European capitals like London, Vienna, and Paris. These made Selim III the first emperor who supervised the modern changes in the Ottoman state and society (Zürcher, 2004).

Mahmud II, successor of Sultan Selim III, was sometimes called as Ottoman Peter the Great (Lewis, 2013). His policies determined the direction of the Empire for the following years. Just like Selim III, he aimed to strengthen the existing system. He succeeded in his aim to some extent as he was able to abolish the Janissary army. Termination of the Janissary army required him to create a new, professional army which required the use of economic resources. Money could be collected through an effective taxation system which requires a strong bureaucracy. In order to bring up the civil servants needed in the bureaucracy, Ottoman Empire was in need of a new educational system (Zürcher, 2004). Without having talented personnel who wanted to learn the new system and teach it to others, the reformed institutions were bound to be unsuccessful (Lewis, 2013).

Mahmud II was the first ruler who expressed the importance of education with an edict. In the edict, it was stated that parents were choosing their children to become apprentice rather than students at the age of 6-7 and due to this children were growing up illiterate. This caused a great ignorance in the society. For that reason, workplaces were prohibited to employ kids who had not completed his primary education. By some researchers (like Kazamias,

1966; p 53), this edict were reported as the first attempts to take education under state's responsibility. However, the aim of the edict was to prevent religious ignorance through madrasahs rather than to provide a free public education (Sakaoğlu, 2003; Berkes, 2012).

*Rüştiyes*, the first modern civilian educational institutions, were found by Mahmut II. Turkish language, arithmetic, geography like courses were taught in *rüştiyes* for education of civil people for the first time (Sakaoğlu, 2003).

Roots of modern (which was more secular than the traditional one) and traditional (which was religious) education dichotomy, which would come to an end with *Tevhid-i Tedrisat* (Law on Unification of Education; Law Number: 430) in 1924 lays in the reign of Mahmut II. While new modern educational institutions, *rüştiyes*, opened; traditional mektebs were kept also.

With the decease of Mahmud II, his son Abdülmecid was coronated in 1839. Sultan Abdülmecid was dedicated to complete his father's reforms. One of his first activities was to declare an imperial edict, *Tanzimat*. Literally, it means to reorganize something. With that edict, people's right to live, right of property, right to fair trial to everyone, and equal protection of law without considering the religion of people was taken under the guarantee of the State (Lewis, 2013). It also stresses a fair taxation system and a limitation to long military service (Akyıldız, 2011).

*Tanzimat* aimed to create a new social state which tried to rebind the state and the economy. Therefore, state intervention was to regulate society, it was social engineering. As a result of these changes, a new bureaucracy was created. This new emerging class was loyal to the state more than the sultan.

These *Tanzimat* officials, introduced the western ideologies to the country and took them as a source of inspiration (Ahmad, 1993).

Sakaoğlu (2003) states that even if there was not even a word referring to education or schooling system in the *Tanzimat* edict, *Tanzimat* era directed education towards a modern path. Schools were seen as an essential element not only for İstanbul, but also for Anatolia. Schools were opened in Anatolia as well. Modern educational methods were adopted (Sakaoğlu, 2003).

In *Tanzimat* era, education was seen as a way which would save the empire. Its social and political function was realised (Akyüz, 2008). As Cyrus Hamlin stated “the salvation of the ‘sick man’ was not through extermination, but through ‘education’” and as a result education assigned a major role in a broad sense (Kazamias, 1966).

*Darülfünûn* (the first university), *Mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i Mülkiye* (the civil medical school), *Dârülmualimîn* (male teacher training school), *Askerî Baytar Mektebi* (military medicine school) and *Mekteb-i Osmani* (diplomacy school in Paris) were among the schools opened during the *Tanzimat* era. *Dârülmualimîn* had a specific importance among all the other schools. It was opened on 16 March 1848. The main aim to open *Dârülmualimîn* was to raise teachers who could apply and develop modern teaching methods for *Rüştiyes* (Hayta, 2009). According to *Dârülmualimîn* regulations, students were studying Persian language, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and geography as well as pedagogical formation classes. It can be understood that future teachers were being trained according to secular rules (Akyüz, 2008; Binbaşıoğlu, 2005).

*Dârülmualimîn* was only accepting male students. In 1870, *Dârülmualimat* was opened to raise female teachers for girls’ schools. At the opening ceremony

Minister of Education Saffet Paşa stated that “This school is one of the most honourable schools of our Sultan and will make endless contributions to education of girls” (Akyüz, 2008).

The Ottoman state tried to use educational developments to show *Tanzimat* reforms to the public. In order to realize that aim state used teachers as well. Somel (2010) states that in order to encourage teachers to work in distant provinces, salaries of the teachers working in those areas were determined according to the distance of the province to Istanbul.

However, *Tanzimat* reforms could not get any public support. It was limited to the new bureaucracy created. State officials had been expecting the support of the Christian citizens’ support; yet, the reforms could not avoid the separatist movements. Besides, all reformers were regarded as villains who were exploiting the State (Zürcher, 2004).

On one hand, during the first half of 1870s, Anatolia had problems like floods, drought which caused economic problems. Palace found solution in foreign borrowing. However, because of the international economic crisis, Ottoman Empire could not get any financial support and could not pay its previous debts. On the other hand, Panslavism was threatening Ottoman territory at Balkan Peninsula. That political and economic chaos assisted a *coup d’état*. Sultan Abdülaziz was disenthroned. After a short regency of Murat V, Abdülhamid II came to the power (Zürcher, 2004).

At the beginning Abdülhamid II era, the economic and political chaos had not ended. While European countries were discussing about the future of Balkans, Abdülhamid II declared the constitutional monarchy with *Kanun-ı Esasî* in 1876. According to Niyazi Berkes (2012) this constitution was not limiting the

emperor, contrariwise it was limited by the sultan himself. Thus, by using Crimean War as an excuse, Abdülhamid II closed the parliament temporarily and it took him 41 years to open it again.

Abdülhamid II was known for his intelligence system, censorship and oppression. Nevertheless, he was eager to use reform movement to strengthen his position. His era was, apart from stagnancy at developments about civil rights, the most active reform period. He reaped the fruits of *Tanzimat* reforms as well. He believed that education was the prerequisite of all other reforms (Lewis, 2013). The rising number of private education institutions, new schools opened out of İstanbul and initiatives that raised girls' education can be mentioned while talking about the educational developments in his era (Akyüz, 2008; Sakaoğlu, 2003).

Abdulhamid II era was also important for the social position of teaching profession. Akyüz (2008) states that according to a regulation<sup>7</sup> effectuated during his era set the minimum requirements of teaching as a profession. This regulation stated that teachers were to be loyal to moral rules, they were forbidden to perform any other occupation or civil service and they were expected to be compliant to their classes. This regulation can find a place itself among all the other developments which contributed to form a teacher identity (Akyüz, 2008).

According to Zurcher (2004), the weakest point of Sultan Abdulhamid II was his fail to create an unquestioning support for his authority in the educational institutions founded during his era. In the schools like *Mülkiye*, *Tıbbiye* and *Harbiye*, a generation which was attracted by liberal ideas was raised and the end of autocracy period was finalized by these people. The first opposition

---

<sup>7</sup> “Muallimlikte Meslek-i İhtisas Tesisine Dair Talimat” (Akyüz, 2008, p. 251)



movements against Abdülhamid II regime was observed in these schools (Berkes, 2012).

*İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti* was an organization which was founded by the intellectuals who call themselves as *Jeunes Turcs* and who felt the suppression of Sultan. This underground organization grew quickly. Because of diplomatic developments threatening territorial integrity of Ottoman Empire; a group of military officers demanded to put the constitution in action again by seizing a part of Macedonia. Sultan who insisted to suppress the revolt eventually gave up and the Empire started to be ruled by a constitutional monarchy again (Zürcher, 2004).

After the fall of Abdülhamid II and restoration of constitutional monarchy (which is also called as *Meşrutiyet*) in 1908, a new era was also started for educational policies. In *Hürriyet'in İlanı*, Tunaya (2004) states that as it reshaped the interaction between the state and society, the declaration of *Meşrutiyet* increased the number of people who were interested in politics. The children who were seen as the “future of the society” were evolved into the “future of the state”. Children became one of the main interests of politicians and this also raised the attention towards educational issues (Üstel, 2011).

Child who became a public actor did not belong to his/her family anymore. S/he became the future of the nation, producer of tomorrow. They should be raised according to the principles of freedom, equality, justice and brotherhood. The new generation should be equipped with citizenship consciousness and a new *Meşrutiyet* generation should be raised from the very beginning of the school life (Üstel, 2011).

In the era, during which citizenship education gained a great importance, education and teachers were regarded as a key to rescue the state which was about to collapse (Akyüz, 2008). However, extending educational services all over the empire was quite a hard problem that was to be solved. 70.000 teachers were needed and human resources was not developed to meet this need (Sakaoğlu, 2004). Berkes (2012) states that during the Meşrutiyet II, teachers were to be seen as practitioners of a science just like doctors, judges or military officers. The most famous advocator of this view was Satı Bey. Satı Bey, who was the school principal of Dârülmualimîn, initiated fundamental changes in the teacher education system. He examined the students and continued to educate the top 150 prospective teachers. He chose young and talented people for academic staff. He organized academic conferences and published an educational journal. He also attempted to open a practice school for teacher candidates and he succeeded in this attempt (Akyüz, 2008).

All these actions mentioned above which were aiming to raise the quality of teacher education also assisted to enrich the intellectual worlds of teachers. However, in *Maarif Hakkında Layihalar*, İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu (1923; as cited in Akyüz, 2008) reckons this as a problem. Baltacıoğlu states that teachers or prospective teachers did not work for the professional ideals. Educating teachers as intellectuals led them to be distant from the public and prospective teachers started to see studying teaching as a step towards to get a higher position in the society. He states that this was the sign of the corruption in *Dârülmualimîn*. *Dârülmualimîns* were to prepare students for teaching jobs and they would not be qualified teacher education institutons as long as they try to prepare their students for higher education. The problem İsmayıl Hakkı Baltacıoğlu stated maybe a problem not only for Meşrutiyet era but also for today.

Emergence of nationalist movements in Balkans caused a war between Balkan countries. Even if the Balkan nations' nationalists were in conflict, they agreed on the idea to remove Ottoman Empire from European lands. In 1912 the tension running high resulted in a war which were to get all European lands of Ottoman Empire. Ottoman troops had to yield back, and as the result of ceasefire agreement, Ottoman state lost its lands including Edirne. However, as the Balkan countries did not have an agreement among them about how to share the lands acquired from Ottoman. Serbia and Greece did not like to share and formed an alliance against Bulgaria. The Second Balkan war broke out. This surprise attacks assisted Ottomans government to get its lands back. (Hanioğlu, 2008; Zürcher, 2004)

This chaotic atmosphere not only brought the end of Meşrutiyet with a *coup d'état* organized by *İttihat ve Terakki* but also became “an essential link in the causal chain leading to the Great War” (Hanioğlu, 2008, p. 173).

## **2.2 The War Years**

Alkan (2015) states that because of the traumatic land losses, Turkey chose not to remember memoirs about the World War I. This causes to pale distinction between the World War I (Gallipoli Campaign) and the War of Independence.

Even if the political and military atmosphere of the country was quite different in these two eras, the point that these two periods had in common was that educational activities were decelerated. In that regard, this section will give brief information about the war years and indicate the educational developments.

Catastrophic effects of the World War I on the Ottoman Empire were not limited to the political or military area. Educational activities were also influenced dramatically by the War. The long intervals to education, mobilising teachers as well as students for fighting against the Triple Entente had unfortunate results. However, the loss of the well-educated generation in the battle fields maybe the worst effects of the War which would influence the following years, the Republican era (Akyüz, 2008). *Sultanis* were the educational institutions equivalent to high schools. When the number of university equivalent institutions (Table 1), the importance of *Sultanis* and their graduates will be quite visible. If this tragic loss had not happened, these graduates would be the future civil servants, teachers or scientists of the Republic and this would minimize the urgent need of the Republic for highly qualified labour force (Şahin, 2012). This situation is best summarized by Aspinall-Oglander (1992) as “the destruction of the flowers of Turkish army” (p. 486).

After the Armistice of Mudros and the Treaty of Sèvres, Ottoman Empire declared its fall. The period followed by the occupation of Anatolia and İstanbul led the Turkish society to fight for their freedom. Mustafa Kemal, who was assigned as the General Inspector and sent to Samsun, started an active civil resistance against the occupation. After organizing a series of congress in Anatolia dealing with the issue of how to gain the national independence again, he and his companion arrived at Ankara. The activities about national independence and sovereignty were maintained with the foundation of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (hereafter TBMM) (Sarıhan, 2009).

While striving with matter of life or death, education was not among the first issues to be dealt with. However, especially after the proclamation of TBMM, educational activities were accelerated. Educational organization of TBMM started to work at the end of 1920 (Sakaoğlu, 2003).

In an article written by Ethem Nejat, it is stated that solution of educational problems cannot be left only to Ministry of Education. He offers that aims, problems and possible solution to that problems should be discussed in a congress by teachers, educator, philosophers and policymakers (Akyüz, 1978; Sarihan, 2009). This suggestion was realized during the Greco-Turkish War. With the call of Mustafa Kemal (Akgün & Uluğtekin, 1989), an educational congress, which is called as *Maarif Kongresi*, was gathered on 15 July 1921 in Ankara. And maybe it is the most important move of the War time related to education (Sarihan, 2009).

*Maarif Kongresi* has always been considered as a turning point in Turkish education system. The congress which was gathered during the most intense days of the War of Independence was the first meeting aiming at discussing education. The agenda of *Maarif Kongresi* was declared in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* on 14 July 1921 as it follows:

Maarif Kongresi will be opened tomorrow at 3 o'clock with the opening remarks of Mustafa Kemal Pasha. The Congress which will be held to exchange opinions of various committees will be opened at 3 o'clock at Dârülmualimîn Conference Hall. The opening speech will be delivered by Mustafa Kemal Pasha. Educational techniques and methods, progress of educational directorates, industrial and commercial adequacy and reports on tendencies will be discussed (*Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, 14 July 1921 as cited in Sarihan, 2009).

Maarif Kongresi yarın saat üçte Mustafa Kemal Paşa Hazretlerinin nutuklarıyla küşad olunacaktır. Ankara'da muhtelip maarif meseleleri hakkında müdavele-i efkar etmek üzere akt-ı içtima edecek olan Maarif Kongresi yarın öğleden sonra saat üçte Dârülmualimîn Konferans salonunda küşad olunacaktır. Nutk-u iftahiyyi Büyük Millet Meclisi reisi Mustafa Kemal Paşa Hazretleri irad buyuracaklardır. Kongrede usul-ü terbiye ve tedris meseleleri münakaşa edileceği gibi maarif müdiriyetlerinden mahalli teşkilat-ı maarifin derece-i inkişafı üzerine mevrit raporlar üzerine müzakerat cereyan edecektir.

The agenda of the congress which focused on the educational techniques and education management issues shows a parallelism between Mustafa Kemal's remarks just after the victory of War of Independence. According to Mustafa

Kemal, the actual war would start after the victory and was going to be against ignorance as well as reactionism (Erdem, 2011). In that regard, the congress gathered with the call of Mustafa Kemal had started the *actual war* of education and with its agenda, it tried to set a course for removing ignorance and reactionarism from the country. It is also an interesting point that even if there was a streak among teachers just a year before and the economic status of teachers were not mentioned in the congress.

*Hakimiyet-i Milliye* also states that most of the delegates were not able to arrive at the conference on time because of the transportation problems (as cited in Sarihan, 2009).

Mustafa Kemal's speech created a tremendous impression in press. According to *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*, Kemal Pasha gave great importance to education and teachers and this speech would construct a deep gratitude and appreciation on educators (as cited in Sarihan, 2009). After the evaluation of educational activities and discussions about developing new curricula which would be applicable and compatible to real life as well as replacing the place of vocational education courses (Kılavuz & Tanık, 2011), the congress was closed before it was planned because of the news coming from the Kütahya-Eskişehir Campaign (Sakaoğlu, 2003; Sarihan, 2009).

İsmail Göldaş (1984) states that Maarif Kongresi was closed without getting any important results due to the War. However, he finds it important because of the fact that it was a reactionary action against the Ottoman educational system.

The teachers on the battlefield were another issue of the war times. Most of the teachers took place in Kuva-yi Milliye (National Forces) to organize a

national and armed resistance before the integration of the regular army. There were also teachers who were in close combat against the intruders voluntarily. A law enacted on 21 March 1921 postponed the military services of all teachers and students (Akyüz, 2008).

Victory of the Turks at the War of Independence was acknowledged with Treaty of Lausanne. After the fire cease, Turkish side was invited for negotiations. After though discussions, finally the Treaty was accepted (Zürcher, 2004). Essential independence of the country and inviolability of Turkish territories was guaranteed in Lausanne (Başgöz & Wilson, 1968).

The issues related to the education of minorities were indicated under the articles related to the rights of non-muslim minorities in Lausanne.<sup>8</sup> They had right to establish their own schools or any kind of educational institutions and instruct in their own language. However, as the previous experiences related to the nationalistic movements in Balkan peninsula (Altıntaş, 2005; Roudometof, 1998), the Turkish state needed to control the foreign schools and the schools of minorities. With the enactment of Tevhid-i Tedrisat, these schools were also

---

<sup>8</sup> Article 40: Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as other Turkish nationals. In particular, they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense, any charitable, religious and social institutions, any schools and other establishments for instruction and education, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their own religion freely therein.

Article 41: As regards public instruction, the Turkish Government will grant in those towns and districts, where a considerable proportion of non-Moslem nationals are resident, adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Turkish nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision will not prevent the Turkish Government from making the teaching of the Turkish language obligatory in the said schools.

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal or other budgets for educational, religious, or charitable purposes.

The sums in question shall be paid to the qualified representatives of the establishments and institutions concerned.

started to be governed by Ministry of Education and lessons like Turkish Language, history and geography started to be taught by Turkish teachers (Uygun, 2003).

After the ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne on 24 July 1924, continuous wars took place on Asia Minor has come to an end. Even though education could not assisted to rescue the Empire, it provided a generation which would be the founders of a new state emerging from the ashes of the *sick man*. The following section will introduce the Republican reforms.

### **2.3 Sociopolitical Context of the Republican Era**

After the abolition of the Ottoman Sultanate, new administration method was not announced for a while. However, even if it was not pronounced loudly, the regime was based on the sovereignty of TBMM deputies of which were elected and that meant that the new regime was obviously a “republic”. The statement of the known facts happened on 29 October 1923; the Republic of Turkey was proclaimed. It led rapid, radical and developmentalist reforms in all spheres of life (Akyüz, 2008). So, this section will provide brief information about the educational developments of the early years of the Republic. Political atmosphere and other developments will not be discussed in detail.

As it is stated before, at the beginning of the republic; literacy rates were not so promising. According to Sakaoğlu (2003), at the end of 1923, population of the country was about 12.000.000. There were about 5.000 primary schools with 10.000 primary school teachers; 72 secondary schools with 800 teachers and 23 high schools with 500 teachers serving to meet educational needs of the society. Student – population ratio was around 3 per cent.



The cases waiting for nation builders were quite difficult:

The comprehensive Education Act of 1913 was little more than a dead letter; educational provision was negligible; the medreses were in a pitiful state; and the illiterate rate exceeded 90 percent. In order to pave the way for a new state and a new society, it was necessary to transform the entire system and the entire value orientation of the people, to provide a more effective administrative machinery, to organize a graded system of schools and teacher training institutions, to change the curriculum, to vest educational authority, supervision and control in the hands of the state, and generally to provide more and better educational opportunities for the people (Kazamias, 1966, p. 116)

As Kazamias stated education was in a drastic state and the deep scars the educational system had needed to be cured in order to move on with reliable steps. Curriculum, educational administration, assessment and evaluation, in short almost all components of education had to be revised.

One of first revolutionary laws was *Tevhid-i Tedrisat*. It was accepted on 3 March 1924 with some other laws like Law on Abolish of Caliphate and Law on Abolish of Islamic Monastries. Its main aim was to collect all the educational institutions' authority to Ministry of Education. According to Zürcher (2004), there were four types of schools all over the empire; traditional Islamic schools, secular schools opened in *Tanzimat* era, schools of dhimmis and schools governe foreign missions. He adds "It goes without saying that this was not an educational system designed to stimulate a feeling of national solidarity or even a common identity among the literate elite of the empire" (Zürcher, 2004, p. 63). In order to end this chaos in the education system, Saruhan Deputy Vasif Bey introduced the bill of *Tevhid-i Tedrisat*. His stated his rationale with his following remarks:

It is a must to form a unified general education policy and national ideals as well as nationalistic feelings and this can only be truly accomplished with the unification of education. Even if it was tried to unify education system during the *Tanzimat* era; but it could not be realized. It ended up with damaging results: With this dichotomic education, two types of people started to be raised in the schools. With the pass of this bill, the only authority responsible for educational institutions within

the Republic of Turkey will be Ministry of Education. Thus, in all educational institutions, the cultural policies of the Republic and a common educational pathway will be followed (Sakaoğlu, 2003, p. 169).

Bir devletin genel eğitim siyasetinde, milletin düşünce ve duygu bakımından birliğini sağlamak gereklidir ve bu da öğretim birliğiyle olur. *Tanzimat*'ın ilan edildiği sıralarda öğretim birliğine geçilmek istenmişse de başarılı olunamamış, bilakis bir ikilik ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu ikilik eğitim ve öğretim birliği bakımından birçok kötü ve sakıncalı sonuçlar doğurmuş, iki türlü eğitimle memlekette iki tip insan yetismeye başlamıştır. Önerimiz kabul edildiğinde Türkiye Cumhuriyeti dahilindeki bütün eğitim kurumlarının biricik mercii Maarif Vekaleti olacaktır. Böylece bütün eğitim yuvalarında Cumhuriyetin İrfan siyaseti, ortak bir eğitim yolu izlenecektir.

Vasıf Bey's remarks explain the chaotic situation in the educational system started in II Mahmud's era would only be overcome by unifying all educational institutions. He stressed that the fails in creating a national spirit in schools of the country caused major problems. Without having a unified educational system, outcomes of the system, which were graduates, the nation was full of people who could not gather around the same ideals, the same aims. By collecting all educational institutions under the governance of Ministry of Education; general aims of education, curricula of schools, in short the typical citizen, was going to be determined by the state itself and the future generations would be raised according to the Republican ideals and Kemalist ideology.

On 3 March 1924 *Tevhid-i Tedrisat* was accepted in TBMM and gathered all educational institutions under the control of Ministry of Education.

Tevhid-i Tedrisat also had a secularization aspect like other laws enacted on the same day. By closing Islamic schools down and giving the all authority of educational institutions to Ministry of Education, *Tevhid-i Tedrisat* was the first step towards a modern and secular education system (Kodamanoğlu, 1991).

With the determination of national borders, Ministry of Education's area of responsibility was narrowed. However, as the number of institutions which were started to be governed by Ministry of Education and among which there were madrasahs and military schools increased, the tasks waiting for bureaucrats became multiplied. Moreover, the laws which set the standards of teaching profession discarded almost all primary school teachers because of their madrasah background and professional inadequacy (Kirby, 2012).

The school organization system was also changed. Sakaoğlu states that Vasıf Çınar removed the system which consisted of 3 years *iptidai*, 3 years *rüştiye* and 4 years *idadi*. Instead, primary school education was accepted to be 5 years and the education continues with 3 years of secondary and 3 years of high school education (Türk Eğitim Derneği, 1999). This educational hierarchy was kept until 2005-2006 academic year when the high school programmes were transformed into a 4 year education (Ereş, 2004).

Traditional schools which only taught Islamic values rather than how to read and write were neither able to apply the organizational changes nor adopt new Turkish curricula. As a result, they closed themselves down (Türk Eğitim Derneği, 1999).

Kirby (2012) states that almost none of the countries had the opportunity to work with the stars like the Turkey just after the proclamation of the Republic. In order to get information on the problematic areas of education and to find unique solutions to Turkish society, reputable educational experts were invited to Turkey. The experts invited between 1920 and 1940 and their reports' main focus was listed in the table above:

**Table 2** Experts Invited to Turkey in the Early Republican Era

<b>Year</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Report's Subject</b>
1924	John Dewey	Education system in general
1925	Alfred Kühne	Technical education in general
1927	Omar Buyse	Technical education
1932	Albert Malche	Universities
1934	Berly Parker	Education system in general and primary education

**Source:** Akyüz, 2008, p. 409

Even if all the experts invited to Turkey had tremendous effects on the education policies, in this study, only Dewey's report will be discussed in detail as the main expectations of the state from him was to determine the main strategy of the educational reform (Kirby, 2012).

In his report, Dewey touched upon several issues like curricula, school buildings, school libraries, museum education and teacher centred points like salaries, in service education, professional publications, professionalization even accommodation of teachers. He stated that Turkish education system needed developments rather than reforms. Founding educational administration departments in teacher education institutions to raise school directors and inspectors, translating important educational publications to inform teachers about global developments, improving the financial status of teachers by increasing the salaries, including accommodation facilities to school building plans for new schools and providing in service trainings to teacher educators to renovate them were among Dewey's suggestions which were related to teachers and teacher education system (Dewey, 1939).

Kirby (2012) criticizes Dewey with ignoring the educational aspects of economic evolution. According to her, Dewey approached the Turkish case as if it had a system which had been working for ages and stated the low salaries of teachers as if the most important problem of Turkish education system.

Even if they disagree on the most of points related to urgent educational needs of Turkish, Dewey and Kirby accept that among many other educational problems waiting to be solved, the teacher education was quite important. It was a must to raise a great number of qualified teachers to execute the State's educational responsibilities (Akyüz, 2008).

The number of graduates of primary teacher education institutions in provinces was not enough to complete the need. Saffet Arıkan stated in a parliamentary speech (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, 5<sup>th</sup> Term, 3<sup>rd</sup> Legislative Year, Volume XVIII, 26 May 1936) that there were approximately 650 new teachers graduated however because of the reasons like retirement or death, the number of in service teachers rose around 300 to 350. He also sarcastically added that 35.000 villages without teachers would have teacher in 100 years at that rate. Due to the fact that this slow rate of teacher graduation could never complete the teacher need of the country, politicians and educators started to try to find an urgent solution to teacher education problem.

The first population census of the Republic was conducted in 1927 and it revealed that 75,78% of the citizens were living in rural areas. This fact made carrying the educational services, and the dominant ideology, to rural areas quite important. The Ministry did not show any systematic effort to solve village education problem. In 1927, the idea of assigning the graduates whose education expenses was met by the State as village teachers. However, this idea was not put into practice (Kirby, 2012). Later on, "Village Teacher Schools" (*Köy Muallim Mektepleri*) was opened in Kayseri and Denizli. The number of the graduates of these schools was not enough to fulfil the teacher need at that time. They were closed down in the following period (Akyüz, 2008).

As the immediate need for teachers could not be met by teacher education in classical meaning, the search of policymakers about teacher need problem in Turkey was reframed, they directed teacher education policies towards raising too many teachers in a short time. Upon Mustafa Kemal's suggestion, in 1936, non-commissioned officers were trained for 6 months and were sent to small villagers as teachers. All these were temporary solutions to the said problems. Finally, in 1936 the two experimental schools, Village Teacher Schools (*Köy Öğretmen Okulları*) were opened in İzmir and Eskişehir and became a base for the Village Institutes movement (Kirby, 2012; Akyüz, 2008).

It is a must to mention the adoption of the new Turkish alphabet. The alphabet reform had been discussing since the *Tanzimat* ages. However, it was refused until Republican years. After Mustafa Necati's speech in March 1926 which was mainly stressing the political importance of the alphabet reform, the preparations for the new alphabet was started (Lewis, 2013). In November 1928, the new alphabet was adopted. Zürcher (2004) states that even if there were some rational arguments (like difficulties in learning how to read and write which resulted in low literacy rates and phonological reasons) behind this reform, it was completely ideological to do that in haste. "This reform, more than virtually any other, loosened Turkey's ties with the Islamic world to its east and irrevocably forced the country to face west" (Ahmad, 1993, p. 82)

Moreover, there are historians who supports that literacy mobilisation was slowed down because of the insistence of Kemalist cadres on simplification and purification of the language. It is also stated that intergenerational communication was damaged because of this persistence (Fortna, 2013; Lewis, 1999).

National Schools (*Millet Mektepleri*) is the last point that will be mentioned in the scope of this study. After the adaptation of the new alphabet, National Schools were intended to teach every Turkish citizen the new script. Ahmad (1993) states that in order to encourage intelligentsia to take part in that educational and cultural mobilisation movement, Mustafa Kemal said:

While you are engaged in this, remember that it is a disgrace if only ten or twenty per cent of the nation, of the society, knows how to read and write and eighty per cent do not. Those who are human beings should be ashamed of themselves. This nation has not been created so as to be ashamed of itself. It has been created to be proud of itself and of its history which is full of proud moments.

But it is not our fault if eighty per cent of the nation is illiterate. It is the fault of those who bound the head of the Turk in chains, without understanding his natural disposition. It is time for us to eradicate root and branch the errors of the past. We shall correct these errors and in doing so I want all citizens to play an active role. As a result, Turkish society must learn the new alphabet within a year or two. With its own script and its native intelligence, our nation will take its place by the side of the civilised world (Ahmad, 1993).

Bu işe girerken ulusun, toplumun, sadece yüzde on ya da yirmisinin okuyup yazabilmesinin ve yüzde sekseninin hiç okuma yazma bilmemesinin bir utanç olduğunu unutmayın. İnsan olanlar kendilerinden utanmalıdır. Bu ulus kendinden utanmak için kurulmamıştır. Kendisinden ve gurur verici olaylarla dolu olan tarihinden gurur duyması için kurulmuştur. Ancak nüfusun yüzde sekseni cahilde bu bizim suçumuz değildir. Türkün mizacını anlamaksızın onu zincire vuranların hatasıdır.

Geçmiş hataların köklerini ve dallarını yok etmemizin zamanı gelmiştir. Bu hataları düzelteceğiz. Bunu yaparken bütün yurttaşların bu faaliyete fiilen katılmalarını istiyorum. Sonuç olarak Türk toplumu yeni alfabeyi bir ya da iki yıl içinde öğrenmelidir. Ulusumuzun kendi yazısıyla ve kendine özgü zekasıyla uygar dünyanın yanında yerini alacaktır.

Mustafa Kemal's appeal tried to remind that illiteracy of a great part of the society could only be the result of the ignorance of the previous regime and this shameful condition could be overcome by the participation of all segments of the society. While intellectuals were attached the responsibility of teaching, remaining masses were to learn new alphabet and vindicate the name of nation from this pitiful state.

Akyüz (2008) states that activities of National Schools slowed down after the first 5-10 years.

## **2.4 Studies on Teachers of Early Republican Era**

When the literature on history of Turkish education is examined, one can confront with studies focusing on institutional monographies, curriculum evaluation, analysis of textbooks with regard to issues like citizenship, secularism or Kemalism, educational policies adopted in a certain period (like Ministers' policies) or teacher training institutions. The studies just focusing on teachers are few in number.

In his book *Türkiye'de Öğretmenlerin Toplumsal Değişmedeki Etkileri*, Yahya Akyüz (1978) meticulously examined the number of teachers, teacher training activities, their legal status, economic and social problems and organizational activities between the years of 1848 and 1940. He also gave information about the activities of teachers during the war years.

Zeki Sarıhan's book *Milli Mücadelede Maarif Ordusu* presented not only the educational activities during the War of Independence but also teachers' efforts related to the War (Sarıhan, 2013).

Another study mentioning the teachers focused on the issue of teacher organizations. Niyazi Altunya (1998) provided a detailed historical analysis on the development of teacher unions and professional teacher organizations including the early Republican era, in his book *Türkiye'de Öğretmen Örgütlenmesi*.



A study (Altunya, 2004) analysing the teacher characters in the novels of Reşat Nuri Güntekin and Fakir Baykurt who were also teachers themselves showed that in Güntekin's and Baykurt's novels the teachers were expected to carry on social duties along with educational ones.

Finally, an interesting master's thesis (Özcan, 2012) economically analysing the historical development of teacher salaries in the Republican era revealed that the teacher salaries have not reached the expected level since the beginning of the Republic and because of this fact, the employees have been affected in a negative way.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **3. METHODOLOGY**

This chapter represents the methodology of the study. First, research design is discussed. Then research questions are reminded. The following section is introducing the data sources. Finally, data collection and analysis section is followed by the limitations of the study.

#### **3.1 Research Design**

History, with a longitudinal dimension, gives societies and individuals the opportunity to see precedents of contemporary action (Black & MacRaild, 2007). Collecting and analysing past political and social events provide clues about current policies and are useful for social scientists and policy analysts (Stakenas & Mock, 1985). In order to make use of the advantages of historical perspective, historical model to policy analysis is used. Historical model is “an approach to understand policy that uses credible documents to tell a story about a policy’s creation. The historical approach uses remains and testimonies to build a case for any particular interpretation of the way a policy was created” (Hoefler, 2012, p. 195).

To this end, document analysis was considered as the most appropriate data collection technique for the study being conducted. In this approach, five steps are to be followed: accessing the documents, controlling their authenticity, understanding the documents, analysis of the data and finally use of the data (Yıldırım & Şimşek, 2011). However, as the documents that were used in the

study are official archive documents controlling authenticity of the documents step was skipped.

### **3.2 Research Questions**

This study was conducted to answer following questions:

- a.** What identities were attributed to teachers in the early Republican era, between 1921 and 1940 regarding parliamentary minutes, printed media, legal documents, educational meetings and Mustafa Kemal's written and oral appeals?
- b.** What responsibilities were teachers conferred in the early Republican era, between 1921 and 1940 regarding parliamentary minutes, printed media, legal documents, educational meetings and Mustafa Kemal's written and oral appeals?
- c.** What privileges were given to teachers in the early Republican era, between 1921 and 1940 regarding parliamentary minutes, printed media, legal documents, educational meetings and Mustafa Kemal's written and oral appeals?
- d.** What metaphors were used when mentioning teachers in the early Republican era, between 1921 and 1940 regarding parliamentary minutes, printed media, legal documents, educational meetings and Mustafa Kemal's written and oral appeals?

### 3.3 Data Sources

In this section, data sources used and the reason why they were selected are introduced.

In order to use periodization as a valid instrument, two premises should be provided. First it has to be explanatory. Second, it has to reflect the developments in the period. Explanatory process is functional when it is used to define, determine and limit the course of events. It makes events visible (Zürcher, 2004). In that regard, this study also has a time period.

As it is stated before, in 1921, during the War of Independence, the first educational congress (*Maarif Kongresi*) in Turkish history was gathered to discuss issues like primary education, educational curricula, and education of village teachers. Mustafa Kemal came to Ankara from the battlefield to deliver his opening speech. Because of its gathering at a very extraordinary time, Mustafa Kemal's opening remarks, and being the very first example in the Turkish history; Maarif Kongresi had a privileged position in Turkish educational history (Akyüz, 2008; Sarıhan, 2009). Therefore, July 1921 Maarif Kongresi was taken as the starting point of the study.

The final point is determined as the opening of Village Institutes. Village Institutes are seen as a unique experimental movement in rural education. Village Institute graduate teachers made great contributions to the future of the country. The conflicts which started from the very first beginning of the Village Institutes idea are not over yet (Karaömerlioğlu, 1998; Kirby, 2012). Because of the fact that, this study does not cover the teacher identity formation processes and data collection is stopped April 1940. News, columns and parliamentary discussions on Village Institutes which occurred in the given time frame are

excluded from the scope of the research. In short, this study does not cover the discussions about these *sui generis* experimental institutions and teachers studied in these schools as it requires to be examined in a different research. In order to understand if these institutions gave different roles or attached certain identities to their own graduates another study should be conducted.

Grand National Assembly of Turkey's Library and Archives Services Department was used to reach the minutes of parliament sessions. The aforementioned documents can be reached online (TBMM, n.d.). This provides information about the parliamentary talks, remarks of politicians and legislation procedures.

**Table 3** Detailed Information Related to Examined Parliament Minutes

Terms	Number of Volumes Scanned
1 <sup>st</sup> Term	29 Volumes
2 <sup>nd</sup> Term	33 Volumes
3 <sup>rd</sup> Term	26 Volumes
4 <sup>th</sup> Term	25 Volumes
5 <sup>th</sup> Term	29 Volumes
6 <sup>th</sup> Term	8 Volumes

Government programs are also thought to be among the appropriate data sources. Programmes of *İcra Vekilleri Heyeti* (1921-1923) and Republic Governments founded before 1939 were examined (TBMM, 2013).

**Table 4** Detailed Information Related to Examined Government Programmes

Governments	Years
I. İcra Vekilleri Heyeti	03.05.1920 – 24.01.1921
II. İcra Vekilleri Heyeti	24.01.1921 – 09.07.1922
III. İcra Vekilleri Heyeti	12.07.1922 – 04.08.1923
IV. İcra Vekilleri Heyeti	14.08.1923 – 27.10.1923

**Table 4** Detailed Information Related to Examined Government Programmes (continued)

Governments	Years
I. İnönü Government	30.10.1923 – 06.03.1924
II. İnönü Government	06.03.1924 – 22.11.1924
Okyar Government	22.11.1924 – 03.03.1925
III. İnönü Government	03.03.1925 – 01.11.1927
IV. İnönü Government	01.11.1927 – 27.09.1930
V. İnönü Government	27.09.1930 – 04.05.1931
VI. İnönü Government	04.05.1931 – 01.03.1935
VII. İnönü Government	01.03.1935 – 01.11.1937
I. Bayar Government	01.11.1937 – 11.11.1938
II. Bayar Government	11.11.1938 – 25.01.1939
I. Saydam Government	25.01.1939 – 03.04.1939
II. Saydam Government	03.04.1939 – 09.07.1942

In order to see how these identification processes were reflected to the public, a newspaper is examined. *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* (which would be called *Ulus* after 1934) was chosen for the fact that it acted as the CHP's official media organ. It reflects the dominant ideology of the single party era (Bakacak, 2013; Demir, 2012; Tüfekçioğlu, 2012). The issues of *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* and *Ulus* published between 1920 and 1940 were scanned and related information was juxtaposed.

**Table 5** Detailed Information Related to Newspapers

Newspaper	Language	Number of Volumes
Hakimiyet-i Milliye	Ottoman Alphabet	15 Volumes
Hakimiyet-i Milliye	Latin Alphabet	20 Volumes
Ulus	Latin Alphabet	28 Volumes

Proceedings of *Muallimler Birliği Kongresi* (Teachers' Union Congress) in 1926; the first National Education Council in 1939 were also used as these meetings

were either organized or recognized by policymakers. Muallimler Birliđi Kongresi was acknowledged by the Minister Mustafa Necati's participation and the first National Education Council was organized by the Ministry of National Education itself. They also had an impact on the education policies of their era. For that reason, the proceedings educational meetings were included to the data sources.

Apart from these primary sources, there are some secondary resources about the given time period are used in order to enrich data sources and to provide comparison.

**Table 6** Data Sources

Data Source	Coverage
Minutes of parliamentary discussions	July 1921 – April 1940
Government programs	The first 12 government
Hakimiyet-i Milliye (later Ulus) (newspaper)	July 1921 – April 1940
Meeting minutes of <i>Birinci Maarif Şurası</i>	
Meeting minutes of <i>Muallimler Birliđi Umumi Kongresi</i>	

### 3.4 Data Collection and Analysis

In this section, the procedures followed during the data collection and analysis will be explained.

Minutes of the parliamentary discussions<sup>9</sup> and government programs<sup>10</sup> was accessed via the web site of TBMM.

<sup>9</sup>

[http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/tutanak\\_dergisi\\_pdfler.meclis\\_donemleri?v\\_meclisdonem=0](http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/tutanak_dergisi_pdfler.meclis_donemleri?v_meclisdonem=0)

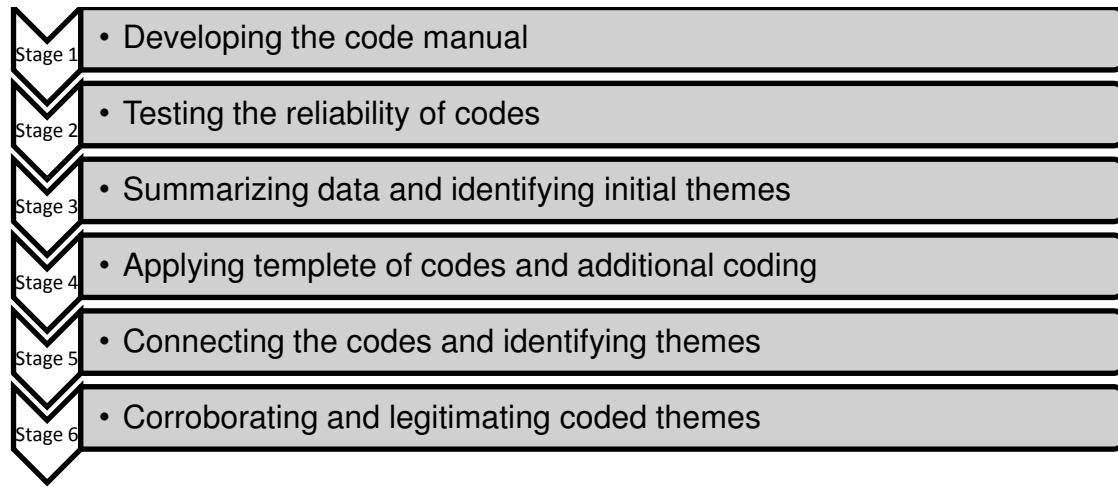
<sup>10</sup> [http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/yayinlar/hukumetler/hukumetler\\_cilt\\_1.pdf](http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/yayinlar/hukumetler/hukumetler_cilt_1.pdf)

In order to access newspapers *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* and *Ulus* collections of Beyazıt State Library, Millet Manuscript Library and Atatürk Library. Issues of 1921 and 1922 were accessed from Beyazıt State Library Hakkı Tarık Us collection; issues of 1924 were accessed from Millet Manuscript Library collection and issues between 1924 and 1928 were accessed from Atatürk Library collection. Remaining newspapers were examined with the help of Beyazıt State Library collection.

While scanning the newspapers it was seen that only a few news related to educational issues took their place on the pages of *Ulus*. While the education news in the given publication were focusing on the study visits of the bureaucrats of Ministry of Education, the schools opened or comparative educational analyses, none of these few news were reflecting any identity of teachers. As the newspaper did not provide any useful information about the current study, this became a shortcoming of the study in that regard.

Document analysis was chosen to analyse the data collected from the data sources. It is a set of systematic procedures used to review and/or review printed and electronic materials. Document analysis aims to elicit meaning, gain understanding as well as develop empirical knowledge. It involves skimming, reading and interpretation (Bowen, 2009). These steps are also combination of content analysis, which is a qualitative analysis technique which summarizes, quantitatively analyses the messages (Neuendorf, 2002) and thematic analysis, which consists of recognition of the themes while describing a phenomenon (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). In this study, Fereday's thematic analysis was adapted.





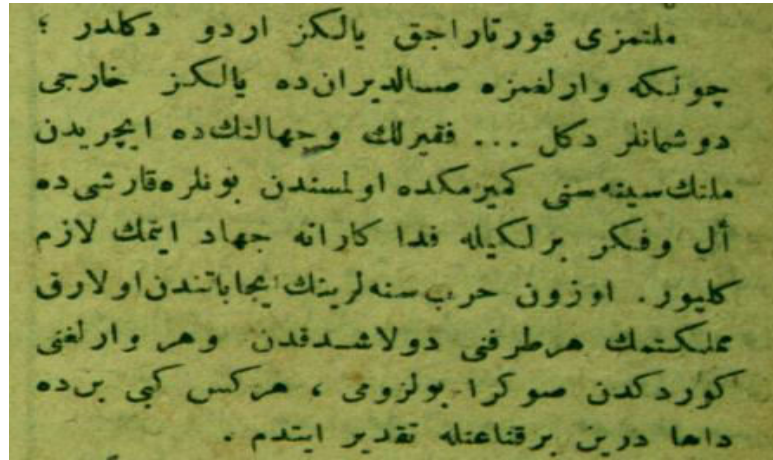
**Figure 2** Steps of Thematic Analysis  
**Source:** Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006

The analysis was started from the step 3 of Fereday & Muir-Cochrane's (2006) thematic analysis. As the nature of data sources did not require to be summarized, the data related to education and teachers were elicited.

Newspaper texts related to educational issues, especially to teachers, which originally appear in Ottoman alphabet was first transcribed from the original Ottoman text into Latin alphabet and then translated into English. In order to avoid any mistakes, transcriptions were controlled and approved by a PhD candidate and a MA student in history department. Sample text and its transcription<sup>11</sup> is presented below.

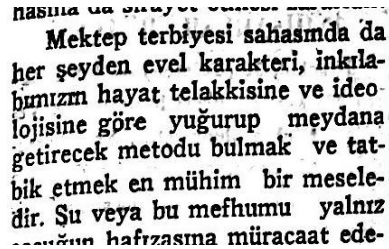
---

<sup>11</sup> “Memleketimizi kurtaracak yalnız ordu değildir. Çünkü varlığımıza saldıran da yalnız harici düşmanlar değildir. Fakirlik ve cehalet de içeriden milletin sinisini kemirmekte olmasından bunlara karşı da el ve fikir birliğiyle fedakârâne cihad etmek lazım geliyor. Uzun harb senelerinin icabatından olarak memleketimin her tarafını dolaşdıktan ve her varlığını gördükten sonra bu lüzumu herkes gibi ben de derin bir kanaatle takdir ettim.”



**Figure 3** Sample Ottoman Text  
**Source:** 11 December 1922 – Hakimiyet-i Milliye

The excerpts used are presented both in Turkish and in English. The spellings in the original texts were kept even if they are not correct according to the contemporary Turkish grammar rules.



**Figure 4** Sample Turkish Text  
**Source:** 1 February 1933 – Hakimiyet-i Milliye –

Skipping the first two steps, the researcher elicited the data and put the data into under appropriate categories, in other words themes (identities of teachers, responsibilities of teachers, metaphors used for teachers). The remaining daha was analysed again and the new categories (privileges of teachers). The first group of themes consisted of identities of teachers, responsibilities of teachers and metaphors used for teachers. The data that were to be used in the researched but did not fit any of the predefined themes were examined again and new category was opened which is privileges of teachers.

### **3.4.1 Trustworthiness**

In this section, precautions taken to prevent any kind of mistake that might damage the reliability of the study is introduced.

As it is stated before, the scripts written in old script were transcribed by the researcher was controlled and approved by a PhD candidate and a MA student at the department of history. The original texts are also presented at the end of the study as appendices to give readers the opportunity to control.

The texts translated were controlled by a professional translator and approved. The excerpts are also presented both in Turkish and in English. So that the readers will be able to follow speeches in original language. Another advantage of presenting documents not only in English but also in Turkish is giving the enthusiasm of the policymakers in the original language.

Peer examination or asking colleagues to interpret the emerging findings is a way to increase the trustworthiness of scientific researches (Merriam, 1998). In that regard, a PhD candidate in the department of history commented on the themes and the related data. Necessary corrections were done accordingly.

The next section gives information about the limitations of the study.

### **3.5 Limitations of the Study**

In this section, the limitations and difficulties that the researcher faced with during the research was conducted.

This study was limited to the teacher identity formation in the selected policy papers and in the years between 1920 and 1940.

Newspapers investigated were limited to *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*. Since it is documented to have the dominant voice of the young Republic and therefore only that newspaper's images or identities alone may be considered a main limitation of the study. Therefore, examination of other newspapers which voice the ideas of the dominant ideology and the ruling party or opponent voices about teachers is suggested to be done for further studies.

Another limitation that is related to the newspapers is the losses of the newspaper collections. Beyazıt State Library Hakkı Tarık Us collection (1921-1922 issues), Millet Manuscript Library collection (1924 issues), Atatürk Library collections (1924-1928 issues) were scanned in order to reach all issues of the *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* published before the adoption of the new Turkish alphabet. However, because of the systematic problems in Turkish librarianship, the aim could not be reached. Moreover, even if the issue was accessed due to impairments on some pages some data is lost. To solve that problem, abovementioned library collections were crosschecked in order to complete lost issues of the newspaper.

The study continues with the presentation of the results and discussion.

## CHAPTER 4

### 4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, the data obtained from policy documents as well as newspapers are introduced. Most of the data obtained from the sources can be grouped under several subtitles of the study at the same time. In order not to fall into repetition, each excerpt presented under just one category, which has the main focus of itself.

It should not be forgotten that literature review of this study discusses the main social, political and educational issues dealt in the era. This not only provides a chronological information as well as historical background of the study, but also backs up the data sources.

After obtaining spectacular victories not only in battle fields but also in diplomatic area, politicians were to turn their faces to other problems waiting for them. Education was among the first areas to be embraced. *IV. İcra Vekilleri Heyeti* stated this circumstance by giving a voluminous place to educational goals of the government. The government programme was declared on 5 September 1923 by Prime Minister Ali Fethi Bey. In the programme, it was stated that:

The duties of education is firstly to educate and to train children, secondly to educate and to train the public, and lastly to prepare and to provide the instruments which is required to accomplish the national aims (TBMM, 2013, p. 69-70).

Maarifin terbiyevi vazifelerinden birincisi çocukların terbiye ve talimi, ikincisi halığın terbiye ve talimi, üçüncüsü millî güzîdelerin yetismesi için lazım gelen vasıtaların ihzar ve teminidir.

After this clearcut definition of the aims of education, it continued with the things to do in order to achieve this goal:

Education and training of children will certainly be provided through schools and it will be tried that teachers will be trained better and they will enhance their knowledge via summer schools ... in order to raise the schools in a good state.(TBMM, 2013, p. 69-70)

Çocukların terbiye ve talimi bittabi mektepler vasıtasıyla temin edilecek ve mekteplerin asrî tekemmülâta mazhar olabilmeleri için muallimlerin daha iyi yetistirilmesine ve tatil zamanında açılacak dersler ile tevsii malûmat etmelerine ... çalışılacaktır.

According to the excerpt, the educational standards of the schools would be raised by providing them well trained teachers and supporting them with inservice training. The first encounter of the students, who would be the future citizens, was, actually still is, with teachers. In order to raise the future generation according to the Republican ideals, teachers were idealized as well. In that regard, the first subsection focuses on the identities of teachers.

#### **4.1 Teachers' Identities**

While reminding teachers of their responsibilities, the policy makers also stressed the characteristics, in other words identities of teaching profession as well as characteristics of teacher themselves. This issue will be discussed in the sections below.

#### 4.1.1 Idealist Teachers

In order to introduce the Republican concepts to every segment of the society, Turkish intellectuals were to be enthusiast and idealist. Teachers were among these intellectuals, who would enlighten the society, who would carry the country to the future and who would educate the future generations were also expected to spread the Republican ideas. This part discusses how idealist teacher identity was attached to teachers.

In *Muallimler Birliđi Kongresi*, Vasıf Bey stated that:

The strongest support of the Revolution are teachers. The devotion teachers will show to make the Revolution full of life energy is impressive. I believe that as long as our teachers who have taken the responsibility of the raising the future generations be loyal to their ideals, our revolution will give beneficial results (Muallimler Birliđi, 1926)(Appendix A).

İnkılabın en rasın istinadgahı muallimler zümresidir. İnkılabın daima haim ve ümid-i hayat olmasında muallimlerin göstereceđi fedakarlık müessirdir. Yeni nesli yetiştirmek vazifesini üzerlerine alan muallimler mefkûrelerine şuur ile ne kadar sadık olurlar ise büyük inkılabımızın o nisbette faydalı semereler vereceđine emniyetim vardır.

With his remarks, Vasıf Bey not only reminded teachers about their responsibilities related to being beneficial to the Revolution, but also stressed the importance of being loyal to the Republican ideals. He also underlines the importance of teachers by defining them as “the strongest support of the revolution”. The Republic, in other terms Revolution, needed to form its own type of citizens who supports it, who wants to work for it and who is eager to pursue Republican ideals. In that regard, Fortna’s (2013) remarks about the role of teachers at creating and shaping national identity as well as loyalty can be remembered.

There were a lot of public mandates on the issue of “idealist and revolutionarist” teachers. In November 1924, Minister of Education Şükrü Bey stated that he was with teachers in the war which was against the bigotry, illiteracy, poverty and past. He also stressed that teachers efforts on this path would strengthen the Republic (Akyüz, 1978).

Not only in public mandates, but also in public addressings teachers were referred as the idealist elements of the Republic. The Menemen Uprising is an important milestone in the Republican history. Mustafa Fehmi Kubilay was a teacher who was conducting his compulsory military service in Menemen, district of İzmir. On 23 December 1930, a group of reactionarist started to protest Revolutionary reforms. When Kubilay tried to stop reactionarists with wooden bullets, they announced themselves as *Mahdi* and then killed Mustafa Fehmi Kubilay in a barbaric way (Aysal, 2009).

In the telegram, delivering the condolences of Mustafa Kemal, he said:

The stainless blood of Kubilay, who was the young hero of the great Army and the valuable member of the idealist teacher group of the Republic, will renew and strengthen the Republic. (Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2006a; Telegram #675 on 28 December 1930)

Büyük ordunun kahraman genç zabiti ve Cumhuriyetin mefkûreci muallim heyetinin kıymetli uzvu Kubilây'ın temiz kanı ile Cumhuriyet hayatietini tazelemiş ve kuvvetlendirmiş olacaktır.

The stress on the position of Kubilay, who was a military officer and a teacher at the same time, forms a bound between nation-saving officers and teachers. Meanwhile, the reference of Kubilay's being an idealist teacher and the underline of Republic would live stronger and healthier evoke the idea of dying for the sake of Republican ideals in the minds of the readers.



When talking about the idealist teachers, Mustafa Necati should not be forgotten. Mustafa Necati was the 8<sup>th</sup> Minister of Education of the Republic of Turkey. He served from December 1924 till his death on 1 January 1929. During his service, Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü, village teacher training institutions were opened; the new Turkish script was adopted. He became an unforgettable minister with his approach to teachers. Mustafa Necati directly took care of all problems of teachers. He presented books like *Ak Zambaklar Ülkesinde* (a book on the development process of Finland and teachers' and military offices' role in it) and *Mefkûreci Muallim* (the life of an idealist professor who resigns and starts to teach in villages) to newly graduated teachers to promote their idealism and motivation. He wrote letters to them stating they could get in touch with him directly in any condition (İnan, 1980). He also sent star shaped badges to teachers to create a spirit of solidarity among themselves (Akyüz, 2008).

While concluding his letter, which focused on the instructional issues and the problems of teachers working in rural areas, sent to all teachers, Mustafa Necati stated that:

In the country, there is a group who is united around not only the same ideal, but also the same destiny, the same target. Teachership... And all of us, as the humble members of this important and sacred profession, we have devoted ourselves to struggle till our last breath, till we could make half of our dear country more enlightened than yesterday and make it able to use the prosperities of the Republic (Mustafa Necati, 1928) (Appendix B)

Memlekette mefkûresinde olduğu gibi giderinde ve sonucunda da mütecanis ve yek vücut bir kitle vardır. Muallimlik... ve hepimiz bu büyük ve mukaddes mesleğin naçiz bir ferdi sıfatıyla hayatımızın son demlerine kadar uğraşmaya, didinmeye azim etmiş bir haldeyiz. Taki sevgili vatanın yarısını dünden daha münevver yapmaya muvaffak olalım ve onu yüksek cumhuriyetimizin bütün feyzlerinden istifade edecek bir hale getirebilelim.

His statements on teachers working for reaching the same ideal and dedicating themselves till the last moments of their lives not only shows the idealism of teachers but also underlines the expectations from them.

To sum up, in order to motivate teachers to work under difficult conditions and distant parts of the country; the policy makers used the strategy of attributing them “the idealist teacher” (*mefkûreci/ülkücü öğretmen*) identity and constantly reminded this. Even if it is hard to form a causal relationship teachers’ idealism and devotedness, teachers dedicated themselves to cradle the future of the Republic. In the following part, “the devoted teacher identity” is analysed.

#### **4.1.2 Devoted Teachers**

Teachers were also counted among the devoted elements of the Republic. Their adherence to their profession was always stressed and appreciated. In this part, the excerpts focusing on the devoted teachers are examined.

In the very first issue of *Tebliğler Dergisi* which was published on 15 February 1926, The Minister Mustafa Necati wrote a prologue. After explaining the conditions of the Ministry when he came into the office he thanked his colleagues for their activities on the way of national aims:

I have undertaken the Ministry of Education relying on my colleagues’ efforts that they showed and will continue to show for the sake of raising our young Republic.

My aim is to accomplish the objectives that have been pointed out by our guides who open new and sunny ways to the nation. It is also my responsibility to respectfully remember my predecessors’ efforts on this way (Maarif Vekaleti, 1926)(Appendix C).

Meslek arkadaşlarımin vukuf ve necibelerine, genç Cumhuriyetimizin yükselmesi uğrunda sarf ettikleri ve daha büyük bir aşkla sarfına devam edecekleri fedakarane mesaiye istinaden Maarif Vekaletini deruhte ettim.

Millete yeni ve nurlu ufuklar açan mürşitlerimizin vaz ve işaret eylemiş oldukları rehakâr esas dahilinde sarsılmaz bir imanla hedefe varmak gayemdir. Bundan evvel iş başına gelmiş olan arkadaşlarımla bu yoldaki faaliyetlerini hürmetle yad etmeyi vazife bilirim.

With his remarks, Mustafa Necati not only appreciated the previous struggle of the educators, but also motivated them for their future efforts just like in his letters.

One of the first items that was associated by the devotedness of teachers is related to financial issues. In *İstanbul İlkokul Öğretmenlerinin Grevi*, İsmail Göldaş (1984) states that on 28 February 1920, primary school teachers went to Directorate of Education and stated that if they would not receive their accumulated salaries, they would stop teaching in schools. Göldaş (1984) indicates that it was a strike announcement in the broadest sense. They stopped all teaching activities in the classes and did not go to schools until they got their salaries for months.

This strike announcement during the war can be seen as an action which threatened the national security. However, when the conditions which led teachers to strike, it may be found understandable. Working without getting paid for months can be explained by teacher's sense of mission.

*Hakimiyet-i Milliye* also addressed this issue on 20 July 1920. In the article titled as "Welfare for Teachers" (Appendix D) economic conditions of schools and teachers were discussed. The article states that because of the new regulations in *İdare-i Umumiye-i Vilayet Kanunu*, which foresaw the payment of teacher salaries by Special Provincial Administrations, schools were closed, teachers quitted their jobs as they did not get paid for months. The article also compares the salaries of janitors and teachers. According to *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*,

while a janitor got 2000 *kuruş*<sup>12</sup> per month, a teacher got 800 *kuruş* per month. The article continues stating that the Ministry of Education tried to take precautions to solve that problem by delivering a warning to the related institutions. Teachers were also informed that if they could not get their salaries, they could get in contact directly with the Ministry. This precautions which was going to assist teachers to live in better conditions would prevent the loss of prestige of the profession. With this article, it can be understood that teachers' rights were in the agenda of politicians even during the War time, their problems about getting their salaries tried to be resolved. Actually, this article tells a lot about the financial position of teacher by comparing a janitor's and a teacher's salary. The salaries of teachers were not only low but also paid so irregularly that it caused a strike. The Republican journalists realized the problems that might cause in the future and warned policymakers stating that they should provide welfare for teachers.

Even if it did not cause a strike, the problems about the payments of teacher salaries continued in the Republican era as well. For example, in a meeting gathered to commemorate Vasıf Çınar, one of the Ministers of National Education, his relative Orhun Köstem told the sorrowful reason of his resignation. He states that a teacher working in a district of Konya committed suicide by hanging himself. In his suicide note, the teacher said "I could not get my salary for 5 months. My shoes do not accept patches anymore. I felt too embarrassed come barefoot to the class in front of the Republican children beneath myself" (Türk Eğitim Derneği, 1999).

In order to solve this payment problem, the conditions when the teacher salaries would not be paid clearly explained. On 13 March 1924, during the discussion on Law on Secondary School Teachers at TBMM, Sami Rifat Bey

---

<sup>12</sup> Kuruş is the subunit of the Turkish Lira. 100 kuruş is equivalent to 1 Turkish Lira.

defended the idea that teachers' hourly wages should be independent from their actively working hours. He stated that pay cut would be unfair when students did not come to school or unexpected accidents like fire or flood happened. He added that teachers were dependent to this profession and could not be employed with another job. As a result, the government should avoid pay offs as much as possible.

Teachers' devotedness was put into words in any condition. In the Language Teachers Congress, which was gathered before the language reform, Minister of Education Şükrü Cemil Bey remunerated the teachers:

Today's generation does not show any hesitancy to perform any kind of dedication which will pass in the history to establish the country, to strengthen the Revolutionary principles and to hand over them to the future generations (3 August 1930, Hakimiyet-i Milliye) (Appendix E)

Bugünkü nesil memleketi kurmak, inkılap esaslarını kuvvetlendirerek gelecek nesle tevdi etmek hususunda hiç şüphesiz tarihin hayran kalacağı fedakarlıkları yapmaktan çekinmemektedir.

In a telegram congratulating the ground breaking ceremony of Ankara Teacher Training Schools, in a telegram dated 8 August 1927 Mustafa Kemal mentioned the school as an institution which would educate the dedicated teachers of the future:

I am pretty glad to learn that we are opening the Ankara Teacher's Training School which will raise young and valuable colleagues to our *devoted* teachers who succeed in all their important and serious duties. (Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2006a; Telegram #635 on 8 August 1927)

Çok mühim ve ağır vazifelerini daima muvaffakiyetle başardıklarına şahit olduğum fedakâr muallimlerimize genç ve kıymetli arkadaşlar yetiştirecek olan Ankara Muallim Mektebinin temel taşının atıldığını öğrenmekle pek memnun oldum.

The stress on the teachers' success to accomplish the hard duties that their position required was most probably intended to motivate teachers. Their devotedness might have been mentioned in order to portray the expectations from the teachers' of the future generations.

Teachers, as the ones in the centre of educational activities, were maybe the group which had the serious responsibility of the alphabet reform. In another telegram, a correspondence between Mustafa Necati and Mustafa Kemal about the literacy mobilization, the President told the Minister the following words in a telegram sent on 28 August 1928:

I am observing the lyrical activities and efforts to teach and learn the new Turkish script gladly. The efforts of our devoted, hardworking teachers who are working for and who carry the responsibility of this issue more than anyone else also gave pleasure. I am requesting the delivery of my success wishes, thanks and greetings (Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2006a; Telegram #649 on 28 August 1928).

Yeni Türk yazısını öğrenmek ve öğretmek hususunda memleketin her tarafında sarf edilen hummalı faaliyet ve mesaiye derin bir haz ve memnuniyetle müşahede ediyorum. Bu işde herkesten büyük vazife ve mesuliyeti deruhte eden fedakar ve çalışkan muallim arkadaşlarımızın işar buyurulan azimkar kararları ayrıca baisi memnuniyet oldu. Muvaffakiyetler temenni ve cümlesine teşekkürler ve selamlarımın iblağını rica ederim.

From this telegram, it can be understood that teachers were conducting their duties and fulfil their responsibilities in an enthusiastic way as expected. President Mustafa Kemal also showed his appreciation by requesting the Minister to deliver his greetings to teachers.

This devotion is not an expectation but the reality itself. On 5 February 1931, in an article focusing on the teacher needs of the country, Faruk Nafiz stated the number of students was rising for 6 years, nevertheless the number of teachers had not show any progress. He warned policymakers by saying swelling up the workload of teachers in order to fulfil educational responsibilities of the state

could help neither to children nor to teachers. He underlined “if it is a reality that books and curricula are not enough to have more strong graduates and that teachers are also needed, teachers should not be required to be statues of devotion”. He finally remarked that the utmost solution to meet the teacher need was to wait for the future. While thinking on Faruk Nafiz’s remarks, it can be clearly seen that the government had started to expect them to work above their capacities in order to prevent classes with no teachers. He warned the authorities about the risk of reducing educational quality by increasing the workload of teachers in order to provide educational service. This also can be interpreted as a reminder about the role of decision makers. By stating “If we just wait for the future and expect for a one-sided devotion, it will be our fate to feed five with the need of one”, Faruk Nafiz suggested the policymakers not only to focus on the provision of service but also to its’ quality. Nevertheless, Minister of Education Esat Bey’s declaration about teaching more children without raising the number of teachers (7 September 1932, Hakimiyet-i Milliye)(Appendix F) shows that Faruk Nafiz Bey’s suggestions were overlooked by policy makers.

Another point that shows teachers’ devotedness is parliamentary talks focusing on the teacher salaries and their strike when they had not received their salaries for ten months (1 March 1932, Hakimiyet-i Milliye). Especially during the war years, teacher salaries could not be paid regularly because of several reasons. The precautions taken to defend the rights of teachers are examined in the privileges of teachers section.

#### **4.1.3 Nation-saving Teachers**

Because of the nationalistic character of the Republic; the rise of the Turkish nation was emphasised in several context, including educational environments. On 14 October 1925, with his famous addressing “Teachers are the one and

only people who save nations”, Mustafa Kemal (Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2006b) stated the importance of teaching profession once again.

Before going into the detail of nation saving role of teachers, the relationship between Kuvay-ı Milliye and teachers should be explained. Göldaş (1984) states that the the class of 1919 at Dârülmuallimîn was not sent to schools in Anatolia. Sait Bey (the Minister of Education who was working for Istanbul Government) thought that they would attend the national forces and tried to keep the young teachers in İstanbul. This information shows that teachers were eager to take part in the War of Independence which was not supported by Istanbul Government.

On 10 May 1920, a public mandate explained the obligations of civil servants in education:

It has been known that our country and our nation has been in a crisis against Western imperialist forces. Our religion and our nation's life is under threat. Therefore; you are supposed to enlighten the nation as you, the educators and trainers, are the most intellectual and the highest group in our society (as cited in Göldaş, 1984, p. 23)

Batının köle etmek isteyen emperyalist saldırılarına uğramış olan yurt ve ulusumuzun en korkunç bir buhran karşısında olduğu bilinmektedir. Din ve ulusumuzun yaşamı tehdit altındadır. Bunun içindir ki siz eğitim ve öğretim görevlileri ulusun en aydın tabakası ve ilk yüksek sınıfı olduğunuzdan, bu ulusu aydınlatmak ödeviyle yükümlüsünüz.

While the War of Independence had been continuing in the battle fronts, another fight against to ignorance had been started as well. The public's opinion was to be changed, the religious and national importance of getting rid of the invasions were to be explained to the people. Teachers were assigned to inform and mould the public opinion accordingly.



Teachers also organized themselves to assist national troops. İsmail Göldaş (1984) states that an article from 26 July 1922 *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* called the teachers to fight against the invasions. The teacher unions and organizations invited teachers to take part in the propaganda activities to inform people and not to leave any piece of land to the invaders.

At the article series “Ideas of Kazım Karabekir Paşa on Education”, he explained his opinions about the contemporary education policies and the education of the future. On 11 December 1922, he stated that:

The army will not be the only one that will save our nation. Because, the attackers of our country were not limited to external enemies. As poverty and ignorance erodes the hearts of the nation from the inside, it is a must to declare a fight against these in devotedly all together. While going around the whole country to perform the duties of long war years, I also realized this need as anyone did (11 December 1922 – *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*) (Appendix G).

Milletimizi kurtaracak yalnız ordu değildir. Çünkü bize saldıran da yalnız harici düşmanlar değildir. Fakirlik ve cehalet de içeriden milletin sinisini kemirmekte olmasından bunlara karşı da fikir birliğiyle fedakarane cihad etmek lazım geliyor. Uzun harb senelerinin icabatında olarak memleketimin her tarafını dolaşmaktan ve her varlığını kurduktan sonra bu lüzumu herkes gibi ben de derin bir kanaatle takdir ettim.

Even if he did not directly address the teachers, his remarks on education showed the importance of educational issues. As one of the forecoming military officers, Kazım Karabekir attributed an important place to education. Just after a serious war, before the peace talks had been completed; he, as a high-ranker military commander, pointed out that the supportive position of education to the military victories.

On 27 October 1922, Mustafa Kemal said to a group of teacher who visited himself that,

Ladies, Gentlemen; Do you know the secret of the victory which defeats the enemy who stepped on the most prosperous, the most elegant, and the most beautiful places of our country? It is to accept scientific principles as guideline while managing and propelling the troops. Now, we will take the same professional principle in establishment of our schools, our universities which is the base to raise our nation. Yes, our guide will be science not only in the political and social life of our nation but also the intellectual education of our people. ... Our army's victory provided a base for you and your armies. You will occupy and continue the real victory and in any case you will be successful. I and my friends will follow you wholeheartedly and break the obstacles you will confront to (Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2006b).

Hanımlar, Beyler; Memleketimizin en mâmur, en lâtif, en güzel yerlerini üç buçuk sene kirli ayaklarıyla çiğneyen düşmanı mağlûp eden zaferin sırrı nerededir. Bilir misiniz? Orduların sevk ve idaresinde ilim ve fen düsturlarını rehber ittihaz etmektedir. Milletimizi yetiştirmek için asıl olan mekteplerimizin, darülfünunlarımızın teessüsünde aynı mesleki takip edeceğiz. Evet, milletimizin siyasî, içtimâî hayatında, milletimizin fikrî terbiyesinde de rehberimiz ilim ve fen olacaktır. ... Ordularımızın ihraz ettiği zafer, sizin ve sizin ordularınızın zaferi için yalnız zemin hazırladı... Hakikî zaferi siz ihraz ve idame edeceksiniz ve behemehal muvaffak olacaksınız. Ben ve sarsılmaz imanla bütün arkadaşlarım, sizi takip edeceğiz ve sizin tesadûf edeceğiniz mevanii kıracağız.

With his remarks, Mustafa Kemal stressed the scientific aspects of the teaching profession. By pointing out the science as a guide, he also gave an important role for the people, teachers and instructors, who would teach the science. Moreover, by creating an analogy between the military science and educational science, he underlined the nation-saving role of teachers.

Mustafa Kemal also mentioned the teachers even when he was talking to the members of other professions. In a speech on 22 February 1931 at Konya Military House, he said:

When I am talking about the Army, I mean the actual owner of this country, intellectual youth of this country. Our teachers who raises the future heroes and who changes this shoes and even sacrifices themselves whenever needed are also included in this youth undoubtedly (Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2006b).

Ordudan bahsederken bu memleketin hakikî sahibi olan Türk milletinin münevver evlâtlarından bahsediyorum. Bu evlâtlar içinde şüphe yok ki yarının kahramanlarını yetiştiren mürebbilerimiz dahildir, icabında derhal kisvesini

değiştirerek icabeden yerde başını veren ve ordu ile beraber yürüyen muallim arkadaşlarımız da dahildir.

“The future heroes” expression implied the expectations from the future generations like military assignments or carrying the nation for a more prosperous position. By stating the teachers’ role in raising these heroes also gave the responsibility to them. Furthermore, the stress on cooperation between military officers and teachers again aimed at creating a psychological bound between these two elements.

A teacher educator who was working for Gazi Teachers' College gave an educational conference at the memorial ceremony in the name of Kubilay. He said that the teachers of the Republican era beginning to work with an unwavering and indestructible faith. He describes this faith as "introducing the light of modernity to Turkish peasants and directing them to the sun of civilization". He continued his speech as follows:

We are going to start our career with the ideal of overcoming all material and nonmaterial obstacles we confront with in the future. We have all experienced economic problems. Maybe we will not have bed to sleep in comfortably. Maybe the raindrops will leak into our rooms. Maybe we will not have any warm places in cold winter days. However, all these things become unimportant when compared to the ideal of raising the Turkish country and Turkish Republic and carrying it to the contemporary civilizations level (2 January 1931, Hakimiyet-i Milliye) (Appendix H).

Biz istikbalde karşımıza çıkacak olan maddi ve manevi her müşkülü yenmeye azmetmiş bir iman ve mefkûre ile meslek hayatına atılacağız. Maddi müşkülâtın ne olduğunu hepimiz iyi biliriz. İhtimal ki gideceğimiz yerlerde rahat bir yatacak yerimiz olmayacak. İhtimal ki yağmur damlaları odamızın içine akacak, ihtimalki kışta sıcak bir yerimiz olmayacaktır. Fakat bunlar, bu fani ve geçici olan şeyler, ebedi kıymetler karşısında Türk vatanını ve Türk Cümhuriyetini yükseltmek medeniyete ulaştırmak mefkûresi yanında ne kadar ehemmiyetsiz kalır.

By requesting teachers to be patient even under the toughest conditions and motivating them to overcome all obstacles required teachers to be devote from themselves. However, as these all were temporary and when compared to the

honour of carrying the nation towards the contemporary civilizations level, these devotion were covenanted to be unimportant.

The same teacher educator also reminded his students the characteristic features they should have:

We should be honest. We should be dedicated. We should be patient and we should be good men in any case. Villagers who see these good characteristic in a teacher start to like teachers and teachers gain the strenght of doing anything they want in the villages. A teacher who gets on well with the decent Turkish villagers can destroy all the evil forces in towns and in villages. ... There is no other choice to kill them. The worst enemy of these evil forces are civilization, light and culture. These evil forces which stay silent when Kubilay was being killed should be condemned. We, as teachers, will not allow these and will work to remove all of these evil in the society. (2 January 1931, Hakimiyet-i Milliye) (Appendix H).

Namuslu olalım. Fedakar olalım. Sabırlı olalım ve her hususta iyi adam olalım. Bu meziyetleri muallimde gören köylü tedricen muallime ısınır ve o zaman muallim köyde her şeyi yapabilecek kabiliyeti kazanır. Temiz Türk köylüsü ile yıldızı barışık olan bir muallim köyde ve şehirde kara kuvvetleri ezmiş demektir. ... Onu çıktığı yerde ezmekten, tepelemekten başka çare yoktur. Kara kuvvetin en büyük ve tehlikeli düşmanı medeniyet, nur ve irfandır. Kubilay'ın başı kesilirken seyirci kalan kara kuvvetler lanetlere sezaadır. Biz bunları kuru kuruya telin etmekle iktifa etmeyeceğiz. Bunları kati olarak ezmek için çalışacağız.

While expressing how to save nations from all evils, the characteristic features expected from the people who gained their life by teaching which were honesty, patience and kindness were voiced as well. It was also aimed to remove all the evil in the society, the reasons of which were ignorance and illiteracy, completely forever and this would be the savior of the nation.

#### **4.1.4 Modern Teachers**

Another mostly discussed step of the Revolution was “hat revolution”. Clothes and hat had an important mission on identifying society in a modern way. In order to form a new countenance to the country and reach the model in

Mustafa Kemal's mind, Europe was taken as an example. Adoption of the European clothing style and enactment of the hat law was a leap towards this goal. Teachers were also expected to present modern clothing applications (Özdemir, 2007). On 3 December 1928, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* reminded new clothing

regulations of teachers at schools:

It has been announced that women teachers have to wear hats. Ministry of Education had sent notification stating women teachers to wear hats. They are obliged to wear hats from today. Inspectors are going to check if they are wearing or not. The teachers are also going to instruct without wearing scarves. (3 December 1928, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*)

Muallim hanımların şapka giyme mecburiyeti bildirildi. Maarif Vekaleti muallim hanımların şapka giymelerini tamim etmişti. Muallim hanımların da bugünden itibaren şapka giymek mecburiyetindedirler. Hanımların şapka giyip giymediklerini müfettişler teftiş edeceklerdir. Muallim hanımlar aynı zamanda dershanerde başı açık ders vereceklerdir.

This regulation and reminder indicate that teachers were expected to be role models not only with their attitudes but also with their modern appearance.

Another point related to the hat regulation for teachers reminds secularization moves of Republican policymakers. After the unification of all schools under the governance of Ministry of Education, the schools has lost their religious contexts as well. In that regard, women teachers instruction without wearing scarves might have provided an opportunity to approach all students from different backgrounds equally.



**Figure 5** News Related Clothing of Teachers  
**Source:** 3 December 1928 - Hakimiyet-i Milliye

## 4.2 Responsibilities of Teachers

In the era following the declaration of the Republic of Turkey, the foremost political project of the policy makers and ideologist of the new Republic was to raise generations which would be loyal faithful to the republican values and revolutions as well as which would build a bridge between the day's victories and the glorious future. In other words, the only guarantee of the future of Republic was a "Republican Generation". Education was one of the main assistants of the policy makers. In that regard, the ideal educator, namely parents and teachers, image became prominent. "The teachers who were expected to serve for the country in any condition, were to be equipped with several qualifications which the political regimes requires them" (Öztan, 2012, p. 162). As a result, in this section, early republican teachers' educational and social responsibilities will be discussed.

As it was mentioned before, Mustafa Kemal's opening speech at *Maarif Kongresi* on 16 July 1921 was remarkable from two aspects. First, his coming from the battleground to a non-military and non-politic congress was found worth to think about by researchers working on the history of Turkish education. Secondly, the speech he delivered aimed at motivating the teachers

by conferring them the serious responsibility of educating the nation. He started his speech with following words:

The Great War resulted in a defeat for our country. Our enemies accepted this as a reason to completely exterminate our country. Ankara has been a great stage for the national objection against their will. TBMM has been gathered in Ankara to defend our nation's right to life against the ones who wants us removed. Ankara is also honoured by the meeting of the teachers who will found the national education of national Turkey (Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2006b).

Harb-ı umumî memleketimize bir mağlûbiyet tevcih etti. Düşmanlarımız bunu vesiyle ittihaz ederek milletimizi tamamen imha etmek istediler. Buna karşı vukua gelen galayan-ı milliye Ankara muazzam bir sahne oldu. Bizi yaşatmamak isteyenlere karşı yaşamak hakkımızı müdafaa etmek üzere toplanan Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi, burada, Ankara'da in'ikad etti.

After reminding the centuries-old ignorance and its unfortunate results like the experience the risk of losing the national sovereignty and stating the city of Ankara was honoured by the coming of the teachers who would rescue the nation from the ignorance, he continued his speech by listing the points which were to be carefully inspected:

I am talking about a national education program which is related to neither old superstitions nor exterior ideas which do not have anything common with our nature, which is distant to eastern and western influences and which is compatible to our national character and national history (Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2006b).

Bir millî terbiye programından bahsederken, eski devrin hurafatından ve evsaf-ı fitriyemizle hiç de münasebeti olmayan yabancı fikirlerden, şarktan ve garptan gelebilen bilcümle tesirlerden tamamen uzak, seciye-i milliye ve tarihiyemizle mütenasip bir kültür kastediyorum.

It can be understood that not having a national education system was maybe the main problem causing this ignorance. As a result, Mustafa Kemal asked for teachers to found a new, scientific, national an education system which would be purified in terms of supersititious, unreasoning and unenlightened beliefs. Then he explained his expectations from the congress:

In this congress, we do not expect you to discuss the ways of ordinarily walking in the old paths but demand from you a sacred service, to find and show the new

ways that fit the conditions I have mentioned. We expect a sacred duty from you, to be guides to the new generation in this way (Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2006b).

İşte biz, bu kongrenizden yalnız, çizilmiş eski yollarda alelâde yürümenin tarzı hakkında müdavele-i efkâr etmeği değil, belki serdettiğim şeraiti haiz yeni bir sanat ve marifet yolu bulup millete göstermek ve o yolda yeni nesli yürütmek için rehber olmak gibi mukaddes bir hizmet bekliyoruz.

He concluded his speech reminding how important and vital their duty and wishing them success. As *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* stated, “this royal and eminent example” took its place in the rare, invaluable memories of the Turkish history (Akyüz, 2008). His remarks about the national sovereignty, a national educational program and a modern pathway different than Ottoman Empire’s not only reminded policymakers expectation and their responsibilities to teachers but also it had attached the modern and nationalist image of teacher on them for the first time maybe.

Another conversation between Mustafa Kemal and the teachers took place on 7 July 1927 in Dolmabahçe Palace. He stated that teachers should gain respect with their science as the old teachers’ did it with the help of their religious information. Teaching profession would take its place in developmental age with the help of science, he added and continued his speech:

Teachers should succour to people in every case, they should be with people. So people should understand that teachers cannot be human beings who just teaches the alphabet (Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2006b).

Muallimler her vesileden istifade ederek halka koşmalı, halk ile beraber olmalı ve halk, muallimin çocuğa yalnız alfabe okutur bir varlıktan ibaret olamayacağını anlamalıdır.

With his words, he stresses the importance of the scientific approach of teachers and advised them to make people to understand teachers’ missions in their life and society, which is more than teaching how to read or write. They were not only to educate kids but also to a whole nation. Their duty was enlight



their surrounding by assisting the people around them in any kind of situation which gave them the responsibility beyond the lexical meaning of the word *teacher*.

In another interaction between Mustafa Kemal and teachers was the telegram that was sent to faculty members and students to celebrate 77th anniversary of Dârülmualimîn. In the telegram, he stated that:

It is necessary to carry the country forward in the domains of science, economy and civilization, to improve our highly talented nation's skills, to give solid, determinate and positive moral characteristics to future generations. Teachers are located in the most important and gentlest position among the intellectual troops which are working to realize these holy aims. Therefore, I am in charge of reminding my respectable friends their exalted as well as important duty (Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2006a; Telegram #534 on 7 April 1923).

Memleketi ilim, irfan, iktisat ve ümran sahasında da yükseltmek, milletimizin her hususta pek feyyaz olan kabiliyetlerini inkişaf ettirmek, nesl-i âtiye metin, muayyen ve müsbet bir seciye vermek lâzımdır. Bu mübarek gayeleri istihsal için mücadeleye atılan münevver kuvvetlerin arasında muallimler en mühim ve nazik mevkiî işgal etmektedirler. Binaenaleyh muhterem arkadaşlarıma kendileri için şüphesiz pek mesut olan bu günde vazifelerinin ulviyet ve ehemmiyetini hatırlatmağı cümle-i vezâiften addediyorum.

His statements which focused on the development of the country and raising the generations which would contribute to this development reminds of not only the educational but also the social goals of the society and the expectations from the teachers. Stating these goals as holy and calling teachers as parts of military elements (*intellectual troops*) can be interpreted as his will to motivate teachers' to fight against the ignorance and illiteracy.

Mustafa Kemal was not the only person who reminds the responsibilities of teachers. In January 1929, Prime Minister İsmet Paşa sent a note for teachers. He was holding the position of Minister of National Education after Mustafa Necati's death:

You would be mistaken if you think your responsibility is limited to teaching alphabet and how to read. You will teach the citizens who were unfortunately neglected because of the ignorance of the past to live in line with modern living style. You will teach them the possibility of being clean even if they are in worn-out dresses. You should be careful about not to lose the excitement in the classroom and any students. Losing students should be an honour issue for you. ... I wish you success in this glorious duty (1 February 1929, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*).

Vazifenin yalnız harf öğretmek ve okutmaktan ibaret olduğunu zannetmekle hata işlemiş olursun. Mazinin bin bir ihmali yüzünden bakımsız ve örneksiz kalmış olan bu vatandaşlarına aynı zamanda muaşeret kaideleriyle yaşamayı, pejmürde elbise içinde bile temiz olmanın mümkün olduğunu anlatacaksın. Derslerinin hararetini ve kalabalığını muhafaza için elinden gelecek mesaiyi ihmal etmezsin. O şekilde ki bir talebenin eksilmesi senin için bir nefis izzeti mes'elesi olmalıdır. ... Şerefli mesainde muvaffakiyetler temenni ederim aziz arkadaşım.

While stressing to access all citizens, İsmet Paşa indicates the importance of preventing student drop-outs. In order to raise the people who would work and behave compatible Republican ideals, students' school attendance was quite important. In that sense, he called losing students as an honour issue for teachers, which showed the importance of attaching students to schools.

Responsibilities of teachers were attracting the attention not only of politicians but also of columnists. While examining the "Education of the Revolution" issue, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* author Zeki Mesut also reminded the teachers their educational responsibilities:

Finding the best educational method which is compatible to our revolution and ideology is one of the most important issues in education. ... Teachers should spend at least one or two hours to understand child psychology and characteristics. ... Information could be obtained, completed during any stage of life, however, changing or modifying the character bred in the bone is quite difficult to do (1 February 1933, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*) (Appendix I).

Mektep terbiyesi sahasında da her şeyden evel, karakteri, inkılabımızın hayat telakkisine ve ideolojisine göre yuğurup meydana getirecek metodu bulmak ve tatbik etmek en mühim bir meseledir. ... Muallim hiç olmazsa, günde bir iki saatini çocuğun ruh ve karakterine hasredebilmeli. ... Bilgi bütün hayat müddetince kazanılabilir, tamamlanabilir. Fakat herhangi bir suretle teşekkül etmiş bir karakterin tadil ve ıslahı çok güçtür.

Zeki Mesut was among the few people, who focused on the educational duties of teachers towards children. He reminded teachers that they should learn about their students' psychological needs and try to form their characteristics before it becomes too hard.

In a meeting with the Directors of National Education, Minister Cemal Hüsnü Bey stresses the importance of touching the lives of kids outside of schools. He starts his speech stating that even if the just graduated teachers feel themselves ready to accomplish all the things they confront with, they will learn a lot from their experiences:

In almost all countries, primary school teachers believe that they do not need any further assistance, they have achieved to the final point on the day they get their diplomas from their schools. It is our duty to remind them that starting point of the actual science is their contact with the kids and their parents, it is important to seek ways to touch the kids' souls in order to impact all their households and it is significant to make their environment better (Hakimiyet-i Milliye, 9 August 1930) (Appendix J).

Hemen her memlekette ilk mektep muallimi, muallim mektebinden şehadetmanesini aldığı gün, kendisi için artık tetebbu ve takibe lüzum kalmadığı, bildiklerinin kat'i ve nihai olduğu fikrini taşır. Halbuki ilmin çocuklarla ve onların ebeveynleriyle temasa geçtikten sonra başlamış olduğunu, bonların çıktıkları ocakların bütün mahalle sakinleri üzerinde müteessir olabilmek için ruhlarına nüfuz etme yollarını aramanın ehemmiyetini, muhitini daha iyi bir hale getirmek, daha ziyade harekete ve faaliyete sevtetmek için birçok bilgileri elde etmeye ihtiyacı olduğunu göstermek bizim vazifemizdir.

In the following part of the article, columnist Kazım Nami agrees with the Minister. However, he addresses French applications on teacher education. He states that teacher education institutions in France are accepting students after high schools education not after primary education. In these schools, these prospective teachers get every kind of information related to their profession and France talks about their primary school teachers with praise. Because they dedicate themselves to disseminate the secular education to the French

villages along with fighting with the hostility of reactionists. He adds that Turkish system should take French system as an example and should direct their teachers to improve themselves, to research.

In an article about National Schools published in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*. It also gave place to Mustafa Kemal's, who was a splendid teacher, addressing after the public teaching ceremony:

Dear Citizens! It is time to work. I am sure that neither you nor I need to talk. We need to walk further, further. It has been done a lot; however, it is time to do the best. We need to learn the new Turkish alphabet and teach it to every single Turkish citizen, to men, to women, to workers, to unemployed. We need to consider it as a sign of nationalism and patriotism. In a few years, each Turkish citizen will know the new alphabet and our nation will show that we are among the modern nations with our culture, with our alphabet (1 January 1929, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*) (Appendix K).

Vatandaşlar, arkadaşlar, işlemek vakti gelmiştir. Eminim ki ne siz, ne de ben çok konuşmağa muhtaç değiliz. Daha iyi ileriye yürüelim, ileriye, ileriye. Çok şeyler yapılmıştır, fakat bugün yapılacak en iyi bir şey vardır. Bu son vazife değildir, fakat şimdilik en lazım olanıdır. Yeni türk harflerini süratle öğrenmeliyiz, ve her türk vatandaşına onları öğretmeliyiz; erkeğe, kadına, işsizlere ve hernevi işçilere, bunu milliyetperverlik ve vatanperverlik vazifesi telakki edelim. Bir müddet sonra, ihtimalki bir iki sene içinde her türk yeni harfleri bilecektir. Milletimizin yazısıyla, kültürüyle medeni dünyadaki milletlerin sırasında olduğunu gösterecektir.

With his remarks, Mustafa Kemal stressed the importance of teaching the new alphabet and requested every single citizen who knew or learnt the new alphabet to teach it to their acquaintances. This actually converted the whole country to a big school and every single citizen to teachers. This can easily be observed at the cartoon published on 15 January 1929:



**Figure 6** Cartoon Related to Education

**Source:** 15 January 1929 - *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*

On 1 March 1932, the article of *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* which points out the importance of People's Houses (Halk Evleri). People's Houses were opened "in order to explain Republican reforms and protect them" in 1932 (Akyüz, 2008; Altunya, 1998). All teacher organizations were abolished and they were told to transfer their knowledge and experience to People's Houses. In *Hakimiyet-i Milliye's* article it is stated that teachers would better dedicate some of their free time for working to reach Turkish national goals.

Actually, Haydar Bey's speech, as a National Board of Education Member, summarizes all the responsibilities being expected from teachers even if it was given for village teachers. In his speech delivered at the opening ceremony of Village Teacher Courses and published at *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* on 2 August 1933, he said:

The majority of our society consists of peasant. Our citizens, even if they are living in towns are gaining their lives from agriculture. Turkey is a farmer country in general. In that regard, it is a must to educate the country's kids well, to teach them the modern agricultural methods (2 August 1933, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*) (Appendix L).

Türkiye'de yaşayan ehalinin üçte ikisinden fazlasını köylüler teşlik etmektedir... Birçok kasabalarda yaşayan ehalinin mühim bir kısmının da meşguliyeti çiftçiliktir. Şu halde, Türkiye umumiyet itibariyle bir çiftçi memleketidir. Bunun için bu memleketin çocuklarına buna göre bir terbiye vermek; onları aslın iycap ettirdiği fenni çiftçilik usullerini bilan insanlar halinde yetiştirmek lazımdır.

Then, he stressed that the duty of the teachers was not limited to teach how to read write but consisted of developing village people in agricultural, economic and sanitary issues:

*Village teachers should be a candle, a torch in the areas which need to be enlightened. ... First, teachers should educate villagers in terms of agricultural issues. Our nation mostly deals with agriculture and as we do not have expertise in it, we need an agricultural reform. ... Second one is economic guidance. National economy is closely bound to international one and the teachers' guidance about economy will assist our nation to advance in economic fields. ... Third one is sanitary guidance. When the people are not healthy, they lose their eagerness, their ability to work. ... Forth one is administrative and social guidance. We are governed by the most modern regime which has been given us by our great Gazi<sup>13</sup>. A republic is a form of government in which authority resides to people. In order to be able to govern themselves in a healthy way, people should have the required qualifications. The most important duty of the teachers and civil servants gathers around the issue. ... Village teachers are the best people who can work for the sake of this ideal as they are the people who go the furthest areas of the country and work there willingly (2 August 1933, Hakimiyet-i Milliye) (Appendix L).*

Köy muallimi, köyün bilgi ve başarıma cihazlarından karanlıkta kalmış olan muhitinde bir kıvılcum, bir mum, bir meşale olmalıdır. ... Birincisi: Geniş manasiyle, muhtelif ziraat işlerinde köylüyü irşat etmektir. Memleketimiz ekseriyetle bir çiftçi memleketi olduğundan ve bu işte çok geri kalmış bulunduğumuzdan biz, ziraat sahasında seri bir inkılap yapmak mecburiyetindeyiz. ... İkincisi: iktisadi irşatçılıktır. Milli ihtisat cihan iktisadına sıkı sıkıya bağlıdır. İktisat rehberliği hususunda da muallimlerimize verilecek direktifler doğrultusunda halkımız irşat edilecektir. ... Üçüncüsü milletin sağlığı için irşatçılıktır. Milletin bünyesi sağlam olmayınca çalışma kudreti ve kabiliyeti azalır. ... Dördüncüsü idari ve içtimai irşatçılıktır. Biz, bu asra en uygun olan idare şeklini, Ulu Gazi'misin bize kazandırdığı cümhuriyet idaresine mazhar olduk. Cümhuriyet halka dayanan bir idare tarzıdır. Milletin kendi kendini idareye muktedir olması için buna ehliyet ve iktidar kesbetmesi lazımdır. İşte, bütün muallimlerimizin ve hükümet memurlarımızın en mühim vaziyefesi bu nokta etrafında toplanmaktadır. ... Köy muallimi, memleketin en ücra köşelerine kadar giden ve oralarda memnuniyetle çalışan bir devlet memuru olmak hasebiyle bu uğurda çalışabilecek en iyi unsurdur.

In his speech, Haydar Bey not only summarized the responsibilities of teachers but also the policies of the early Republican era. First of all, as a country which tried to break off all economic shackles and which removed all capitulations inherited from the Empire, Turkey was aiming at founding a national economy.

---

<sup>13</sup> Gazi is a term used to define veteran soldiers. It has a religious connotation. After the victory of the Battle of Sakarya, Mustafa Kemal was awarded with the title of *Gazi* (Döğüş, 2007)

As this could be achieved through using the motherlands' own potential and as there was not any well-established industry; one of the ways of keeping the capital inside the country was to improving the agricultural productivity. By teaching the more productive agricultural methods to peasants, teachers would promote the quality of agriculture and contribute the economic welfare of the country. The second issue Haydar Bey mentions is again closely related to economic issues. He reminded teachers to teach the importance of a national economy and they were expected to raise awareness to the issue of global economy. The third issue he mentions which he named after as sanitary guidance is again related to economic issues. Healing an ill citizen not only requires to spend money but also to recede his/her economic preoductivity. Preventive health services are quite important and early Republican politicians were also aware of the fact. They requested maybe the only representatives of the state in the villages, the teachers, to guide villagers about the sanitary issues. He closed his remarks stressing the importance of imposing the Republican ideas to villagers. With his speech, Haydar Bey gave a great overview to the expectations of politicians from the early Republican teachers as well as early Republican politicians.

To conclude, early Republican era teachers were responsible from the Turkish youth "who were to love their nation, understand each other and bound to the Turkish national goals" (Hakimiyet-i Milliye, 1 March 1932). They were expected to create a national education program which was compatible to Turkish culture and national values, to be with their people whenever they were in need, to raise the people who would carry the country forward in social, cultural and economic domains, to tie a bound between school and society, to understand the nature of the child, to educate and to guide the people through economic, sanitary, social and administrative issues and to enlighten the people. In Cemal Hüsnü Bey's words "The teachers tries to prepare the life of tomorrow" (Hakimiyet-i Milliye, 8 June 1930) (Appendix M). All of these show

that early Republican teachers' social responsibilities were prioritised when compared to educational ones, the expectations of policy makers and opinion leaders were focusing around the societal issues.

### **4.3 Privileges of Teachers**

In order to create new citizens, the teachers which would raise these new citizens, needed to be loyal to their profession. However, because of several reasons like working away from their family, health problems, and of course the professions financial status; the teachers gave up. In order to motivate them to assist to achieve the Republican ideals, teachers were given some privileges. In this section, some of these will be studied in detail.

Especially after the Great War, Turkish society got its share from militaristic tendencies. While armed forces were quite important in order to get rid of the occupation of imperial forces; in the following period gaining the economic independence which would be accomplished in the schools of the country became vital.

After the World War, European countries continued to bear arms for the fear of another war. The tension went up day by day and especially after 1935, almost every day, there was an article evaluating the current relations between European countries and questioning if this intense environment would result in a war. Turkey was not isolated from this stressful environment. In order to be able to mobilize all the human resources of the country in case of an emergency, even a soldiery class took its place in the curricula (Öztan, 2012; Akin, 2004)



However, even under these conditions, there was a group who was exempt. Military services of teachers who were to fight against the ignorance of people were postponed with Law No: 100 on 21 February 1921. With that law, it is announced that the battle against the illiteracy, ignorance and possible results of these two in the future were more important than the actual war; as a result, while the country was going through a tough full scale campaign, the policy makers decided to keep teachers in a safer place. This law was abolished in 1988 with Law No: 3488.

Another point discussed was health facilities for teachers. During the very first years of the Republic, the significant percent of the society could not be classified as healthy because of the epidemics and undernutrition related to poverty. Republican governments were in search of improving health conditions of the society (Akin, 2004; Tuğluoğlu, 2008). In 1923 there were 86 hospitals, 554 doctors. When the population census results in 1927, which was slightly more than 13.5 million people, it would not be unfair to say the health services were inadequate (Gümüşçü, 2003). On 14 August 1931, Ministry of Education Esat Bey gave declaration on the contemporary circumstances in education. He said “we cannot make our teachers and students wait at the doors of sanatorium”. He added that in order to heal the teachers and student as soon as possible, the new health equipment was needed. He concludes this issue stating that they were working on the issue. As the teachers were seen as the doctors of social illnesses, the health facilities to keep or make them healthy was far more important than services would be provided for any other group’s. In 1927, a preventorium for teachers was put into service in Üsküdar, Validebağ Grove. A Teachers’ Hospital was also opened in the same campus in 1974 (Aslan, Sağlam, Özkan & Sezgin, 2008).

The last point that will be mentioned in this section is education of the descents of teachers. During the meetings of the Law on Secondary School Teachers,

the students that would be accepted to the boarding secondary schools and the scholarships that would be given to them were also discussed. In the exposure draft, it is said that the children of the teachers who was serving for more than 10 years would be preferred if the number of eligible students was more than the quota. Minister of Education Vasıf Bey stated his objections to this item by arguing that all kids were equal no matter who their parents were. Mersin Deputy Niyazi Bey argued against the Minister. He said:

Our teachers has been serving to our children and spending all their days, their lives for this cause, serving for our children. To show our kindness; to be more precise, to be fair for them is among our duties towards them. (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, 2<sup>nd</sup> Term, 2<sup>nd</sup> Legislative Year, Volume VII, 13 March 1924)

Muallimlerimiz çocuklarımıza çok büyük hizmet etmekte ve ömürlerini, hayatlarını bu uğurda yıpratmaktadırlar. Bunlara bu hususta bir lütufta bulunmak, daha doğrusu bu kadarcık hakkaniyette bulunmak vazifemizdir.

Afyonkarahisar Deputy Ruşen Eşref Bey supported Nizayi Bey by saying “the incentives we are going to provide for teachers will be a cause for their high services to the country”. Finally, this item was accepted by the parliament.

Again, during the discussions of the Law on Secondary School Teachers on 12 March 1924 at TBMM, Ruşen Eşref Bey reminded that teachers were working on the all parts of the republic. He continued his speech by reminding the economic costs of moving to the distant districts:

All countries in the boundaries of the Republic of Turkey are equal and working in them is the duty. However, in order to go to the distant locations, they (the teachers) are spending much more money. The transportation allowance regulations do not give as much as to move their family with them and to live there together. ... If we do not provide them any incentives, they start to apply and request to come a closer district in their second or third week. They are looking forward to get rid of the situation they confront with rather than their duties. (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, 2<sup>nd</sup> Term, 2<sup>nd</sup> Legislative Year, Volume VII, 13 March 1924)

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti dahilinde bulunan bütün memleketler müsavi addedilir ve her birine gitmek vazifedir. Fakat uzak mahallere gitmek için fazla masraf ihtiyar ediyorlar. Harcirah nizamnamesi de kendilerini aileleriyle beraber oraya götürecektir ve orada iktidar edecek kadar çok değildir. ... Eğer kendilerini teşvik etmeyecek olursak uzak vilayetlere gittiklerinin ikinci veya üçüncü haftasında müracaata başlıyorlar ve oradan kurtulup yakın yerlere gelmek istiyorlar. Bu suretle vazifelerinden daha ziyade içine düştükleri yerlerden kurtulmaya çare arıyorlar.

Even if Ruşen Eşref Bey's suggestions were not taken into consideration, his thoughtful approach to this issue was quite important as he aimed at raising the welfare of teachers by providing them to get travelling allowances.

Mustafa Necati also searched for ways to ensure teachers a less financially worrisome life. Additional evening courses fees, teacher discount in public transportation, rental allowances can be mentioned among the benefits provided for teachers during Mustafa Necati's service (Akyüz, 1978).

To conclude, in order to keep the future-makers of the country loyal to their profession, to focus particularly on their duty which was to raise the future of the country, the policy makers thought their welfare and tried to provide some incentives for them. Whether they were provided or not, it can be said that these incentives became an external motivation source for the teachers.

#### **4.4 Metaphors Used for Teachers**

Metaphors are more than figures of speech which beautify the narrative. They allow people to compare concepts, to draw attention to the similarities between the things and to explain one existent with the help of another (Saban, 2009). A recent study (Yıldız & Ünlü, 2013) conducted to reveal the teacher image in teachers' mind states that teachers see their position in the society as follows:

**Table 7** Some of the Metaphors about Today's Teachers

<b>Today teaching is like...</b>	<b>because...</b>
a shooting star	teaching has become dull
sea waves	of the constantly changing programmes and vague goals
a robot	teachers just follow the orders
a tinplate	teaching is worthless

**Source:** Yıldız & Ünlü, 2013

Teachers' working in the Turkey of 2010's metaphors about their profession and themselves clearly shows that they feel useless and worthless. However, when they were asked to define their former position they used metaphors like magnificent plane trees, wise people, or kings which carry positive connotations (Yıldız & Ünlü, 2013). In order to provide a comparative perspective about metaphors related to teachers in past, the metaphors used by early Republican texts talking about teachers are examined in this section.

The first metaphor used for teachers is doctor teachers. On 26 January 1921, during the budget discussions, after reminding in some regions of the Country the salaries of teachers was paid by local taxes, Erzincan Deputy Osman Fevzi Efendi stated that:

It has been known that schools are deemed hospitals and teachers are doctors as well. In order to rescue the children of the Country from the sickness of ignorance, their parents pay for it and they would like to pay more. (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, 1<sup>st</sup> Term, 1<sup>st</sup> Legislative Year, Volume VII, 26 January 1921)

Malum-u alileridir ki; mektepler bir darüşşifa addolunur ve muallimler de doktordur. Evlad-ı vatani marazı cehaletten kurtarmak için ebeveyni şu paraları veriyor. Daha da vermek ister.

As it can be clearly understand that while schools were called as hospitals, teachers were seen as doctors of society. They were expected to remove all the illnesses related to ignorance and illiteracy. It can also be inferred that people knew the negative returns of the illiteracy and they wanted to provide a better life for their children than they were having. The conversation between Tsar Nicholas and the British Ambassador of St. Petersburg attributed the

unforgettable methaphor to the Ottoman “the sick man of Europe” (Itzkowitz, 1962). This metaphor has been widely used since then. When the social, economic, political and military condition at the beginning of the Republic which was inherited from the Ottoman Empire was thought, the morbid situation had to be deadened. Teachers were doctors who would heal the heritages of the sick-man.

In another article published in *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* on 19 August 1930, Kazım Nami discusses the issue of virtues of teachers. He started his work by quoting Ministry of Education Cemal Hüsnü Bey’s speech stating that teachers should be a good role model for the people and for the children. Kazım Nami continued to the article reminding that teachers’ duties were not limited to teaching school subjects and added that teachers had crucial missions beyond teaching and he called teachers as prophets:

Teachers are not everyone. Teachers are not free to do what they want to. They have a national and humanistic misson on their shoulders. They are commissioned to disseminate moral principles and virtues, they are like *prophets*, so to speak. As a result, they are not as free as everyone (Hakimiyet-i Milliye, 19 August 1930) (Appendix N).

Muallim herkes değildir; muallim her istediğini yapmakta serbest değildir. Muallim sırtına milli ve insani bir (mission) yüklenmiş kimsedir. Tabir caiz ise, *peygamberler* gibi ahlak ve fazilet neşrine memurdur. Onun için her işinde, her şeyinde herkes kadar hür değildir.

Even if his rationale behind this simile sounds quite feasible, it was a courageous movement to associate teachers to prophets considering the surrounding discussions on the secularism as well as the religious sensibility of the society of those times.

Another metaphor used for teachers and is discussed in the study is commander teachers. As it has been reminded constantly, at the very early years of the Republic, there was a fight, a battle against the illiteracy and

ignorance. Teachers were the most important elements of Mustafa Kemal also pointed out the similarities between the military troops and intellectual troops in his speech on 2 April 1923:

I would like to add the following in order to underline the resemblance and commitment between the military and educational armies. In a valuable work it is said that the spirit of army is composed of military officers and military commanders. This is the reality. You, teachers; you are the officers and the commanders of intellectual troops. The value of your army will be measured by value of yourselves. I am sure that you will show the same talent to distress and to defeat the general ignorance which has fallen down on our nation as the military officers and commanders who has been working in the War aiming at the dismissal of the enemy from our country to prove their talents and their value (Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2006b).

Asker ordusuyle irfan ordusu arasındaki müşabehet ve mutabakatı arzetmiş olmak için şunu da ilâve edeyim: kıymetli bir eserde ordunun ruhu, heyeti zabitan ve kumanda heyetidir, deniliyor. Hakikaten böyledir. Bir ordunun kıymeti zabitan ve kumanda heyetinin kıymeti ile ölçülür. Siz muallime hanımlar ve muallim beyler, sizler de irfan ordusunun zabitan ve kumanda heyetisiniz. Sizin ordunuzun kıymeti de sizlerin kıymetinizle ölçülecektir, istiklâl mücadelesinde, üç dört senedir, düşmanı topraklarımızda mahvetmek için, yaptığımız harpte ordunun ruhu olan zabitan ve kumanda heyet ve erkânı kıymetlerinin yüksekliğini nasıl ibraz ve ispat etmişse, bundan sonra yapacağımız nur ve inkılâp mücadelesinin, milletimize bir karanlık gibi çöken cehl-i umumiye mağlûp ve makhur etmek harbinde dahi irfan ordusunun ruhu olan siz muallime hanımlar ve muallim beylerin aynı kabiliyeti ihsas ve irae edeceğinize eminim.

By showing the Turkish army whose resources were almost nonexistent and which defeated the most powerful armies whose financial resources were almost unlimited as an example to the teachers and calling them as the intellectual troops of the Republic would not only state the difficulties in their duty but also motivate teachers for the tough conditions waiting for them. This parallelism, coordination and cooperation between these two elements were important and also supported by the book *Ak Zambaklar Ülkesinde* sent by Mustafa Necati. Moreover in Kazım Karabekir's remarks published on 11 December 1922 (Appendix G), the word he chose to express a fight against the ignorance and poverty which was *cihad etmek* is a word having military connotations.

Even now, Mustafa Kemal's characteristics have been associated with being a teacher and he has been called as *baş öğretmen*. This fact assisted teachers to identify themselves with the country founder, pathfinder and great leader Mustafa Kemal. In this regard, the last point that will be mentioned in this section will be “Mustafa Kemal as a teacher”.

In order to celebrate the victory at War of Independence, a group of teachers visited Mustafa Kemal on 27 October 1922. In this meeting, he addressed his teacher guests as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen! You are coming from Istanbul. Welcome! I cannot express my endless pleasure in front of your high commission representing *the light houses* of Istanbul. It is a privilege to see feelings in your hearts, ideas in your minds directly. I will tell sincerest feelings of mine now, I would like to be child and be in your *lightening* classes. I would like to be enlightened and taught in your classes. I would be much more beneficial to my country.

We should know that nations living in two parts are weak, sick. No matter how long we educate our children, we will teach them these above all: there is no right to have a future for people who are not equipped to fight against his nation's, his state's and his parliament's enemies (Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2006b).

Hanımlar, Beyler! İstanbul'dan geliyorsunuz. Safa geldiniz. İstanbul'un nur ocaklarını temsil eden heyet-i aliyeniz karşısında duyduğum zevk bipâyandır. Kalblerinizdeki hissiyatı, dimağlarınızdaki fikirleri doğrudan doğruya gözlerinizde ve alınlarınızda okumak benim için fevkalâde mucibi mazhariyettir. Bu dakika muvacehenizde duyduğum en samimî hissi, müsaadenizle söyleyeyim: İsterdim ki çocuk olayım ve sizin nur saçan daire-i tedrisinizde bulunayım. Sizden feyiz alayım, siz beni yetiştiresiniz. O zaman milletim için, daha nâfî olurdum.

Kat'iyen bilmeliyiz ki, iki parça halinde yaşayan, milletler zayıftır, marîzdir. Çocuklarımıza ve gençlerimize vereceğimiz tahsilin hududu ne olursa olsun, onlara esaslı olarak şunları öğreteceğiz: Milletine, Türkiye devletine, Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisine düşman olanlarla mücadele esbap ve vasaitiyle mücehhez olmayan milletler için hakkı beka yoktur.

It can be said that with elements like the declaration of his will to become a teacher and stating that if he could do that he would be more helpful to Turkey

in this speech, Mustafa Kemal tried to create a psychological bound between himself and teachers, which attached a high reputation to the teaching profession.

Not only Mustafa Kemal himself, but also journalists used this strategy to motivate teachers. 1 January 1929 was the day that National Schools was launched. *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* gave an important space to this issue on its pages. An article was carrying the title of “Mustafa Kemal muallim”, the author stressed the similarities of his military and political style:

Eventually, Gazi... He is applying the same principles which he used to save his nation from the domination of the allied forces again to save his nation from ignorance. His continuous success is amazing (1 January 1929, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*) (Appendix O).

Nihayet Gazi vardır... Harp sahnelerinde milletini müttefiklerin tahakkümünden kurtarmak için tatbik ettiği usulleri şimdi de onları cehaletten kurtarmak için tatbik ediyor. Onun mütemadiyen muvaffak olması şayanı hayrettir.

The article continues with his studies on teaching the new alphabet. It was said that Mustafa Kemal set up a classroom in his house and taught the new Turkish alphabet. People graduated from this class in a few days. Moreover, he taught the new alphabet again in a show (*müşamere*) organized by CHP.

Actually, with his very well-known photo in front of the blackboard, teaching the new alphabet, Mustafa Kemal summarised the whole reform steps which had been taking since the reign of Sultan Selim III. As Kazamias (1966) stated “In a rather general sense, the entire modernization movement was an experiment in education: how to create new values, new ideologies, new human beings, or new Turks” (p. 19), Mustafa Kemal, who is the founder of the Republic, tried to direct society towards a more modern path, in his words *contemporary civilizations level*; he had already been a teacher for the society in figurative means. As a result, it can be said that this photo was just a reflection of his actual role in real life.



## CHAPTER 5

### 5. CONCLUSION

This study was designed to reveal the identities attributed to the teachers of the early Republican era. In order to achieve this goal, policy documents of the period mentioned before was examined. These documents, namely *TBMM Zabıt Cerideleri*, *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* and *Ulus* newspapers, government programmes, meeting minutes of *Muallimler Birliği Umumi Kongresi* and *Birinci Maarif Şurası* and some other secondary sources were scanned and news, addressings of policy makers and opinion leaders as well as discussions about teachers were collected. Thematic analysis was applied to the data collected. The results were grouped under four main categories, which are teacher identities, teacher responsibilities, teacher privileges and teacher metaphors.

The identities attached to teachers were idealist teacher, devoted teacher, nation-saving teacher as well as modern teacher. These identities were clearly put into words, and especially idealism, in other words *mefkûrecilik*, attributed to teachers were consistently reminded in any context appropriate. The responsibilities of teachers also reflected the teacher identities, Early Republican teachers waited to enlighten their environment, to spread the Republican ideals, to remove the ruins of the old regime, to form a modern and national education system, in short to guide the nation. While fulfilling their responsibilities, they were to *devote* themselves to reach the *ideal*.

In order to motivate teachers to work for their duties and responsibilities in a more focused way; their compulsory military services were postponed, they

had opportunity to access health facilities than the rest of the country and their children got some special scholarship opportunities.

Finally, metaphors used for teachers were dealt with. Teachers were called as doctors of the social illnesses and prophets who had humanistic missions on them. In that section, Mustafa Kemal's position as a teacher was also discussed. It was claimed that creating a psychological bound between the founder of the Republic and teachers boosted their energy to run towards the Republican ideals.

To conclude, teachers were seen as the leaders who would do their best and would dedicate themselves to realize the Republican ideals. Fay Kirby (2012) asserted that "no other education professionals around the world, with the possible exception of USSR, have embraced the very chance to lead a nation as the ones in Atatürk's Turkey did, past 40 years" (p. 51).

During the data collection procedure it was observed that while the news and discussions mostly focuses on the importance of education, the main actors of this important concept, which were teachers, were mostly ignored. The educational goals of the newly founded state was frequently addressed; however, the teachers could not find so much place for themselves in the analysed policy documents and newspapers.

The teachers could not get any attention in government programmes apart from the IV. *İcra Vekilleri Heyeti*'s. This situation can also be applied for I. *Maarif Şurası*. Neither in the Minister of National Education of the era Hasan Âli Yücel's opening remarks nor in the chapter which examined and offered teacher training policies were teachers not addressed. In other words, it was

not aimed to form a teacher identity in government programmes or in *I. Maarif Şurası* discussions.

Another evindence about teacher identity formation in the era was the identity formation process has lost its speed after 1930's and has almost completed after 1935. Newspapers published after 1935 were only given place to the educational news in terms of new schools opened, study visits of teachers, school entrance exam announcements or school entrance exam results announcements.

This thesis was written to understand the changing identities and social status of teachers. By delineating the former picture, it is easy to have an idea on the current practices in teacher identity formation processes. Nowadays, policies made on teachers are showing parallelism with neoliberal policies which caused a decrease in the value of teaching profession. While the profession which was identified with idealism, modernism, devotedness and guidance, the things have changed after 80 years. Teaching has been called with KPSS, the teachers cannot be appointed in public schools; they have lost their educational autonomy and expected to prepare students to standardized tests. All these have led teachers and prospective teachers to question their position in the society, to lose their faith in their profession and to lack their motivation. Even if some of the teacher training institutions stress the early Republican values about teaching, without getting any political support, they have not been so successful to give these ideals to their students.

All these evolution may be the cause of the changing expectations from the education. As it is stated in the very first chapter of the study, the current government which tries to raise students who are able to cope with the needs of the economic system has changed the legal text stating the main

responsibilities and duties of the Ministry of National Education. Moreover, with the addressing of policymakers which states that they aim to raise religionist and vindictive generations (AnindaTepki, 2012) do not overlap with the educational aims of the early Republican politicians who aims to raise generations who are loyal to secular, modern, republican aims. In this regard, actually, when ignoring the ideological positions of the fore coming politicians of these two eras are compared; both of the groups followed and have been following the same path: using education as an Ideological State Apparatus they indoctrinated and have been indoctrinating their own ideological premises. While incumbent governing political party Justice and Development Party (AKP) adopting conservative and neoliberal policies currently in the late 2015s, CHP of that time (1920-1940) which was the single party of the early Republican era has been following more etatist and progressive policies. This main distinction not only effects their expectations from education, but also their education policies.

The contemporary education policy tendencies show that policymakers contradict themselves as well. While aiming at improving the quality of education services, receiving better places in tests measuring the academic success and thinking skills of children; they just ignore the fact that improving the quality of instruction (Hanushek & Rivkin, 2006) and motivation of teachers (Ofoegbu, 2004) are closely related to raise academic success and school quality. In order to carry Turkish education system in a more respectable place in standardized tests, policy makers remember that education comes before training. When the curricula just work as a servant of standardized tests and the term education itself is overlooked; quality of education and Turkey's rank in the tests mentioned above cannot reach to the desired level.

Moreover, politicians' or bureaucrats' remarks have been exacerbating the overall condition. Former Minister of National Education Ömer Dinger's

suggestion for 200.000 teachers to find another job (“İki Yüz Bin Öğretmen”, 2011), rather than investing to capacity building activities or training programmes finding the solution in importing teachers (“MEB’den Devrim Gibi”, 2011) or stain the honour of teachers in their classrooms (“Yalova Valisinin”, 2015).

All of these cannot be thought apart from the education policies in general. In order to solve teacher identity problem in 2010’s Turkey, not only the teacher recruitment policies but also the whole education system should be examined in detail. Especially, in order to solve the problems teachers have been experiencing related to their profession, teacher recruitment policies should be changed radically.

Teacher candidates should be chosen to the education faculties after several steps. The psychological well-being of the candidates should be ensured. People who have tendencies to show attitudes which cannot suit the requirements of the teaching profession. Teacher training institutions should be limited to education faculties. Initial teacher training programmes for four-year-bachelors programme graduates to become a teacher should be closed down.

Teachers should only be employed permanently. Temporary employment styles like substitute teachership should be abolished. Teacher recruitment exams should be reviewed. The politicians should realize that the teachers working under precarious conditions cannot provide any healthy education environment to their student and cannot show any extraordinary dedications while struggling to find solutions to their profession related personal problems.

However, above all, it is inevitable to see these kind of changes in the identities of teachers while education system aims to prepare students to the globally

competitive economic system, which means the expectations from the students and identities of the future citizens have changed.

Teachers are the first group who have close encounter with the beneficiaries of the educational services and motivation of teachers has a great impact on the quality of education as well as the physical conditions of educational environments, curricula, educational materials and so forth. In order to raise the quality of education, teachers should be motivated not only by financial terms, but also by affectional support.

### **5.1 Implications for Further Research**

As the selected data source did not give sufficient information, new studies covering a broader range may be conducted to satisfy the need in the domain of history of Turkish education. Opponent newspapers, periodicals prepared by teachers, local newsletters may be used to conduct further researches.

The weakness of findings in terms of number is leading the researcher to think about the image of early Republican era teachers which has been reflected in teacher education institutions in a nostalgic way. The *savior* image of teachers were tried to be ensouled however this formation process lost its impact in the second half of 1930's. In order to have a longitudinal political perspective, following era may also be examined. Eventhough there are wide range of studies focusing on the following era, specifically on Village Institutions, there is no identity studies on Village Institutes graduates at the time of this study was conducted. In that regard, identities of teachers formed through Village Institutes may be examined as well.

Another data source which could be appropriate to use may be literary works. Even though there is a study examining teacher characters of literary works of Reşat Nuri and Fakir Baykurt who were also teachers themselves, (Altunya, 2004), teacher identity in the novels written in or about the early Republican era can be examined.

Recent problems teacher have been experiencing related to their professional identity are not an endemic of Turkey. In order to have a global as well as longitudinal perspective and to provide a comparative international analysis, a similar sample group can be examined in detail and analysed comparatively. Kirby's (2012) remarks on Soviet Union teachers (p. 49) or by moving forward from the book *Ak Zambaklar Ülkesinde* which was sent to Turkish teachers during Mustafa Necati's service, Finnish teachers may provide good comparison inbetween.

Finally, in order to inform policy makers about the relationship between teacher motivation and quality of education, an extensive research may be conducted on teacher identity formation in the last decades and academic success of students. The results may be submitted to decisionmaking institutions to create a public opinion against the recent education policies.

## REFERENCES

- Ahmad, F. (1993). *The making of modern Turkey*. London: Routledge.
- Akdemir, A. S. (2013). Türkiye'de öğretmen yetiştirme programlarının tarihçesi ve sorunları. *International Periodical for The Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic*, 8(12), 15-28.
- Akgün, S. & Uluğtekin, M. (1989). Misak-ı maarif. *Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*. 1(3). 255-286.
- Akın, Y. (2004). *Gülbüz ve yavuz evlatlar: Erken Cumhuriyet'te beden terbiyesi ve spor*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Aksakal, H. (2010). Türk modernleşmesinin ambivalent doğası: Modernleşme, milliyetçilik, medeniyet ilişkisi üzerinden Türkiye'yi okumak. *Journal of World of Turks*, 2(1), 245-264.
- Akyıldız, A. (2011). *Tanzimat*. In İslam Ansiklopedisi (Vol. 40). Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı.
- Akyüz, Y. (1978). *Türkiye'de öğretmenlerin toplumsal değişmedeki etkileri*. Ankara: Doğan Basımevi.
- Akyüz, Y. (2008). *Türk eğitim tarihi*. Ankara: Pegem Akademi.
- Alkan, M. Ö. (2015, 01, 16). *Dünya Savaşı öncesinde ve sonrasında devlet propagandası: Militer dinî milliyetçilik, gençlik, tiyatro/temsil, resim ve eğitim*. Seminar organized by History Foundation, Ankara.



- Altıntaş, A. (2005). Makedonya sorunu ve çete faaliyetleri. *Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü*. 7(2). 75-99.
- Althusser, L. (2003). *İdeoloji ve devletin ideolojik aygıtları*. İstanbul: İthaki Yayınları.
- Altunya, H. (2004). *Reşat Nuri Güntekin ve Fakir Baykurt'un romanlarında öğretmen* (Master's Thesis). Ankara Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Enstitüsü
- Altunya, N. (1998). *Türkiye'de öğretmen örgütlenmesi*. Ankara: Ürün Yayınları.
- AnindaTepki. (2012, February 19). *Tayyip modern dindar kinine dinine sahip kindar nesil gençlik istedi*. [Video file]. Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zLzqB876I7M>
- Aslan, Ü., Sağlam, S., Özkan, U. Y., & Sezgin, H. (2008). Validebağ Korusunun fonksiyonel değerleri. *Uluslararası Üsküdar sempozyumu V: 1-5 Kasım 2007 bildiriler*. I, pp. 681-694. İstanbul: Üsküdar Belediyesi.
- Aspinall-Oglander, C. F. (1992). *Military operation Gallipoli: Inception of the campaign to may 1915*. Imperial War Museum
- Ateş, T. (2010). *Türk devrim tarihi*. İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi. (2006a). *Atatürk'ün tamim, telgraf ve beyannameleri*. Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Yayınları
- Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi. (2006b). *Atatürk'ün söylev ve demeçleri*. Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Yayınları
- Aydın, A., & Başkan, G. A. (2005). The problem of teacher training in Turkey. *Biotechnology&Biotechnological Equipment*, 19(2), 191-197.

- Aykaç, N., Kabaran, H., & Bilgin, H. (2014). Türkiye'de ve bazı Avrupa Birliği ülkelerindeki öğretmen yetiştirme uygulamalarının karşılaştırmalı olarak incelenmesi. *International Periodical for the Languages, Literature and History of Turkish or Turkic*, 9(3), 279-292.
- Aysal, N. (2009). Yönetmelik alanda değişimler ve devrim hareketlerine karşı gerici tepkiler "Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası - Menemen Olayı". *Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*, 44, 581-625.
- Azar, A. (2011). Türkiye'deki öğretmen eğitimi üzerine bir söylem: nitelik mi, nicelik mi? *Yükseköğretim ve Bilim Dergisi*, 1(1), 36-38.
- Bakacak, A. (2013). 1950 Seçimleri sonrası Ulus gazetesinin muhalefete geçişi. *Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*, 541-561.
- Başgöz, İ., & Wilson, H. E. (1968). *Educational problems in Turkey 1920 - 1940*. Indiana University Press.
- Başkan, G. A. (2001). Öğretmenlik mesleği ve öğretmen yetiştirmede yeniden yapılanma. *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi*, 20, 16-25.
- Başkan, G. A., Aydın, A., & Madden, T. (2006). Türkiye'deki öğretmen yetiştirme sistemine karşılaştırmalı bir bakış. *Çukurova Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 15(1), 35-42.
- Berkes, N. (2012). *Türkiye'de çağdaşlaşma*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Binbaşıoğlu, C. (2005). *Türk eğitim düşüncesi tarihi*. Ankara: Anı Yayıncılık.
- Black, J., & MacRaid, D. D. (2007). *Studying history* (Second Edition ed.). London: Macmillan Press.
- Bora, T., Bora, A., Erdoğan, N., & Üstün, İ. (2012). *"Boşuna mı okuduk?" Türkiye'de beyaz yakalı işsizliği*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

- Bowen, G. A. (2009). Document analysis as a qualitative research method. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 27-40.
- Connell, R. (2009). Good teachers on dangerous ground: Towards a new view of teacher quality and professionalism. *Critical Studies in Education*, 50(3), 213-229.
- Demir, Ş. (2012). İktidar-basın ilişkilerinin Türkiye'de görünümü (1918-1960). *International Journal of Social Science*, 5(6), 119-137.
- Dewey, J. (1939). *Türkiye maarifi hakkında rapor*. T.C. Maarif Vekilliği.
- Döğüş, S. (2007). Osman Gazi'den Gazi Mustafa Kemal'e Anadolu gazileri. *Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 9(1), 25-50.
- Durmaz, O. S. (2014). *Türkiye'de öğretmen olmak: Emek süreci ve yeniden proleterleşme*. Ankara: Nota Bene
- Erdem, A. R. (2011). Atatürk'ün eğitim liderliğinin başarısı: Türk eğitim devrimi. *Belgi*. 1(2). 163-181.
- Ereş, F. (2004). Eğitim yönetiminde stratejik planlama. *Gazi Üniversitesi Endüstriyel Sanatlar Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi*. 15. 21-29.
- Ertem, E. C. (n.d.). *Türkiye'de öğretmenlik mesleğinin değişen toplumsal rolü, statüsü ve prestiji* (1960 – 2012) (Doctoral Thesis). Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Atatürk Enstitüsü
- Ertürk, E. (2013). Türkiye'de öğretmenlik mesleğinin dönüşümü. In A. Buğra, *Sınıftan sınıfa: fabrika dışında çalışma manzaraları* (pp. 113-148). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Ertürk, S. (1991). *Eğitimde "program" geliştirme*. Ankara: Meteksen A.Ş.

- Fagerlind, I., & Saha, L. J. (1989). *Education & national development: a comparative perspective*. Pergamon Press.
- Fereday, J., & Muir-Cochrane, E. (2006). Demonstrating rigor using thematic analysis: a hybrid approach of inductive and deductive coding and theme development. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 5(1).
- Findley, C. V. (2010). *Turkey, Islam, nationalism, and modernity*. Yale University Press.
- Fischer, F., Miller, G. J., & Sidney, M. S. (2007). *Handbook of public policy analysis: Theory, politics and methods*. Taylor & Francis.
- Fletcher, R. (1974). Evolutionary and developmental sociology. In J. Rex, *Approaches to sociology* (pp. 39-69). Routledge&Kegan Paul.
- Fortna, B. C. (2013). *Geç Osmanlı ve erken Cumhuriyet dönemlerinde okumayı öğrenmek*. İstanbul: Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Fulcher, J., & Scott, J. (2011). *Sociology*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Giddens, A. (2006). *Sociology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Gökçe, B. (1996). *Türkiye'nin toplumsal yapısı ve toplumsal kurumlar*. Ankara: Savaş Yayınevi.
- Göldaş, İ. (1984). *İstanbul ilkokul öğretmenlerinin grevi (1920)*. İstanbul: Kardeşler Basımevi.
- Gümüştü, O. (2003). Osmanlıdan Cumhuriyete geçiş ve Cumhuriyetin ilk yıllarında Türkiye'de halk sağlığı, *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi*. 55. 125-146.
- Gürses, F. (2011). *Kul tebaa yurttaş: Cumhuriyet'in kuruluşundan günümüze ders kitaplarında yurttaşlık*. Ütopya Yayınevi.

Güven, İ. (2014). Türkiye'de Öğretmen Eğitiminin Dönüşümü. In A. Yıldız, *İdealist öğretmenlerden sınava hazırlayıcı teknisyene öğretmenliğin dönüşümü* (pp. 57-95). İstanbul: Kalkedon.

Güvercin, G. (2014). Öğretmenlik Mesleğinde Kökten Bir Dönüşüm: Ücretli Öğretmenlik. In G. Güvercin, *İdealist öğretmenlerden sınava hazırlayıcı teknisyene öğretmenliğin dönüşümü* (pp. 139-178). İstanbul: Kalkedon.

### *Hakimiyet-i Milliye*

Hanioğlu, M. Ş. (2008). *A brief history of the late Ottoman Empire*. Ney Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Hanushek, E. A., & Rivkin, S. G. (2006). Teacher quality. In E. A. Hanushek, & F. Welch, *Handbook of the economics of education* (Vol. 2, pp. 1051 - 1078). Amsterdam: North Holland.

Harvey, D. (2005). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Harvie, D. (2006). Value production and struggle in the classroom: Teachers within, against and beyond capital. *Capital&Class*, 30(88), 1-32.

Hayta, N. (2009). XX. yüzyıl başlarında Dârülmualimîn. *Gazi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi*, 29(5), 1013-1022.

Hobsbawm, E. (1983). *Invention of tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hoefer, R. (2012). *Policy creation and evaluation: Understanding welfare reform in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Itzkowitz, N. (1962). Eighteenth century Ottoman realities. *Studia Islamica*, 16, 73-94.

“İki Yüz Bin Öğretmen Başka İş Bulsun” (2011, November 29). Milliyet. Retrieved from: <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/-200-bin-ogretmen-baska-is-bulsun-siyaset/siyasetdetay/29.11.2011/1468826/default.htm>

İnan, M. R. (1980). *Mustafa Necati: Kişiliği, ulusal eğitime bakışı, konuşmaları ve anıları*. Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları.

Inkeles, A., & Smith, D. H. (1974). *Becoming modern*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Jenkins, R. (2008). *Social identity*. New York: Routledge.

Karaömerlioğlu, A. (1998). The Village Institutes experience in Turkey. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 25(1), 47-73.

Kartal, M. (2011). Türkiye'de alan öğretmeni yetiştirme ve sürdürülebilir yeni model yaklaşımları. *Buca Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi*, 29, 50-57.

Kavcar, C. (2002). Cumhuriyet döneminde dal öğretmeni yetiştirme. *Ankara Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Fakültesi Dergisi*, 35(1-2).

Kazamias, A. M. (1966). *Education and the quest for modernity in Turkey*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Kılavuz, N. & Tanık, İ. H. (2011). Milli Mücadele döneminde Maarif Kongresi ve I. Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi'nin eğitim-öğretim hakkındaki görüşleri. 4(2). *Erzincan Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*. 353-378

Kili, S. (2011). *Bir çağdaşlaşma modeli: Atatürk devrimi*. İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları.

Kirby, F. (2012). *Türkiye'de Köy Enstitüleri*. İstanbul: Tarihçi Kitabevi.

Kodamanoğlu, M. N. (1991). Laik devlet düzenimizin ilk yasal dayanağı. *Ankara Üniversitesi Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Atatürk Yolu Dergisi*, 8(2).

Lewis, B. (2013). *Modern Türkiye'nin doğuşu*. Ankara: Arkadaş Yayınevi.

Lewis, G. (1999). *The Turkish language reform: A catastrophic success*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Maarif Vekaleti. (1926, 2 15). *Tebliğler Mecmuası*. Ankara.

Mardin, Ş. (1971). Ideology and religion in the Turkish revolution. *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. 2(3). 197-211.

MEB'den Devrim Gibi Karar. (2011, March 20). Retrieved from Bugün: <http://gundem.bugun.com.tr/mebden-devrim-gibi-karar-haberi/148014>

Merriam, S. B. (1998). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education*. (Second ed.) San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Muallimler Birliği. (1926). *Muallimler Birliği umumi kongresi zabıtları*. İstanbul: Yeni Matbaa.

Mustafa Necati. (1928). *İlk mektep muallimleriyle mesleki bir hasbihal*. Ankara: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Maarif Vekaleti.

Nartgün, Ş. S. (2008). Aday öğretmenlerin gözüyle Milli Eğitim Bakanlığına bağlı eğitim kurumlarına öğretmen atama esasları. *Abant İzzet Baysal Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi*, 8(2).

Neuendorf, K. A. (2002). *The content analysis guidebook*. California: Sage Publications.

O'Connell, J. (1976). The Concept of Modernization. In C. E. Black, *Comparative modernization* (pp. 13-24). New York: The Free Press.

Ofoegbu, F. I. (2004). Teacher motivation: A factor for classroom effectiveness and school improvement in Nigeria. *College Student Journal*. 38(1).

Özakın, G. (2004). *İlk ve ortaöğretim ders kitaplarında laiklik* (Master's Thesis). İstanbul Üniversitesi Atatürk İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü

Özcan, Ş. (2012). *Öğretmen aylıklarının tarihsel gelişimine ilişkin iktisadi bir çözümleme (Cumhuriyetten Günümüze)* (Master's Thesis). Ankara Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Enstitüsü

Özdemir, K. (2007). *Cumhuriyet döneminde Şapka Devrimi ve tepkiler* (Master's Thesis). Anadolu Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü

Özkırımlı, U. (2010). *Theories of nationalism: A critical introduction* (Second Edition ed.). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Öztañ, G. G. (2012). *Türkiye'de çocukluğun politik inşası*. İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Öztürk, C. (1996). *Atatürk devri öğretmen yetiştirme politikası*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu.

Öztürk, H. T. (2014). Eğitimde Artan Teknoloji Kullanımı Bağlamında Öğretmenin Değişen Rol ve Pratikleri. In A. Yıldız, İdealist öğretmenden sınava hazırlayıcı teknisyene öğretmenliğin dönüşümü (pp. 223-254). İstanbul: Kalkedon Yayınları.

Ponsioen, J. A. (1968). *National development: A sociological contribution*. Mouton - The Hague.

President Wilson's Fourteen Points. (1918). Retrieved 01 09, 2015, from Birgham Young University World War I Document Archive: [http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/President\\_Wilson%27s\\_Fourteen\\_Points](http://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/President_Wilson%27s_Fourteen_Points)



Roudometof, V. (1998). From Rum millet to Greek nation: Enlightenment, secularization and national identity in Ottoman Balkan Society, 1453-1821. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 16(1), 11-48.

Saban, A. (2009). Giriş düzeyindeki sınıf öğretmeni adaylarının "öğretmen" kavramına ilişkin ileri sürdükleri metaforlar. *Türk Eğitim Bilimleri Dergisi*, 7(2).

Sakaoğlu, N. (2003). *Osmanlı'dan günümüze eğitim tarihi*. İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.

Sakaoğlu, N. (2004). *14. yüzyıldan 21. yüzyıla Türkiye'de eğitim*. Forum İstanbul 2023.

Sarıhan, Z. (2009). *1921 Maarif Kongresi*. Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları.

Sarıhan, Z. (2013). *Milli mücadelede maarif ordusu*. İstanbul: Tarihçi Kitabevi.

Seferoğlu, G. (2004). A study of alternative English teacher certification practices in Turkey. *Journal of Education for Teaching: International research and pedagogy*, 30(2), 151-159.

Seferoğlu, S. S. (2004). Öğretmen yeterlilikleri ve mesleki gelişim. *Bilim ve Aklın Aydınlığında Eğitim* (58), 40-45.

Smith, L. V. (2014, 10 8). Post-war Treaties (Ottoman Empire/Middle East). (P. G. Ute Daniel, Ed.) Retrieved from 1914-1918-online: International Encyclopedia of the World War I: [http://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/post-war\\_treaties\\_ottoman\\_empire\\_middle\\_east/2014-10-08](http://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/post-war_treaties_ottoman_empire_middle_east/2014-10-08)

Somel, S. A. (2010). *Osmanlı'da eğitimin modernleşmesi (1839-1908) islamlaşma, otokrasi ve disiplin*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

- Somel, S. A. (2013). *Gayrimüslim okulları nasıl 'Azınlık Okulu' oldu*. Tarih Vakfı.
- Stakenas, R. G., & Mock, D. B. (1985). Context evaluation: The use of history in policy analysis. *The Public Historian*, 7(3), 43-56.
- Şahin, C. (2012). Çanakkale Savaşları'nın eğitim ve öğretim üzerindeki etkisi: Karesi İdadisi ve Sultanisi Örneği. *SDÜ Fen Edebiyat Fakültesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*. 26. 7-20.
- Şahin, A. (2002). *The ideological meaning of primary education in Turkish modernization* (Doctoral Thesis). Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü
- Şişman, M. (2009). Öğretmen yeterlilikleri: Modern bir söylem ve retorik. *İnönü Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Dergisi*, 10(3), 63-82.
- Tazebay, A., Tertemiz, N., Kalaycı, N., & Çelenk, S. (2000). *İlköğretim programları ve gelişmeler*. Ankara: Nobel Yayıncılık.
- TBMM. (2013). *Hükümetler, programları ve genel kurul görüşmeleri* (Vol. 1). (İ. Neziroğlu, & T. Yılmaz, Eds.) Ankara: Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Başkanlığı Yayınları.
- TBMM. (n.d.). *Tutanak Dergileri* Retrieved from [https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/tutanak\\_dergisi\\_pdfler.meclis\\_donemleri?v\\_meclisdonem=0](https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/tutanak_dergisi_pdfler.meclis_donemleri?v_meclisdonem=0)
- T. C. Maarif Vekilliği. (1939). *Birinci Maarif Şurası: Çalışma programı, konuşmalar, lahikalar*. Ankara: Maarif Vekilliği Neşriyat Müdürlüğü.
- Tuğluoğlu, F. (2008). Cumhuriyet döneminde verem mücadelesi ve propaganda faaliyetleri. *İstanbul Üniversitesi Yakın Dönem Türkiye Araştırmaları Dergisi*. 7.
- Tunaya, T. Z. (2004). *Hürriyet'in ilânı: İkinci Meşrutiyet'in siyasî hayatına bakışlar*. İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları

Tunç, H., & Bilir, F. (1998). Cumhuriyet dönemi anayasalarımızda milliyetçilik anlayışı ve Atatürk milliyetçiliği. *Gazi Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi*, 2(1-2), 205-211.

Tüfekçioğlu, H. (2012). Cumhuriyet ideolojisi ve Türk basını. *Sosyoloji Dergisi*, 3(3). 45-96.

Türk Eğitim Derneği. (1999). *Vasıf Çınar yaşamı ve hizmetleri*. In C. Kavcar (Ed.). Ankara: Türk Eğitim Derneği.

### *Ulus*

Ulusal Ant (Misak-ı Milli). (1920, 1 28). Retrieved 1 9, 2015, from Türk Tarih Kurumu: <http://www.ttk.gov.tr/index.php?Page=Sayfa&No=244>

Uygun, S. (2003). Türkiye'de dünden bugüne özel okullara bir bakış (gelişim ve etkileri). *Ankara Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Fakültesi Dergisi*, 36(1-2), 107-120.

Üstel, F. (2011). *"Makbul vatandaş"ın peşinde: II Meşrutiyet'ten bugüne vatandaşlık eğitimi*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Weber, E. (2007). Globalization, "glocal" development, and teachers' work: A Research agenda. *Review of Educational Research*, 77(3), 279-309.

Yalova Valisinin Anarşist Diye Kovduğu Öğretmen Yaşamını Yitirdi. (2015, April 4). Retrieved from Birgün: <http://www.birgun.net/news/view/yalova-valisinin-anarsist-diye-kovdugu-ogretmen-yasamini-yitirdi/16102>

Yıldırım, A., & Şimşek, H. (2011). *Sosyal bilimlerde nitel araştırma yöntemleri*. Ankara: Seçkin Yayıncılık.

- Yıldırım, İ., & Vural, Ö. F. (2014). Türkiye'de öğretmen yetiştirme ve pedagojik formasyon sorunu. *Journal of Teacher Education and Educators*, 3, 73-90.
- Yıldız, A. (2014). Türkiye'de öğretmenlik mesleğinin dönüşümü: İdealist öğretmenden sınava hazırlayıcı teknisyen öğretmene. In A. Yıldız, Türkiye'de öğretmenlik mesleğinin dönüşümü: İdealist öğretmenden sınava hazırlayıcı teknisyen öğretmene (pp. 13-26). İstanbul: Kalkedon Yayınları.
- Yıldız, A., & Ünlü, D. (2014). Metaforlarla öğretmenliğin dönüşümü: "Dün heybetli bir şelaleydik, bugün ise kurumaya yüz tutmuş dere". In N. S. Baykal, A. Ural, & Z. Alica, *Eleştirel eğitim seçkisi* (pp. 56-67). Ankara: Pegem Akademi.
- Yıldız, A., Ünlü, D., Alica, Z., & Sarpkaya, D. (2013). Neo-liberal bir çağda Mahmut Hoca'yı anımsamak: "Ben tüccar değil, öğretmenim". *Eleştirel Pedagoji*, 5(25), 5-17.
- YÖK. (2007). *Eğitim Fakültesi Öğretmen Yetiştirme Lisans Programları*.
- YÖK. (2014). *Pedagojik formasyon eğitimi sertifika programına ilişkin usul ve esaslar*. Retrieved 04 20, 2015, from [http://www.yok.gov.tr/web/guest/icerik/-/journal\\_content/56\\_INSTANCE\\_rEHF8BlSfYRx/10279/7052802](http://www.yok.gov.tr/web/guest/icerik/-/journal_content/56_INSTANCE_rEHF8BlSfYRx/10279/7052802)
- Yumuşak, İ. G. (2008). Çanakkale Savaşında yitirilen beşeri sermaye. In M. Demir, M. Bulut, & İ. Yumuşak (Eds.), *Çanakkale Tarihi*. İstanbul: Değişim Yayınları.
- Zürcher, E. J. (2004). *Turkey: A modern history* (Third ed.). London: Tauris.
- Zürcher, E.J. (2005). Ottoman sources of Kemalist thought. In E. Özdalga (Ed.), *Late Ottoman society: The intellectual legacy* (pp. 13-26). Oxfordshire: RoutledgeCurzon.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix A

رئیس و اصف بك :

چوق عزیز آرقاداشلر ،

تورکيه معلملر برلكی قونفره سنی حرمتله آچيورم. بخی ریاسته لایق کورمکله کوستردیککنز محبت و توجه تشکر ایدرم . بو محبتی دائماً عزیز بر خاطره اولارق یاد ایدم جکمه لطفاً امین اولکنز . انقلابك اڤ رصین استنادکاهی معلملر زمره سیدر . انقلابك دائماً حاکم و امید حیات اولمهنده معلملرک کوستره جکی فداکارلق مؤثر در . یکی نسلی یتشدریمک وظیفه سنی اوزر لرینه آلان معلملر مفکوره لرینه شعور ایله نه قادیار صادق اولورلر ایسه بویوک انقلابمیزک اونسبتده فیضلی ثمره لر ویره جکمه امنیم واردر . معلملر زمره سنک دائماً موفق اولماسی طبعیدر .

‘مقدراتمیزک باشنده انقلابی یاپان محترم بر ملت مجلسی واردر . بو مجلس معلملره دائماً شفقت و علاقه کوسترمش و وضع ایتدیکی قانونلرله مسلکداشلریمیزک رفاه و سعادتلرینی تأمیننه جالیشمیشدر . باشمیزده ملتیمیزه اعجاز کار دهاسیله یکی یولی اشارت ایدن ، انقلابی میدان کیتیریمک ایچون بوتون ملی قوتلری ترکیب ایدن بیوک غایمیز و اونک معلملره دائماً ابراز بویوردینی شفقت و حمایه سی واردر . قوتلی امید ایدرم که محترم قونفره سنی بومظهریتلرک ایچنده وضوح ایله ، عزم ایله هدفه دوغرو یورویه جک واک مثمر نتیجه لرلی آلدیم ایدم جکدر [ آقیشلر ]

Source: Muallimler Birliği Umumi Kongresi Zabıtları, p. 4

## Appendix B

بناءً عليه شو قيصه سطر لرله جمله كزك او كنه دو كديكم املا، اندیشه لر  
وبالخاصه مسلكي حیاتمزی علاقه دار ایدن نقصانلر؛ کوریورسکیز که ؛ تماماً  
باشانمش ، تماماً دویوشش شیلردر . چونکه مملکتده مفکوره سنده اولدیغی  
گی کدرنده وسوینجنده ده متجانس ویکووجود برکتله واردر. معلمک .....  
تا که سوکیلی وطنک یاریننی دوندن داها منور یامغه موفق اولام واونی  
یوکسک جمهوریتمزک بوتون فیضلرندن استفاده ایده جک برحاله کتیره بیله لم.  
بوموفقیئتک ویره جکی حظ وغرور تصادف ایتدی کمز وایده ج کمز مشکلاته  
قابل مقایسه میدر ؟

Source: Mustafa Necati, 1926, p.7-8

## Appendix C

مملک آرقداشلر مملک وقوف ونجربه لرینه ، کنج جمهوریتمزک یوکسک مساعی اوغرند.  
صرف ایتدکلری ودها بویوک برعشقله صرفه دوام ایده جکلری فداکارانه مساعی به  
استقاداً معارف وکالتی درعهده ایتدم .  
ملته بکی ونورلی افقلا آجان بویوک مرشدلریمزک وضع واثارت ایله مش اولدقلری  
وهاکار اساس داخنده صارصیلماز برایتانله هدفه وارمق غایه مددر . بندن اول اینی باشه  
کلش اولان آرقداشلر مملک بویولده کی فعالیتلری حرمنله یاد ایتکی وظیفه بیلیرم .

Source: Tebliğler Dergisi; 15 February 1926

## Appendix D



Source: Hakimiyet-i Milliye; 20 July 1920; Muallimlere Refah



## Appendix E

**Lisan Muallimleri.**

(Bu sayfa 1 inci sayıdadır)

17 — Lisan talebeleri için bir kütüphaneye ne gibi edebî eserleri ihtiva etmelidir?

18 — Türkçe dersleri ile edebiyat derslerinin irtibatı.

Oylardan sonra bu mevzular üzerine müzaharalar yapılacaktır.

İçtimada Maarif Vekilimizin irat ettikleri nutuk:

**Muallim Hanımlar ve Muallim Beyler,**

Gelen nesle kuvvetli fikirlerini kuvvetle ifade ettirebilmek vazifesi altındayız. Bir milletin en büyük hazinesi lisanıdır. Bütün fikrî terakkiler lisanla vücut bulur, yazı ile vatandaşa ve atıya nakledilir. Taşlar üzerine hakkedilmiş yazıdaki ilk pekil ile, bugünkü son pekil, ilk insan sesiyle başlayarak bugüne kadar gelen lisan tekâmülü cemiyetlerin muhtelif terakki safhalarını; bariz surette gösterir en kuvvetli ölçülerdir. Lisanın tekâmülü hiç şüphe yok ki cemiyetin tekâmülüne bağlıdır. Ve lisan terakkiyi cemiyet terakkisinin bir cephesidir.

Bugünkü Türkiye'miz cemiyet hayatı itibarile tamamen değişmiştir. Yepyeni esaslardan inşiap etmektedir. Siyasi, hukukî, içtimai müesseselerimizin baştan başa yenileşmesi, kuvvetleşmesi lisanımızın da kuvvetleneceğinin mübessiridir. Harf inkılabımızla lisanımızı içine çekip batıracak büyük bir hendeği atladık. Şimdi sıra lisanımızın da bu inkılap icaplarına cevap vermesine geldi.

Kuvvetli lisan kuvvetli bilgiye ihtiyaç gösterir. Fikirlerini dimağında kuvvetle tebellür ettiren, bildiğini çok iyi bilen her insan muhakkak ki bunları ifade edebilecek vasıtayı hemen her lisanında bulabilir. Millî lisanlarının zâfından şikâyet edenler evvelâ kendilerine ifade edilmesi lâzım kuvvetli fikirler bulsunlar. Bakınız bütün

Bilirsiniz ki çok kuvvetli konuşan, kuvvetli talebeler yetiştireceğiz.

Birçok yerlerde ve gazete kütüphanelerinde şikâyet ediliyor. Bu şikâyet harpten sonra hemen bütün okullarda işlenmektedir. Bilirsiniz ki şimdiki en faal unsur her türlü ihtiyacı temin eden ve lüksü gözetmeyen orta sınıfların yardımı ile inkılabı zedeledi. Orta mekteplerimizde bulunan çocuklar birçok memleketin bu kuvvetli sınıflarını oluşturma ve öğrenme heveslerini açmakla uğraşıyor.

Şurasını da kaydedeyim ki halk gramofon ve sinema zevkine kapılıyor demek de bir haksızlıktır. Halkın leri bile kahve peykelerinde dinliyor, bu hassas ve hiç şüphesiz bilgi hüneri da çok mütecessis olan Türk yeni işleri okumadı mı? Nihayet halk sairleri kade kendimizi halka dinletmek yolunu bulmazsak kabahati kimde bulmalıyız? Biz inkılabımızın ana hatları dahi bizim tarafından tespit ve tathib edilmiştir. Büyük rehberler bu fikirleri tahrir etmişler ve yürütüyorlar. Bu ana fikirlerin bu ana faaliyetlerin ferî de addedilmeyecek icaplarını düşüncecek, ifade edecek, bunları da hareket haline getirecek gençlerin rahlenizde feyiz almakta olan çocuklarıdır. Bugünkü nesil memleketi kurtmak, inkılap esaslarını kuvvetlendirerek gelecek nesle tevdi etmek hususunda hiç şüphesiz tarihin hayran kalacağı fedakârlıkları yapmaktan çekinmemektedir.

Source: Hakimiyet-i Milliye; 3 August 1930



## Appendix F

### Maarif Vekilinin Gazetemize Beyanatı.

Esat Bey, Seyahatindeki Yüksek Görüşlerini Muharririmize Anlatmış, İstanbul Gazetelerinin Bazılarında Yeni Ders Senesi Kadroları Hakkında Yapılan Neşriyatın Yanlış İstihbarata Müstenit Olduğunu İlyah Etmıştır.



Maarif Vekili Esat Bey.

Maarif Vekili Esat Beyin bütün tatil devresini vilâyetlerde seyahatle geçirmiş olduğu malumdur. Evdeki gece şehrimize avdet eden Maarif Vekilimizle dün görüştük. Kendilerinden seyahat intibalarını sorduk.

Esat Bey muharririmizi büyük bir nezaketle kabul ederek seyahat hakkında şu beyanatta bulunmuştur:

**Tetkik Seyahatlerinin Gayeleri**  
— Bu defaki seyahatim tatil devresine tesadüf ettiği için doğ-

rudan doğruya talebe ile temas etmek ve tedrisatı teftiş eylemek mümkün olamazdı. Daha ziyade muallim arkadaşlarımla temas etmek, önümüzdeki ders senesi için muallimlerin hazırlık derecelerini ve mekteplerin vaziyetlerini öğrenmek, mekteplerce noksan varsa tahkik ile ikmalleri çaresini takip etmek gayeleriyle seyahat ettim. Bilhassa bu defaki seyahatte bir gayem de mevcut muallimler miktarını arttırmadan daha fazla (Devamı 3. üçüncü sayfada.)

### Maarif Vekilimizin Gazetemize Beyanatı.

(Beyanatı 1.inci sayfada)

çocuk okutabilmek meselesi idi. Bu hususta evvelce Vekâletten taahhütler yapılmıştı. Uğradığım vilâyetlerde vali Beyefendilerle temas ederek bu husus tathkik imkânı ve dereceleri hakkında bir fikir edinmek istiyordum. Aynı zamanda ilköğretim mekteplerinin ve ilk mektep muallimlerinin idari vaziyetlerini görmek de seyahatimin başlıca hedeflerinden birini teşkil ediyordu.

Source: Hakimiyet-i Milliye, 7 September 1932

## Appendix G

معارف و کاظم قره بکر پاشا  
یالکزیوکسک تحصیل دکل، ده‌ها زیاده ایسه آداملری  
یتیم برمک معارف سیاتیمزک عمده سی اولمیدر

— ۱ —  
ملتزمی قورتاراجق یالکزی اردو دکلدر ؛  
چونکه وارلمیزه مسالیران ده یالکزی خارجی  
دوشمانلر دکل ... قفیرلک و جهانک ده ایچیریدن  
ملنک سینه سی کیچر مکده اولسندن بولر قارشى ده  
أل وفکر برلکیلله فدا کارانه جهاد ایتک لازم  
کلیور. اوزون حرب سنه لرینک ایجاباتندن اولارق  
مملکتک هر طرفی دولاشدقدن و هر وارلقی  
کورددکن موکرا بولر وی ، هرکس کبی بنده  
داها درین برقاغنه تقدیر ایتدم .

Source: Hakimiyyet-i Milliye, 11 December 1922

## Gazi Muallim Mektebinde Kublay Gecesi.

*Kublay'ın Bir Arkadaşı Ona Ait Hatıralarını Anlattı ve Bir Muallim Konferansı Verdi.*

şine doğru sevkettir. Ve biz istikbalde karşımıza çıkacak olan maddi ve manevi her müşkülü yenmeğe azmetmiş bir iman ve mefkûre ile meslek hayatına atılacağız. Maddî müşkülâtın ne olduğunu hepimiz biliriz. İhtimal ki gideceğimiz yerlerde rahat bir yatacak yerimiz olmayacak. İhtimal ki yağmur damlaları odamızın içine akacak, ihtimal ki kışta sıcak bir yerimiz olmayacaktır. Fakat bunlar, bu fani ve geçici olan şeyler, ebedî kıymetler karşısında Türk vatanını ve Türk Cümhuriyetini yükseltmek ve onu süratle yükseltmek medeniyete ulaştırmak mefkûresi yanında ne kadar ehemmiyetsiz kalır.

Manevi müşkülata gelince: Gideceğiniz yerlerde zannetmeyiniz ki halk sizi hemen elleri üstünde taşıyacaktır. Hayır.. Siz bütün gün mekteplerinizde çocuklarınızla uğraşırken haricteki halk ve çocuk babaları uzun müddet size yabancı kalacaktır. Bunu tabii görmelidir. Köylü asırlardanberi şehirlerden gelen efendilerden hayir görmemiştir. Şehir halkı ve devlet memurları asırlarca köylüye insan muamelesi etmemiştir. Bunu bilen ve işiten köylünün size hemen iltifat etmemesi kadar tabii ne olabilir?.. Bu, bizi çalışmaktan ve köylüyü kolumuza takarak yükseltmekten vaz geçiremez. Namuslu olalım... Fedakâr olalım. Sabırlı olalım ve her hususta iyi adam olalım. Bu meziyetleri muallimde gören köylü tedricen muallime ısınır ve o zaman muallim köyde her şeyi yapabilecek kabiliyeti kazanır. Temiz Türk köylüsü ile yıldızı barışık olan bir muallim köyde ve şehirde kara kuvvetleri ezmüş demektir.

Source: Hakimiyet-i Milliye, 2 January 1931

## Appendix I

No. 4145 14 UNCU SENK.  
Gündelik.

### İnkılap Terbiyesi.

İnsan ve cemiyet hayatında bilgi ve tekniğin oynadığı rolün ehemmiyeti malumdur. Fakat bu hayata asıl kıymet ve şekli veren diğer bir amil daha vardır ki o da vatandaşın karakteri ve bunun anımsayışına ilave vücut getirdiği millî vicdandır. Karakter ve millî vicdan dediğimiz mefhumlar ise ancak inkılap umdelerinin terbiye yoluyla hayata geçip ideâ force halinde vatandaşın ve cemiyetinin vicdanında müessir olmaları ile realite sahasına çıkarılır. İnkılap terbiyesi veya millî terbiye dediğimiz zaman anladığımız hakikat budur.

Hakiyî ve kuvvetli inkılaplar, cemiyet hayatı bakımından karakterin kıymet ve ehemmiyetini daha fazla takdir etmişler ve ona göre tedbirlerini almışlardır. Fikir değiştirmek veya değiştirmiş gibi göstermek kolay bir şeydir. Fakat irkın, tarihin, ailenin, muhitin tesirlerine tâbi olan ve ferdi veya içtimai uzun bir teşekkülün mahsulü bulunan karakter kolay kolay değiştirilemez. Eğer fikir ile karakter arasında bir mücadele baş gösterirse, başka tedbirler alınarak fikrin imdadına koşulmadığı takdirde sonunda muvaffakiyet karakterde kalır. Çünkü karakter inatçıdır, kuvvetlidir, insanı nihayet kendinin beğendiği hayat teşakkiline göre sevk ve idare eder.

Bu tedbirlerin en başında hiç şüphesiz yetişen neslin terbiyesi gelir. Terbiye haddi zatında güç ve birçok amillerin yardımına ihtiyaç gösteren bir ameliyedir. İnkılap terbiyesi ise eski kıymet ve kuvvetler ile de mücadele edeceği için daha güç, daha çetin bir iştir. Onun için bu sahada bütün gayret ve emeklerimizi azami dereceye çıkarmak lazım gelir. İnkılap terbiyesi bahsinde mektep çok kere muhit ve aile tesirleri ile mücadele etmek zaruretinde kalır. Çünkü yetişen nesil üzerinde yalnız mektebin müessir olduğunu zannederek kendimizi aldatmış oluruz. İnkılap terbiyesinin otoritesi herhalde mektep haricine ve bilhassa içtimai muhitin fikir ve neşriyat sahasına da sirayet etmesi zaruridir.

Mektep terbiyesi sahasında da her şeyden evvel karakteri, inkılapımızın hayat telakkisine ve ideolojisine göre yuğurup meydana getirecek metodu bulmak ve tatbik etmek en mühim bir meseledir. Su veya bu mefhumu yalnız çocuğun hafızasına müracaat ederek dimağında yerleştirmek istersek bu nihayet bir bilgi meselesi olur. Karakter bundan ancak pek sathi bir surette tesir görür. Ve çocuk mektep haricindeki tesirlerin hükmünden kolay kolay kurtulamaz. Onun için maarif siyasetimizde mekteplerimizin bilhassa terbiye faaliyetini arttıracak ve kuvvetlendirecek tedbirler üzerinde ısrar etmek zarureti vardır. Mualim hiç olmazsa, günde bir iki saatini çocuğun ruh ve karakterine hasredebilmeli, ve bu suretle mürebbi rolünü de oynamalıdır. Bilgi bütün hayat müddetince kazanılabilir, tamamlanabilir. Fakat herhangi bir suretle teşekkül etmiş bir karakterin tadil ve ıslah çok güçtür. Zaten sağlam bir karaktere dayanmayan bilginin ne ferdi, ne de millî büyük bir kıymeti olmaz.

Zeki MESUT

Source: Hakimiyet-i Milliye, 1 February 1933

## Appendix J

### Muallimlerin seviyesi.

Cemal Hüsnü B. masrif eminleri kongresindeki nutkunda:

"Hemen her memlekette ilk mektep muallimini, muallim mektebinden şahadetnamesini aldığı gün, kendisi için artış tettebbu ve tetkibe lüzum kalmadığı, bildiklerinin kati ve nihai olduğu fikrini taşır. Halkın ilmin çocuklarla ve onların ebeveynleriyle temasa geldikten sonra başlamış olduğunu, birçok tecrübelerin mahsulü olan kitaplarda tettebbuu illetmenin başı başına bir dünya olan çocuğu bütün tekâmül safhalarında takip ve müşahede etmenin, onların çıktıkları ocakların bütün sakinleri üzerinde müessir olabilmek için ruhlarına nüfuz etme yollarını aramanın ehemmiyetini, muhitini daha iyi bir hale getirmek, daha ziyade harekete ve faaliyete sevk etmek için birçok bilgileri elde etmeğe ihtiyacı olduğunu göstermek bizim vazifemizdir. İlk mektep muallimini tettebbua sevk etmek için aldığımız faideli kararların önümüzdeki sene zarfında azamî takiple tatbikine var kuvvetinizle çalışacağımızdan eminim..." diyor.

Source: Hakimiyet-i Milliye, 9 August 1930

## Appendix K

Hakimiyet-i Milliye  
"CUMHURİYET MAARİFİ UMİTLE DOLUDU"  
"Gazi harp sahnelerinde milletini müttefiklerin tahakkümünden kurtarmak için tatbik ettiği usulleri şimdi de onları cehaletten kurtarmak için tatbik ediyor."

Sonra onlara doğrudan doğruya hitap etti ve şu sözleri söyledi:

"Vatandaşlar, arkadaşlar, işlemek vakti gelmiştir. Eminim ki ne siz, ne de ben çok konuşmağa muhtaç değiliz. Daha iyi ileriye yürüyelim, ileriye, ileriye. Çok şeyler yapılmıştır, fakat bugün yapılacak en iyi bir şey vardır. Bu, son vazife değildir, fakat şimdilik en lâzım olandır. Yeni türk harflerini süratle öğrenmeliyiz, ve her türk vatandaşına onları öğretmeliyiz; erkğee, kadına, işsizlere ve her nevi işçilere, bunu milliyetperverlik ve vatanperverlik vazifesi telâkki edelim. Bir müddet sonra, ihtimalki bir iki sene içinde her türk yeni harfleri bilecektir. Milletimiz yazısiyle, kültürüyle medenî dünyadaki milletlerin sırasında olduğunu gösterecektir."

Source: Hakimiyet-i Milliye, 1 January 1929



# Ziraat Enstitüsünde Köy Muallimlerine Kurs.

**Ziraat Vekilli Muhlis B. Kursu Açtı.**

Köy muallimi, köyün bilgi ve başarıma cihetlerinden karanlıkta kalmış olan muhitinde bir kıvılcım, bir ışık, bir meşale olmalıdır.

Köy mualliminin köy mektebinde yapacağı işler çok önemlidir. Fakat bu muallimin köy muhitinde yapacağı çok mühim işler de vardır.

Köy muallimi, köyde bir ırşatçı, bir teşkilâtçı olacaktır. Bu ırşat ve teşkilât işini birkaç kısma ayırmak mümkündür.

**Birincisi:** Geniş manasiyle, muhtelif ziraat işlerinde köylüyü ırşat etmektir.

Memleketimiz ekseriyetle bir çiftçi memleketi olduğundan ve bu işte de çok geri kalmış bulunduğumuzdan biz, ziraat sahasında seri bir inkılâp yapmak mecburiyetindeyiz. Nitekim Gazi Hz. de bunu bilfiil ırşat etmişlerdir.

Bu hususta tedbirler almakta olan Ziraat vekâletimizin en yakın yardımcıları muallimlerimiz ve bilhassa köy muallimlerimiz ve ilk tedrisat müfettişlerimiz olacaktır. Bu iş için her iki vekâlet müşterek gaye uğrunda çalışmaktadırlar.

**İkincisi:** İktisadî ırşatçılıktır. Muhabere ve münakale vasıtalarının çoğaldığı ve hız aldığı bu senelerde artık bir memleket, kendi sınırlarının etrafına Çin duvarları çekip bütün dünyadan ayrı bir hayat yaşayamaz. Millî iktisat, cihan iktisadına sıkı sıkıya bağlıdır. Bazı memleketlerde husule gelen iktisadî baharılar, diğer memleketlerde de akıllar yaparlar.

İktisat rehberliği hususunda da muallimlerimize verilecek direktifler dairelerinde halkımıza ırşat edilecektir.

**Üçüncüsü:** Millettin sağlığı için ırşatçılıktır. Bu ırşatçılık yukarıda sayılanlardan daha evvel gelmelidir.

Çünkü milletin bünyesi sağlam olamayınca çalışma kudreti ve kabiliyeti de azalır.

Memlekette sıtma, frengi ve verem gibi hastalıklar fazla tahribat yapmak tadır. Millettin sağlığına zararı olan hastalıklarla ve sebeplerle mücadele için, muallimlerimize salâhiyet sahibi makamlar tarafından direktifler verilecektir. Muallimlerimizin de bu direktiflere göre halk arasında seve seve çalışacağından eminiz.

**Dördüncüsü:** İdari ve içtimai ırşatçılıktır. Bu da gayet önemlidir. Çünkü biz, bu asra en uygun olan idare şeklini, Ulu Gazi'mizin bize kazandırdığı cumhuriyet idaresine mazhar olduk.

Cumhuriyet, halka dayanan bir idare tarzıdır. Millettin kendi kendini idareye muktedir olması için buna ehliyet ve iktidar kesbetmesi lâzımdır.

İşte, bütün muallimlerimizin ve hükümet memurlarımızın en mühim vaziyeti bu nokta etrafında toplanmaktadır.

Ulu Gazi sayesinde, az zaman içinde asırlara şımırın inkılâplara mazhar olduk.

İnkılâp umdelerini memleketin en ücra köşelerine kadar götürmek, yapmak ve her yerde kökleştirmek lâzımdır.

Köy muallimi, memleketin en ücra köşelerine kadar giden ve oralarda memnuniyetle çalışan bir devlet memuru olmak hasebiyle bu uğurda çalışabilecek en iyi unsurdur.

Source: Hakimiyet-i Milliye, 2 August 1933

## Appendix M

**MAARİF EMİNLERİ.**  
Maarif Vekili Cemal Hüsnü B. , Ma-  
arif Eminleri kongresi münasebetiyle,  
Maarif hayatımız hakkında uzun bir mu-  
taka söyledi. Bu mutaka bir seneden fazla  
süren dikkatli bir görüş ve tecrübeden  
çok esastaki fikirler alındığını gösteriyor.  
Cemal Hüsnü B. işinin başında gözü  
kapalı, pasif durmamış, bilakis en hürde  
noktalara kadar nazarı nûfuz ettirmek  
istemiş, buna muvaffak olmuştur. Genç  
Vekil için bu, tebrihe değer bir muvaf-  
fakiyettir.  
Vekilin uzun nutkunu satır satır tah-  
sil edecek değilim. Vekil teahit eden sa-  
halar üzerinde durmak da istemiyorum.  
Bence ehemmiyetle tahlile değer nok-  
talar, vekilin tecrübelerinden aldığı ye-  
nili görüşleri ifade eden noktalardır. On-  
ları iki üç makaleye mevzu edinmek is-  
terim.  
Cemal Hüsnü B. : "Maariftin başka  
herhangi teşkilatın müdürleri nihayet  
mesgul oldukları kısmın az çok mekân  
ve müddet hudutları dahilinde faaliyet-  
lerini tanzim ederler. Ve bu mahdud kısı-  
mlarını muvaffakiyet hazzını veya yapama-  
nın acılığını duyarlar. Maarifi idare e-  
denlerse bir kısmı, muayyen bir zamanı  
değil, gelecek zamanların hepsine tesir  
edecek, hiç bir şubeyi sahasından hariç  
bırakmayacak bütün memleket faaliyet-  
lerinin ve inkişafının nazımı ve yaratı-  
cılarıdır." diyor.

cısıdırlar.. diyor.

Bu kısa sözlerin uzun şümülünü her-  
kes bilmeli ve anlamalıdır; çünkü şim-  
diye kadar bu, hiç anlaşılmıyan bir nok-  
ta olarak duruyordu, fikrindeyim. "Ma-  
arif adamları ne yapar?.. sualine "yarın-  
ki hayatı hazırlamağa çalışır.. cevabının  
verildiğini ilk defa işitiyoruz. Maarif  
adamları, "hiç bir şubeyi sahasından ha-  
riç bırakmayacak bütün memleket faali-  
yetlerinin ve inkişafının nazımı ve yara-  
tıcıdır.. telakki olundukları gün, ehem-  
miyetleri fevkalâde yükseltilmiş oluyor.  
Hakikat de budur. Başka dairelerin işi,  
nihayet halden biraz ileriye müessir o-  
labilir; fakat maarif dairesinin işi, bü-  
tün memleketin istikbaline, bütün gele-  
cek nesillere kadar tesirini şumullendi-  
rir. Bunu keşfederek ilk söyleyen Dev-  
let adamı Cemal Hüsnü B. dir; kendisi-  
ne teşekkür etmek borcumuzdur.

Maarif Emni denilen yüksek bir va-  
zife adamını göz önüne getirelim: Bu  
zat, birkaç vilayetten müteşekkil koca  
bir mıntakanın irfanile alâkadardır. Bu  
mıntakada, halkın behemehal edinmesi  
lâzım gelen ilk tahsil var; ilmi usullerle  
ilk tahsili vermeğe hazırlanan genç mu-  
allimlerin yetiştirilmesi var; kabiliyetli  
bir münevver zümre vücuda getirmeğe  
çalışan orta tahsil var. Emin, bütün bu  
işlerin nazımıdır. Millet Vekillerinin  
çizdiği hudutlar içinde, merkezdeki ma-  
arif adamlarının yaptıkları programlar  
ve talimatlar dairesinde bütün bu işleri  
görecektir. İşte Vekil B. bunu takdir  
ediyor, bir hakikate şehadet etmekle  
Eminleri en yüksek bir taltife mazhar  
kılıyor.

Kongrede hazır bulunan Maarif E-  
minleri kendilerinden beklenen işin bü-  
yüklüğünü elbette takdir edeceklerdir.  
Mıntakavî irfan ve iş ihtiyaçlarını on-  
lardan eyi kim anıyabilir? Eskiden bu  
iş valiler görmek mevkinde idiler. Hal-  
buki daha tavında döğölmek isteyen de-  
mir gibi, günlük yapılması lâzım gelen  
birçok idari işler, bütün hüsnü niyetle-  
rine rağmen, nefislerini münhasıran ma-  
arif işlerine vermelerine mâni oluyordu.  
Maarif vadisinde büyük işler görmeğe  
azmetmiş valiler vardı, gene de vardır;  
fakat bu azim ne kadar kuvvetli ve ateş-  
li olursa olsun öteki günlük işler için-  
de, kuvvet ve ateşini işletemezdi ve ge-  
ne işletemez. Maarif Eminlerine vücut  
veren teşkilat, işte bu ihtiyaçtan doğdu.

Maarif Eminleri, Vekâletlerince ken-  
dilerine verilen ehemmiyet ve salâhiyet  
dairesinde çalıştıkları, ve çalışmağa lâ-  
zım olan vukuf ve heyecanı daima taze-  
ledikleri takdirde genç cümhuriyete de-  
ğerli hizmetler görmüş olacaklardır.  
Vukuf ve heyecan tazeliği, vazifenin  
ehemmiyetiyle mütenasip olmak lâzım-  
dır. Kendini yalnız alelâde bir idare a-  
damı mevkiinde görmeğe katlanacak  
Eminlerin, yeni vukufardan, kutsal he-  
yecanlardan mahrum olmamaları ve va-  
zifelerini istenilen neticelere göre idare  
edemeyecekleri tabiidir.

Cemal Hüsnü B. veciz sözleriyle vı-  
yemekten sonra "gelecek sene sizi çok  
ve bol hediyelerle bekliyeceğim.. de-  
mekle Eminlere bu derin maksadı ifham  
etmiş oluyor.

Kâzım NAMİ

Source: Hakimiyet-i Milliye, 8 June 1930



## Appendix N

### Muallimlerde Fazilet.

Cemal Hüsnü B. diyor ki:

• *Muallimlerimiz mektep haricinde-ki vaziyet ve hareketleriyle de başka ve çocuklara fazilet nümunesi olmalıdırlar. Telkin ettikleri prensipleri evvela kendileri bütün icabatı ile ruhlarında yaşatmalı ve tatbik etmelidirler.*

*Genç muallim Hanımlarımız ağırbaşlılıkları, zarafeti çok daha güzel hazim ve temsil eden sadelikleriyle bulundukları mühitin kadınlığına hakiki zevk şırlamalıdır...*

Vekâletin bu mesele üzerine arasıra tamimleri varken Cemal Hüsnü Beyin, Eminler kongresinde bu sözleri ehemmiyetle zikretmesi nazarı dikkati çalıptır. Ben aynı mevzu üzerinde, bundan on beş sene kadar evvel, sekiz on makale yazmıştım. Demek ki muallimlerde fazilet meselesi, tekrar olundukça kıymetini kaybetmiyen meselelerdendir.

Niçin muallimlerin fazilet nümunesi olmalarından bahs olunuyor da, diğer insanların, hele memurların, tüccarların fazilete mühtağ oldukları söylenmiyor? Muallimler, bütün öteki insanlardan ayrı mahlûklar mıdır? Zaaf, kusur insanların çoğu için az çok müsamaha görülüyor da muallimler beğeri zaafılardan müberra mı sanılıyor?

Muallimin beğeri bir mahlûk olması öteki insanlara karşı fazilet nümunesi olmasını nezetmez. Fazilet, esasen beğeri bir hassadır; insanın nefesine ve sevki tabiiyetine hakimiyetinden başka ılden gelmiyecek bir gayret sarfını da istemez.

İnsanlar, hayatları müddetince mühtağ oldukları fazileti çocukluktan itibaren itiyat etmekle kazanılır. Çünkü fazilet ruhl itiyatlardan teşekkül eder, ruhl itiyatlar ise daha çocukluktan elde edilir.

Çocuk ve genç, faziletin derece derece bütün hallerini ancak telakkisinin yolu ile kazanır. Fazilet, tek bir ruhl haleti değildir; her bir ayrı ayrı birer fazilet telakkî edilen birçok ruhl hallerin mecmuudur. Mesela doğru söylemek, bir fazilettir; fakat doğru söylemeğe müncer olan birçok haller de fazilettir. Binaenaleyh bu, çok mudil bir şeydir. Mudil hallerin iktisabı, ruhtan ruha intikal suretile olur, irsî olarak intikal etmezler.

Bu sözlerden şu neticeye varıyoruz ki muallim faziletler telkin etmek mevki ve vazifesini haiz olan kimsedir. Muallim yalnız hayatta lâzım olan bilgileri öğretmeğe memur değildir. Bu bilgilerin kapısını açan kimse, hiç bir ah-lâkı telkin istemese bile, söz söyleyişinin, duruşunun, yürüyüşünün... v. s. Çocuklarca taklit olunması tabiidir. Muallim bu tesirine inanmasa da tesirin vukuu muhakkaktır. Kendini sevdirmeye sınırlı haiz olan muallimler se, sempatik olmaları dolayısıyla, daha ziyade taklit olunur. Bu taklit, telkin olunan vazu tavrın çocuk tarafından ruhan kabul olunmasındandır.

### Continued:

Şimdi, kast ve irade ile çocuklara fazilet telkin etmek mevkiinde bulunan muallimin, yalnız bulunduğu dakikalar da bile, vazı halini mürakabe halinde bulundurması lâzım gelmez mi?

Birbirlerine pek çok şeyi mazur gören halk, muallime en ufak bir kusuru bile müsamaha etmez. Halkın dedikoducu tenkidi nihayet muallimin muallimlik sihrine halel getirir.

Muallim herkes değildir; muallim her istediğini yapmakta serbest değildir. Muallim sırtına millî ve insanî bir (mission) yüklenmiş kimsedir. Tabir caiz ise, peygamberler gibi ahlak ve fazilet neşrine memurdur. Onun için her

işinde, her şeyinde herkes kadar hür değildir.

Kıyafetlerimizde teseyyüp veya süse boyanmaya inhimak, tavrı halimizde lâübalilik veya calilik ve gurur, (mission) umuz itibarile bize yakışmıyor. Herkesin fena nazarına, muahazesine uğruyoruz. "Adam sen de!.. diyemeyiz; Muallimlik yoluna tavân girmiş buluyoruz; onun istilzam ettiği kayıtlara tabi olmak mecburiyetindeyiz. Kendimizin hiç bir telkin hassasını haiz olmadığımızı zannedersek aldanırız.

Derin bir hissi teşevvüs içine düşen bu halk arasında fazilet yolunu gösterecek biziz. Bu varifemizi hakkile yapmağa çalışalım.

Kâzım NAMİ

Source: Hakimiyet-i Milliye, 19 August 1930

## Appendix O

### Mustafa Kemal muallim:

Nihayet Gazi vardır. Harp sahnele-  
rinde milletini müttefiklerin tahakkü-  
münden kurtarmak için tatbik ettiği usul-  
leri şimdi de onları cehaletten kurtar-  
mak için tatbik ediyor. Onun mütema-  
diyen muvaffak olması şayanı hayrettir.

Gazi'nin usullerini gösteren bir mi-  
sal, Lâtin harflerinin tatbiki için yapmış  
olduğu seferberliktir. Muhtelif maarif  
erkânıyla meb'uslardan müteşekkil bir  
komisyon teşkil ediyor, Bunlar bütün  
garp harflerini ve türkçenin sedalarını  
iyice tetkik ve tespit ediyorlar. Arap-  
çada yalnız dört sesli var, halbuki gü-  
zel türkçede bir çok sesliler vardır.  
Komisyonun tetkikatı bir rapor halinde  
çıkmadan evvel her türlü vesaitle bütün  
millet arasında münakaşalar, müzakere-  
ler cereyan etti, kitaplar, risaleler inti-  
şar etti.

Nihayet geçen yaz, yeni harfler in-  
tişar etti. Eski (482) harf yerine şimdi  
Lâtin esasından alınan 29 harf kaim  
oldu. Ve buna Gazi „yeni türk harfleri,“  
ismini verdi.

Komisyon şimdi sükûnetle ve müte-  
madiyen yeni imlâ lûgati için çalışıyor.  
Gazi Bosfordaki güzel sarayından yeni  
harflerin tatbikına birdenbire başladı.  
Evelâ hususî bir sınıf teşkil etti ve bu  
sınıftan birkaç gün zarfında mezunlar  
yetiştirdi, diğerleri de nihayet bir haftada  
bitirdiler. Müteakıben Halk fırkasının  
müsamesesinde büyük bir halk kütlesine  
yeni yazı ile yazdığı cümleleri okuttu.

**Source:** Hakimiyet-i Milliye, 1 January 1929

## **Appendix P**

### **TURKISH SUMMARY**

#### **ERKEN CUMHURİYET DÖNEMİNDE ÖĞRETMEN KİMLİĞİNİN İNŞAASI**

##### **Giriş**

Son dönemde Türkiye’de öğretmen kimliği ve öğretmenlerin sosyal statüsü üzerine yapılan araştırmaların büyük bir bölümü öğretmenlerin sosyal pozisyonlarında olumsuz bir değişiklik olduğunu, öğretmenlerin kendilerini eskiye kıyasla daha değersiz hissettiklerini ve sınıf içindeki rollerinin eğitim vermekten çok öğrencilerin sınava hazırlanması olduğunu belirtmektedir. Bu çalışmalar son dönemi betimlemektedirler ve bir dönüşümden bahsederken önceki dönemlerde öğretmenlerin sosyal statüsünü, devletin onlardan beklentilerini ve öğretmenlere atfedilen kimlikleri ortaya koyan bir araştırma bulunmamaktadır. Bu çalışma da literatürdeki bu eksikliği gidermek adına Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin ilk yıllarında inşaa edilen öğretmen kimliğini analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu amacı gerçekleştirmek için 1921 – 1940 yılları arasında öğretmenleri konu alan gazete metinleri, TBMM Zabıt Cerideleri, Mustafa Kemal’in öğretmenlere hitapları ve yasal metinler incelenerek tematik analize tabi tutulmuştur.

##### **Teorik ve Kavramsal Çerçeve**

Erken Cumhuriyet dönemindeki politik, sosyokültürel ve eğitsel ortamı anlayabilmek için Osmanlı’nın son dönemindeki, savaş yıllarındaki gelişmeler özetlenmiştir. Osmanlı’nın gerilemeye başlamasının nedenlerinden kısaca bahsedildikten sonra yöneticiler tarafından gündeme getirilen çeşitli çeviri çözüm önerileri açıklanmıştır. Ardından bu çözüm önerileri kapsamında eğitim

alanında yaşanan gelişmeler açıklanmıştır. Kazamias'ın (1966) da dediği gibi tüm Türk modernleşmesi hareketinin aslında deneysel bir hamle olarak değerlendirilebileceği dile getirilmiştir.

Takip eden bölümde savaş yıllarında yaşanan gelişmelerden bahsedilmiştir. Alkan'ın (2015) belirttiği gibi özellikle Birinci Dünya Savaşında yaşanan travmatik kayıplar nedeniyle bu savaş genellikle sadece Çanakkale Cephesi ile anılmaktadır ve Kurtuluş Savaşı ile arasında silik bir ayrım vardır. Bu sebeple Birinci Dünya Savaşı ve Kurtuluş Savaşı ayrı bölümlerde ele alınmamış, Savaş Yılları başlığı altınca incelenmiştir. Öğretmenlerin savaş yıllarında Milli Mücadeleye olan katkıları, savaşın en yoğun günlerinde toplanmış olan Maarif Kongresi bu bölümde ele alınan konulardandır. Ayrıca Lozan Antlaşmasının azınlıkların eğitimi ile ilgili olan maddeleri hakkında da okuyucu bilgilendirilmiştir.

Bir sonraki bölümde Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin ilk yıllarındaki sosyopolitik gelişmelere, eğitim sorunlarına ve bu sorunları çözmek için alınan önlemlere değinilmiştir. Bölüm Cumhuriyet'in başlangıcında eğitimin durumunu resmederek başlamaktadır. Sakaoğlu'nun (2003) da belirttiği gibi, 1923 yılının sonunda ülke nüfusu yaklaşık olarak 12.000.000 iken, ülke genelinde yaklaşık 5.000 ilkokul ve 10.000 ilkokul öğretmeni; 72 ortaokul ve 800 ortaokul öğretmeni ve 23 lise ve 500 lise öğretmeni bulunmaktaydı. Öğrenci sayısının nüfusa oranı yaklaşık olarak yüzde 3'tü.

Bu şartlar altında kurulmuş olan Cumhuriyet'in ilk yıllarında yaşanan en önemli gelişme olarak Tevhid-i Tedrisat yasasıydı ve Sarıhan Vekili Vasıf Bey, Tanzimat'tan bu yana memlekette iki tip insan yetiştirildiğini, bunun çok sakıncalı ve kötü sonuçlar doğurduğunu, bunun önlenmesi için eğitim kurumlarında ortak bir eğitim politikası benimsenmesi gerektiğini belirterek bu yasayı meclise sunmuştu. 3 Mart 1924'te kabul edilen Tevhid-i Tedrisat

yasasıyla bütün eğitim kurumları Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı çatısı altında toplanmıştı.

Takip eden yıllarda modern bir eğitim sistemi kurulması için yurtdışından uzmanlar getirilmiştir. Bu uzmanlardan John Dewey genel olarak eğitim sistemi hakkında, Alfred Kühne ve Omar Buyse teknik eğitim hakkında, Albert Malche üniversiteler hakkında, Berly Parker ise genel olarak eğitim ve ilköğretim hakkında raporlar hazırlamıştır (Akyüz 2008).

Eğitim ihtiyaçlarını tamamlamak ve Cumhuriyet ideallerini halka benimsetmek için en çok ihtiyaç duyulanlar ise öğretmenlerdi. Öğretmen ihtiyacını karşılamak için Köy Muallim Mektepleri ve Köy Öğretmen Okulları gibi çeşitli kurumlar hizmete girmiştir.

Yeni Türk Alfabesinin kabulü ve okuma yazma seferberliği kapsamında açılan Millet Mektepleri ise çalışmada bahsedilen diğer eğitsel gelişmeler arasında yer almaktadır.

Son olarak öğretmenlerin sosyal statüsü, değişen roller ve kimlikleri ile ilgili araştırmalar hakkında kısa bir özet sağlanmıştır.

## **Yöntem**

Bu çalışmada güncel olayların öncüllerini açıklamaya yardımcı olması açısından politika analizine tarihsel bir bakış açısı benimsenmiştir. Bu bağlamda ise döküman analizinin en uygun veri toplama tekniği olduğu düşünülmüştür. Kurtuluş Savaşı sırasında toplanan, açılış konuşmasını Mustafa Kemal'in yaptığı ve eğitim tarihinde önemli bir yere sahip 1921'de toplanan Maarif Kongresi ve öğretmen yetiştirme konusunda deneysel bir çalışmanın ürünü olan Köy Enstitülerinin kuruluşu arasında kalan zaman

aralığına ait gazete metinleri, TBMM Zabıt Cerideleri, yasal metinler, Mustafa Kemal'in hitapları, Muallimler Birliği Umumi Kongresi Zabıtları ve I. Maarif Şurası Tutanakları üzerinde çalışılmıştır. Hakimiyet-i Milliye gazetesinin dönemin resmi ideolojisi olan Kemalist ideolojiyi benimsemiştir ve Cumhuriyet Halk Partisinin resmi yayın organı gibi yayınlar yapmıştır (Bakacak, 2013; Demir, 2012; Tüfekçioğlu, 2012). Bu sebeple kimlik inşası çalışmalarında etkili olacağı düşünülmüştür. Bahsi geçen gazetenin 1934 sonrası ismi değişmiş ve Ulus olmuştur. 1934 sonrasındaki sayılar da taramaya dahil edilmiştir.

1928 öncesine ait eğitim konulu, özellikle de öğretmenleri merkeze alan metinler öncelikle Osmanlı Türkçesinden günümüz Türkçesine ardından da İngilizce'ye aktarılmıştır. Hata riskini düşürmek için çevirilen metinler tarih bölümünden bir doktora öğrencisi ve yine tarih bölümünden bir yüksek lisans öğrencisi tarafından kontrol edilmiştir. Güvenirliği sağlamak için metinlerin orijinalleri ekler kısmında okuyucuyla paylaşılmıştır. Ayrıca metinlerin Türkçe'den İngilizce'ye çevirisi sırasında yaşanabilecek anlam kayıplarını önlemek için metinler hem Türkçe hem de İngilizce olarak sunulmuştur.

Elde edilen veriler tematik analize tabi tutulmuştur. Belirtilen dökümanlardan elde edilen metinlerde eğitim ile ilgili olanlar toplanmış; öğretmen kimlikleri, öğretmen sorumlulukları ve öğretmenleri konu alan metaforlara dair ipucu içeren metinler analiz edilmek üzere ayrılmıştır. Öğretmenlere sağlanan ayrıcalıklar araştırma sırasında ortaya çıkan ve bu çalışmanın kapsamında incelenmesi gereken bir konu olduğu için öğretmenlere sağlanan ayrıcalıklar teması çalışma kapsamına dahil edilmiştir.

## **Temel Bulgular**

Cumhuriyet'in ilk yıllarında karar alıcıları bekleyen sorunlardan bir kısmı da eğitim ile ilgiliydi. Okuryazarlık oranı oldukça düşüktü ve özellikle Tevhid-i

Tedrisat Kanununun kabulünden sonra bütün okullar Milli Eğitim Bakanlığına bağlandığı için laik ve modern okulların yaygınlaştırılması gerekiyordu. Okullarda ise ciddi bir öğretmen açığı vardı. Yeni öğretmenlerin mesleğe yönlendirilmesi, var olan öğretmenlerin Cumhuriyet ideallerini halka benimsetmek için motivasyonlarının yükseltilmesi ve mesleğe bağlılıklarının artırılması amacıyla bir kimlik inşa süreci yürütülmüştür.

Cumhuriyet öğretmenlerine atfedilen ilk kimlik özelliği ülkücü, idealist olmalarıdır. Öğretmenlerin Cumhuriyet inkılaplarının en sağlam dayanağı olduğu belirtilirken, inkılaplarda başarı elde edilmesi, öğretmenlerin Cumhuriyet ülküsüne sadık olmalarına bağlanmıştır (Muallimler Birliği, 1926). Öğretmenlerin bağınazlığa, cehalete, yoksulluğa ve geçmişe açacağı savaştaki kararlılıklarının Cumhuriyeti güçlendireceği belirtilmiştir (Akyüz, 1978). Kendisi de bir öğretmen olan Milli Eğitim Bakanı Mustafa Necati, yeni mezun öğretmenlere idealist öğretmenleri konu alan kitaplar armağan etmiştir, onlarla mektuplaşmış, her türlü sorunlarında yanlarında olmuştur (Akyüz, 2008).

Cumhuriyet öğretmenleri ile bağdaştırılmış ikinci kimlik ise fedakar öğretmen kimliğidir. Öğretmenlerin ulusal hedeflere ulaşmak için fedakarca çalışmaları gerektiği karar alıcılar ve kanaat önderleri tarafından defalarca dile getirilmiştir. Öğretmenlerden beklenen ilk fedakarlık finansal konularla ilgilidir. Öğretmenler savaş yıllarında maaşlarını alamadıkları için greve gitmişlerdir. Bu dönemde yayınlanan Öğretmenlere Refah başlıklı bir makalede, öğretmen maaşlarının odacı maaşlarından düşük olduğu belirtilmiştir (20 July 1920, Hakimiyet-i Milliye). Bu sorunların çözümü için ilgili yasalarda öğretmen maaşlarının ödenmesiyle ilgili detaylı bir açıklamaya gidilmiştir. Bunun dışında öğretmenlerin fedakarlıklarının tarihin hayran kalacağı düzeyde olduğu belirtilmiş (3 Ağustos 1930, Hakimiyet-i Milliye), yeni Türk alfabesinin öğretilmesi gibi konularda gösterdikleri fedakarlıklar takdir edilmiştir (Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2006a; Telgraf No: 649, 28 Ağustos 1928).



Öğretmenlerle birlikte anılan bir diğer özellik de milletin kurtarıcılığı olmuştur. Mustafa Kemal 14 Ekim 1925 tarihinde yaptığı konuşmada milletleri kurtaranları yalnız ve ancak muallimler olarak tanımlamıştır (Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2006b). Bu kurtarıcılık sadece figüratif bir anlam içermemektedir, öğretmenler Kurtuluş Savaşında aktif olarak rol almışlardır. Ayrıca cehle karşı açılan savaşta millet kurtarma görevi öğretmenlerin olmuştur. Milleti kurtaracakların yalnız ordu olmayacağı (11 Aralık 1922, Hakimiyet-i Milliye), orduların kazandıkları zaferin öğretmenlerin kazanacağı zaferlere zemin hazırladığı (Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2006b; 27 Ekim 1922), muallimlerin ordu ile birlikte yürüdüğü (Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2006b) belirtilmiştir.

Aynı zamanda öğretmenlerin modern oldukları da vurgulanmıştır. 3 Aralık 1928 tarihli Hakimiyet-i Milliye gazetesinde kadın öğretmenler şapka giymeye mecbur kılınmış, derslerde başlarını örtmeleri yasaklanmıştır. Böylece hem kadın öğretmenlerin modern bir görünüme sahip olması güvence altına alınmış, hem de laik bir görünümle öğrencilerine eşit mesafede durmaları amaçlanmıştır.

Araştırma kapsamında incelenen bir diğer tema öğretmenlerin sorumluluklarıdır. Cumhuriyet değerlerine ve devrimlerine bağlı bir Cumhuriyet nesli yetiştirmeyi hedefleyen karar alıcılar öğretmenlere bunu yaparken izlemeleri gereken yolu sürekli hatırlatmıştır. Öğretmenlerin milleti müdafaa etmeleri gerektiği (Atatürk Araştırma Merkez, 2006b, eski devrin batıl fikirlerini silmeleri gerektiği (Atatürk Araştırma Merkez, 2006b), öğretmenlerin sadece okuma yazma öğreten bir varlıktan ibaret olmadığını halka öğretmenleri gerektiği (Atatürk Araştırma Merkez, 2006b), çocuğun karakterinin ve psikolojisinin anlaması gerektiği (1 Şubat 1922, Hakimiyet-i Milliye) öğretmenlere hatırlatılan sorumluluklarından bazılarıdır. Politika yapıcılar öğretmenlere sıklıkla sosyal alandaki sorumluluklarını hatırlatmışlardır.

Öğretmenlerin bu görevleri hakkıyla yerine getirebilmesi için onlara bazı ayrıcalıklar da sağlanmıştır. Askerlik görevlerinin ertelenmesi (100 Sayılı Kanun; 21 Şubat 1921), sağlık imkanlarına erişimlerinin kolaylaştırılması (Aslan, Sağlam, Özkan & Sezgin, 2008) ve çocuklarına çeşitli burs imkanlarının sağlanması (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, 2. Dönem, 2. Yasama Yılı, Cilt VII, 13 Mart 1924) ve ekonomik koşullarının iyileştirilmesi (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, 2. Dönem, 2. Yasama Yılı, Cilt VII, 13 Mart 1924) sağlanan bu ayrıcalıklardır.

Bu çalışma kapsamında incelenen son tema olan öğretmenler için kullanılan metaforlar ise öğretmenlerin aslında nasıl görüldüğüne dair ciddi ipuçları vermektedir. Öğretmenler sosyal hastalıkları iyileştiren doktorlar (TBMM Zabıt Ceridesi, 1. Dönem, 1. Yasama Yılı, Cilt VII, 26 Ocak 1921), fazilet ve ahlak neşreden peygamberler (19 Ağustos 1930, Hakimiyet-i Milliye) ve irfan ordusunu yöneten kumandanlar (11 Aralık 1922 – Hakimiyet-i Milliye; Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi 2006b) olarak anılmıştır.

Ayrıca vatanın kurtarıcısı ve devletin kurucusu Mustafa Kemal'in yaptıklarının da bir nevi öğretmenlik olduğunun vurgulanması (1 Ocak 1929, Hakimiyet-i Milliye), Mustafa Kemal'in öğretmen olmayı oldukça istediğini belirtmesi (Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi, 2006b) de vatan kurtarıcı, devlet kurucu Mustafa Kemal ile öğretmenler arasında bir duygudaşlık kurarak öğretmenlerin görevlerine daha sıkı sarılmalarıda etkili olmuştur.

## **Sonuç ve Öneriler**

Son dönem yaşanan gelişmeler düşünüldüğünde (“İki yüz bin öğretmen”; 2011; “MEB’den Devrim Gibi”, 2011; Yalova Valisinin”, 2015) öğretmenlerin konumunda, onlara atfedilen kimliklerde, eğitimden ve öğretmenden

beklentilerin erken Cumhuriyet dönemiyle kıyaslandığında ciddi bir deęişiklik olduęu açıkça görölmektedir.

Bu deęişiklikler genel olarak eğitimden beklentilerin deęişmesiyle ilişkilendirilmiştir. Politikacıların yaptıkları açıklamalar, yasal metinlerde yapılan deęişiklikler ve benimsenen eğitim politikalarında idealist, fedakar, milletleri kurtaran, modern öğretmenlere sistemde yer olmadığını ve yeni bir itaatkar, teknisyen öğretmen tipi yaratılmaya çalışıldığını açıkça ortaya koymaktadır.

Bu bağlamda hem eğitimin kalitesinin artırılması, hem de öğretmenlerin durumlarında iyileştirme yaratabilmesi için ücretli öğretmen istihdamından vazgeçilmesi, öğretmen adaylarının seçiminde yeni kriterler uygulanması, politikacıların okullardaki başarı ve öğretmenlerin motivasyonları arasındaki doğru orantının farkına varıp öğretmenlerin motivasyonlarını arttırıcı önlemler alması gerektięi konusunda önerilerde bulunulmuştur.

**Appendix R**  
**TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU**

**ENSTİTÜ**

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

**YAZARIN**

Soyadı : Özdil  
Adı : Nazlı Güzin  
Bölümü : Sosyal Politika

**TEZİN ADI** (İngilizce) : Teacher Identity Formation in the Early Era of the Republic of Turkey

**TEZİN TÜRÜ** : Yüksek Lisans ☒ Doktora ☐

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz. ☒

**TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ:**